Women's Lived Experiences and Perceptions of Representation and Identity in Urban Space; A Case Study of Liverpool, UK

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by Kimberley May Ross

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Abstract

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This thesis considers the lived experiences that women have in urban space, with a particular focus on how the space is represented and the impact that this can have on the identity of the space and those who use the space. Lefebvre (1974, 1976 & 2003) drew attention to the tensions that exist between elite visions of space and more 'everyday' interpretations and uses, arguing that those behind the production and development of urban space have their own motivations for wanting the spaces to be represented in a particular way. Often these representations reflect gendered and classed stereotypes and wider divisions in society (Zukin 1993 & 1995; Massey 2004; Skeggs 2005; Longhurst et al 2014). This thesis will demonstrate how these representations of urban spaces can create and reflect gendered divisions that occur in wider society and how these can also intersect with class. Of particular relevance to this thesis are the notions of cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986) and how these can be portrayed and reflected through the representations of space and spatial practices (Lefebvre 1974). The combination of these theoretical concepts is novel. Both these theorists have been used in discussions around identity, and representations and experiences within urban space. However, the amalgamation of key aspects of both theories allows for an original interpretation of women's lived experiences and perceptions of representations and identity in urban space.

Liverpool, UK and the privatised development of Liverpool One (which opened in 2008) have been used as the case study for this research and a sample of twenty women who were local to Liverpool were recruited. The case study was chosen because of the recent change to the ownership of the space and the drastic changes that the space underwent. It therefore provided a unique opportunity to explore how such changes affect the cultural capital of space and those who use the space as well as the conflict between the representations of space and spatial practise that create and contribute to the symbolic capital of the space. Walking interviews alongside cognitive mapping and photograph elicitation were used to explore the everyday lived experiences of local women.

Taking the standpoint that social construction is crucial in the representations associated with urban space, this thesis will argue that in the case of Liverpool, the shift from public to private ownership of the space which is now Liverpool One has contributed to social boundaries and inequality in terms of the lived experiences of those who use the space. This is highlighted through the gendered representations that become associated with the space and the juxtapositions that are felt by local women who use the space in an everyday setting.

Dedication

At the beginning of my PhD journey my brother Joe was involved in a serious accident which very nearly took him from us and left him in a coma with a severe brain injury. Reading back through this work in preparation for submission has brought back many memories of some very difficult times spent sitting in hospital waiting rooms trying to balance hospital visits alongside reading and writing. I would like to dedicate this work to Joe in acknowledgement for all his hard work and determination over the past five years throughout his recovery and rehabilitation.

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Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work. The material contained in the thesis has not been presented, nor is currently being presented, either wholly or in part for any other degree or qualification.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1. Introduction

This thesis uses a social constructionist approach in exploring women's experiences, perceptions and representations in urban space. Constructionist theory is based on the premise that we use representational systems and symbolic practices to construct meaning (Hall, 2013 p11). This thesis considers how representations can affect the ways through which women engage and experience urban spaces and how changes to these landscapes can impact on these representations, perceptions and lived experiences. The development of Liverpool One, situated in Liverpool's (UK) city centre, was used as a space within which these experiences could be framed. This space had undergone radical regeneration and privatisation and was opened in May 2008. Walking interviews around the Liverpool One development, alongside photograph elicitation and cognitive mapping, were carried out with twenty women from Liverpool. This thesis will discuss the background academic literature relating to this research, as well as the research methods and details of the case study of Liverpool, to provide the context for this research. The results will then discussed in relation to the background literature and conclusions and implications of the research will be drawn.

1.1 Context of the Research

This thesis is situated within the broad spectrum of urban sociology and feminist philosophy. This research has drawn on influences from a number of different disciplines including urban sociology, cultural sociology and human geography. This will be reflected upon within the subsequent literature reviews which cover a range of subjects, including urban and

feminist theoretical paradigms relating to city spaces and theory of gendered and classed identity. Additionally, the research methods that have been adopted for this research which are discussed in Chapter 5 are interdisciplinary. The interdisciplinary nature of this thesis in terms of both the theoretical paradigms that it engages with and the research methods employed, further contribute to the novelty of this work. It is concerned with lived experiences of women within urban space and relates this back to the representations that they experience in terms of themselves and others who may or may not use the space and representations of the space itself. It also considers how these representations are socially constructed and how they can also intersect with social class distinctions. These representations have been linked back to notions around identity theory and cultural and social capital.

Cities are complex urban spaces, and those occupying them face numerous and nuanced dilemmas, which are often related back to the capitalist mode of production and how it affects the way people occupy and use urban spaces (Lefebvre 1974; Lefebvre; 1976; Simmel 2005). In turn this results in cities becoming the centre ground for society's social and economic tensions to be played out (Lefebvre 1976). This is done through labels and representations becoming attached to specific areas within cities that reflect the social divisions of society, with some spaces being exclusive to those possessing a certain cultural capital and some spaces excluding marginalised groups within society (Zukin 1995; Binnie and Skeggs 2000; Amin 2013). Therefore, different social groups within society can have very different perceptions and different lived experiences of the same space. This thesis is concerned with how women relate their gender and social class to these lived experiences and perceptions of representations of urban space.

Lefebvre (1974) suggested that there are three different elements to urban space: 'spatial practice' (the experienced), 'representations of space' (the perceived) and 'representational spaces' (the imaginary). These different elements mean that all those who have a relationship to the space (such as owners, developers, designers as well as those who use the space in an everyday sense) may experience symbolic and material struggles when conflict exists between these different elements of space (Lefebvre, 1974). For example, Hall and Hubbard (1996) discuss how changes from public sector to private sector investment and regeneration can lead to conflicts of interests in terms of whose best interests are considered when these investments and regeneration occurs. Furthermore, tensions can exist between those who own space and those that they commission to plan and design the space, who may have their own artistic ideas and knowledge that could potentially be compromised (Harvey, 1985; Zukin, 1993; Knox, 2011). Often these conflicts relate to the image of the space and its associated cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

The notions of cultural and social capital are important for this thesis. These were suggested by Bourdieu (1986) who moved away from the purely economic discussion of capital; with cultural capital referring to the meaning and importance of cultural artefacts and social capital referring to the social networks adopted, which hold social value and status. These different types of capital also relate to gender and class (Skeggs, 1997 & 1999; Ross et al, 2015). This therefore leads to women having different experiences within urban space than men, with class distinctions also affecting these lived experiences. Devine and Savage (2005) have argued that the study of cultural engagement has tended to rely on statistical methodologies and data, and there has been a lack of theoretical engagement, although it is increasingly being recognised within the sociological field that theory needs to be applied to

the notions of cultural stratification (Devine and Savage, 2005). This thesis builds on this notion and applies social theory relating to class and gender as well as theory relating to the creation, design, privatisation and governance of urban space to the data collected.

Throughout this thesis the term 'representation' will be used in two ways. Firstly, when referencing the creation of space and the images associated with it the representation will be referring to Lefebvre's (1974) discussion of 'representations of space' (which will be discussed further in Chapter 2). However this thesis will also consider representations of the local population as well as the participants' interpretation of how they feel they represent themselves and how this related to their lived experiences of urban space. Representation in this sense gives meaning to places, events, objects and people and reflects the meaning that we apply to such entities (Hall, 2013 pxix).

Knowledge about appropriate behaviours in public space and ways through which space is accessible are often gendered and reinforced through relationships with family (in terms of socialisation), wider society and the mass media (Young, 1990; Butler, 1991; Massey, 1994; Mills, 2011; Kessels, 2014). This therefore means that women have different experiences in public space compared to men, and are often subjected to further restrictions on the ways through which they access and negotiate space. This research will also discuss the regional stereotypes that have become attached to women from the city of Liverpool which has provided the case study for this research. There have been negative stereotypes associated with people from Liverpool (Gilmore, 2004; Boland, 2008), with gendered stereotypes being further related to women from Liverpool (Boland, 2008). Again, this demonstrates how social and cultural capital can be related to specific groups, which in turn determines what spaces they are associated with and are able to engage with.

1.2 Research Methodology

A mixed methods approach was adopted for the research. This was done in order to address some of the concerns raised in previous research that lived experiences are subjective, and therefore can be difficult to research. It was hoped that adopting a mixed methods approach would help to overcome this and provide a more detailed account of these experiences. The methods that were used for this research were cognitive maps, photograph elicitation and walking interviews. Cognitive maps where drawn by participants; these were used to display the participants' physical perception of the space, but also allowed them to express their own interpretations of how they viewed the space. Walking interviews were carried out throughout the Liverpool One development. These were qualitative in nature and were participant led. During the walking interviews, participants were given a camera and could take photographs of anything that was important or significant to them. The majority of the data gained came from the walking interviews, but the photographs and cognitive maps were useful elicitation devices and helped to provide further context to the participants' lived experiences. Throughout the research process I also kept field notes about my own interpretations of the space and how these related to the opinions given by the research participants.

Themes were identified for the data collected and coding tools were drawn up based on the emerging themes and in relation to the research questions and objectives which are set out below. The transcripts from the walking interviews were coded using Nvivo QSR software. This allowed relationships between themes to be identified and determined what the most significant themes were. An additional part of data analysis involved the consideration of the participant's responses in comparison to the ONE Community Annual Review 2012. This

is a document that outlines the ONE Community strategy and how it has been implemented. The critical review of this document was not done in order to evaluate the Liverpool One development, but rather to highlight the intended forms of cultural and symbolic capital of the development and to provide a comparison to the cultural and symbolic representations that the participants perceived.

1.3 Research Questions and Objectives

The main objective of this research was to explore the lived experiences of women in the city, including the spatial practices that they engage with and the representations (of urban spaces and those who use the space) that they perceive. It aimed to explore how women relate their use of urban space to their own identity and how this impacts on their lived experiences. Furthermore, it also considered how the participants interpreted the perceived cultural capital of the development and how they related this back to their own cultural capital and how this affected the way through which they accessed and engaged with the different spaces within the development.

The research questions are:

- How do the participants experience and relate to urban leisure space, and how are these processes gendered?
- How do the participants relate their perceived cultural capital to urban spaces?
- Do the participants believe that social boundaries exist within urban space and how are these related to gender and social class?

As discussed previously, the Liverpool One development was used as a space for the participants to frame their experiences and perceptions in relation to the above research

questions. This site was chosen because the recent changes to the space including the change in ownership and shift from public to privatized space made for a framework within which the above issues could be explored.

Chapter 2. Literature Review – The Urban Experience

"Not only is the city an object which is perceived (and perhaps enjoyed) by millions of people of widely diverse class and character, but it is the product of many builders who are constantly modifying structure for reasons of their own" (Kevin Lynch, 1960 p2).

2. Introduction

This thesis explores the urban experience of women with a particular focus on their lived experiences in the city (including representations of themselves as consumers of the city and spaces within the city) and the spatial practices which they engage with. Gottdiener and Budd (2005) define the city as being "a bounded space that is densely settled and has a relatively large, culturally heterogeneous population" (Gottdiener and Budd, 2005 p4). The research questions and objectives set out in the introduction discuss the way in which this research will consider how the people who use city spaces experience these spaces, with particular focus on the boundaries set on the space, what happens when changes occur to the boundaries of the space and how this can influence an individuals' perception of the space. Cities are the "controlling centre of economic, political, and cultural life" (Wirth, 1938 p2) and therefore they do have impacts on the lives and experiences of those who occupy them. Cities are complex due to the nature of their construction and the different ways in which they are used; many different types of people use city space every day but often their perceptions are subject to the various forces inflicted upon them by those behind the creation of the space (those who own and/or govern the space and those who are behind the design of the space). Therefore, when researching city space it is important to consider not only the space itself, but the people who use it and indeed how they use it (Lynch, 1960 p2). This research examines the meanings and representations which are embodied within spatial practise that can become attached to urban space after regeneration compared to

those which existed previously, in particular with regards to the lived experiences of women who use the space.

The city and the overall urban experience within contemporary society have been immensely affected by the 'new forms of economic power' resulting from the change from the more public oriented political realm to the private and economically driven realm, thus questioning the new role of the urban environment (Sassen, 2000 p148 also Brenner et al, 2009). Allon (2013) argues that:

> "Regionally and globally cities have emerged as increasingly important players. In the context of globalisation, cities create and shape connections on a worldwide scale, taking an active role in the formation and conduct of international affairs and world politics, financial flows economic networks, as well as new forms of city-based cultural linkages, organization, and political engagement" (Allon, 2013 p252).

Therefore, cities are imperative to cultural development and vice versa. One of the key ways through which cities are able to increase their engagement with the global economy is through attracting tourism and business investment. However this raises questions regarding the position of local groups and how their experiences of these spaces can be affected by the changes brought about through regeneration. The affects that regeneration can have on the meanings and representations that become attached to urban space are both subjects that have been explored in the disciplines of urban sociology and human geography and therefore the majority of the work discussed in this chapter will derive from these disciplines. The overall aim of this chapter is to explore the academic literature that has contributed to this area previously. The chapter will consider the wider 'urban experience' in terms of the different concepts relating to how urban space is created and the various tensions that are played out within it, with the following chapter discussing the

issues which are more specific to the everyday use and interpretation of urban space by women.

2.1 The Socially Constructed City

This first section considers how urban space is socially constructed. It will also reference material constructions within the city, with particular reference to the Marxist concept of the 'mode of production' in society It will discuss how the notion of social construction within the city and how some contemporary theorists have moved away from focusing on material constructs and have instead discussed the importance of the more symbolic nature of social construction. Cities and urban space are the product of two types of construction; physical and social. This thesis will focus mainly on the latter, although sections within this chapter will discuss to some extent the physical construction of urban space in terms of how it is related to and can be used in reinforcing the social construction of cities.

Lefebvre (1974) argues that there is a distinct difference between what he refers to as 'natural space' and 'social space', with the main cause of difference being that social space is defined by production. Therefore, cities have become increasingly multifaceted as they are the materialised form of the urban experience which is facing increasingly numerous and nuanced dilemmas because of the increasingly complex nature of cities.

Harvey (1990) argues that the ascetics and organization of a city are integral to the social practices which take place within the city (Harvey, 1990 p66). Space is consequently a social creation and it is the social practices that exist within the space that determine its uses. In capitalist society, Harvey argues that the production of urban space becomes what he refers to as a 'spatial fix' (Harvey, 1985). This relates to Marx's notion that urban space within a

capitalist society can create a contradiction. This is because, like Lefebvre, Marx and subsequently Harvey claim that the main role of cities within capitalism is to be a site for production as well as consumption. However, as technology has advanced, many of the manual jobs involved in production are replaced or outsourced. This creates a crisis for capitalism as it requires these changes in order to advance, but requires its members are employed and able to engage in the consumption on which it relies upon (Harvey, 1989). Therefore, investment in building and maintaining city space becomes the new mode of production, thus creating a different type of capital and causing the image of the space in question to become increasingly important (which will be explored further in section three of this chapter). Cities subsequently create and reinforce culture, and thus rely on cultural capital (which will be discussed in relation to Bourdieu's (1986) definition later in the chapter) as a key part of their economy.

Foucault (1980) argued that acquisition of knowledge was inextricably linked to power, as opposed to the Marxist notion that linked power and knowledge to economic and social class struggles. Linking this to the concept of representations, the knowledge an individual has, alongside the shared culture of meanings that are obtained through sharing knowledge, means that it is often those in power (who possess greater access to/and promote the dominant ideologies) that have more influence over the meanings behind representations. Therefore, it is those who have power within society who can determine what culture can create this economic power by putting a higher economic value on the culture in question. This can be used to explain why certain forms of art have a higher value than others. In terms of urban space, it can be used to understand why certain cities and spaces within

cities are more valued than others, leading to more investment, prominence and celebration of these cities and/or spaces within cities.

The social nature of urban space is one discussed in depth by Georg Simmel. Similarly to Lefebvre and Harvey, Simmel (2005) suggested that cities have become an expression for the complexity of modern day society because of the various ways in which individuals relate to 'the metropolis' and how it affects the individual's psyche. He makes the link between an individual's interaction with the city and the social order of that city. The city can help to construct a very different personality to that which would have manifested had the individual been subject to a 'rural', less nuanced way of life. This is because the capitalist mode of production that is more prominent in urban areas than rural areas means that cities have a more complex mode of production, which demands that groups of people from different social classes occupy spaces in close proximity to each other in order to uphold the workforces that are required. They will often occupy living and leisure spaces that are in close proximity to one another which can create tensions over the way through which these spaces are used and the cultural capital of the spaces. Consequently, the nature of the space which the individual occupies can have a significant impact on the lived practises within which they engage with others and with the space itself. The city is not just a product of social construction but also creates it through facilitating the construction of how the personalities of those who inhabit the space are fashioned (Simmel 2005). In this sense, the construction of the city moves beyond material forms through influencing, facilitating and maintaining this social construction. Simmel can be criticised for assuming that being within a city would have such an impact on the way in which people behave, as they are capable of 'self-actualizing' and being conscious of the ways in which they engage with the consumer

processes in the city (Gottdiener, 2005 p305). Furthermore, it is important to have a concept of why certain aspects of a city can have a bearing on an individual's experience and subsequent behaviours. The following chapter focuses on women's experiences in urban space and discusses how early gendered socialisation can mean that people have very different gendered lived experiences in the city.

Not all individuals are able to engage with and experience city space to the level discussed by Simmel. Economic aspects of how the city is constructed also need to be considered as they have a significant impact on the spatial structuring of urban space in terms of the hierarchies that are created (Massey 2005). This is by no means a new phenomenon, with Durkheim and Mauss arguing that dividing and organising space was an early example of 'primitive classification' (Shields, 1991 p29). Diverse populations tend to inhabit cities, often creating settlements which segregate themselves from others (Wirth, 1938 p15), with an example of this being the districts in large American cities that had been popular sites for immigration such as Little Italy and China Town in New York City and Boston. This creates physical boundaries but it can also have social impacts such as condensing areas of poverty and wealth. Spatial structures are the result of many different political and economic motives, all of which are driven by the ideologies that those behind them wish to impose on the space in question. Inevitably, these will favour those in power, the upper classes and the business sector (Massey, 1995 p51). For that reason, this raises questions regarding those whose best interests may not necessarily be represented by these ideologies and how they experience these spaces within cities. This will be discussed further in relation to women in the city in the following chapter, which will expand on this concept of Massey's and how

women can often experience further social regulations than men when it comes to their rights to city space and how they are able to access it.

Simmel (2005) argues that the ever changing nature and increasing complexity of the metropolis creates insecurity for its residents, which in turn causes them to assume what he refers to as a 'blasé attitude' which they need in order to endure life in the metropolis, where success is often measured in terms of gain, both socially and economically. They become anonymous amongst the sheer number or people populating the metropolis, and have to adopt what Simmel refers to as 'tendentious peculiarities' in order to appear as individuals (Simmel, 2005). For Simmel therefore, the city is a site of contradictions, being a place in which those who reside there find stimulation which promotes both their desires and anxieties (Pile, 2005 p49). Those who reside within cities are able to develop a resistance to the volume of experiences that they come into contact with by becoming more intellectual with the way in which they navigate these experiences (Pile, 2005 p15). Those who own, develop and regulate cities and urban space will often try to exercise control over the experiences that we have, and therefore if people did develop this immunity then it would pose issues for those behind the space in terms of their ability to influence people's perceptions and experiences of space. Thus the contradiction of life in the city is shown; individuals have to make a conscious effort to be 'individual' yet must act in a way which would suggest indifference. In other words, they are given the opportunity to 'play' with their own identity 'within a system of defined places' (De Certeau, 1988 p196). Again, the following chapter will discuss how women may have different experience to men in the city and De Certeau's concept of a 'system of defined places' raises further questions in terms of

why such defined places may exist and how they may create different experiences for different groups in society.

According to Simmel, the city is where tension between individuality and collectivism is most obvious (Tonkiss, 2005 p115). He argues that people who have lived in rural/less complex societies do not have any need to adapt this attitude because they are not subject to the same level of insecurities or changes. This raises interesting questions about how individuals can relate to space within cities and what freedoms the city may offer to groups who may be marginalised in other landscapes. This is a notion also discussed by Wilson (1991) who considered the disparity between city and rural life, arguing that cities provide women with a sense of freedom from their role in the traditional nuclear family. In cities, women are able to be more free, spontaneous and anonymous; the city provides more opportunities for women to adapt to roles that were previously in the dominion of men. This is a point also made by Sassen (2013) who argued that "the city, and especially the street, is a space where the powerless can make history, in ways they cannot in rural areas" (Sassen, 2013 p213). Simple acts like walking in the city, an act which is a minor practise in everyday life, can help individuals to assert their place in the city and to give them a sense of freedom in terms of the routes that they take (De Certeau, 1988 p103). It can be argued that, even if the mode of production in a Marxist sense is the main force behind the social construction of the city, individuals who are not economically privileged enough to benefit from the mode of production can still find certain freedoms in the city; they are not simply passive to their environment.

These hierarchies and the way in which they create boundaries within urban space do not need to be fixed or physical; one can go about daily life within a city and transcend between

social class boundaries. If we take a person's social class as a case in point, certain activities that go on within in city are often associated with particular social classes. Benjamin uses the example of a middle class man crossing the street in order to engage with a prostitute. In doing this, the man is crossing an unseen boundary between social classes. This is one example of how, for Benjamin, the city is full of unseen, intimate narratives (Tonkiss, 2005 p122) which can go beyond the prescribed physical boundaries created within urban space. However, it would be more difficult to transcend through the boundaries of social class for those who are working class. This can be used as a criticism of Benjamin and Simmel's discussion of the concept of the 'flâneur' (a consumer of the experience offered by the city) because this way of experiencing the city is not as accessible to those of working class. Furthermore, Buck-Moss (1986) considers how the social practice of the female flâneur is different to that of men because of the different means that women need to use to be able to take on such a role. Crawford et al (2014 p15) it is important that social class is not viewed as a determinant of a person's leisure and cultural interests other important symbolic, behavioural and material factors are also important. This discussion of the fluid nature of social boundaries demonstrates how they have relevance in our experiences of urban space in addition to physical boundaries. The concept of these social boundaries will be discussed further in relation to class and gender distinctions throughout the remainder of this chapter and subsequent chapters.

2.2 Social and Economic Tensions in Urban Space

This section will build on the theory discussed in section one and will consider the social and economic tensions that can exist in urban space as a result of the contradictions created by the mode of production within cities. There are a number of contradictions within the

production and consumption of space within capitalist cities which can create tension between the elite visions of space (i.e. those behind the production of space) and the more everyday interpretations and uses (Lefebvre, 1976 p113). Urban space becomes a commodity under capitalist conditions, because according to Lefebvre, urban space is where the ruling class have their "bases of strategic thought" (Lefebvre, 1976 p81). Therefore, urban space is crucial for capitalism as it provides the means to uphold the system. This might not necessarily be the same in every city (as Lefebvre suggests it would depend on the type of society and the urban backdrop), but nevertheless it exists in some form. The city becomes a commodity within itself and exists in order to produce capital which in turn it needs to continue. Urban spaces and the experiences within these spaces become a form of capital in their own right.

The politics behind the conception of difference occur through the exertion of power both in terms of society as a whole and more specifically in space "in both their material and imagined forms" (Soja and Hopper, 1993 pg184). An active strategy is required to maintain and reproduce this difference. There are numerous ways in which those behind the planning and politics of cities legitimise their policies. Hubbard (1996) refers to a "new cultural politics of place" (Hubbard, 1996 p1442) which manifests the change in the role of cities from focusing on local provision to enhancing the prosperity of the city, even though this may not always resonate with the local population (Hubbard, 1996 p1451). This has led to a shift in the way in which cities are governed, with those in governance having gone from having the 'collective' as being their main concern (for example by focusing on issues to do with welfare) to focusing on increasing the city's prosperity through attracting entrepreneurial investment (Hall and Hubbard, 1996 p155). They argue that this has led to

'new urban politics' which they define as being a term "used to distinguish the fundamental difference between a politics of income distribution and a politics of growth" (Hall and Hubbard, 1996 p155). This can be related back to Lefebvre's notion of tensions between the elite visionaries and the everyday users of city space, whose interests may no longer be taken into consideration when it comes to policy making in the city.

In order for this shift in policy to happen, urban governments need to form coalitions with various interest groups to ensure that their power can be sustained. One example they use is the Conservative government in the 1980's, when the private sector increasingly became a key player in many new government initiatives:

> "The political rhetoric of the 1980s clearly positioned the private sector as the key actor in city rebuilding, with public-private partnerships presented as the way forward. These policies, coupled with the tightening of local government expenditure, produced a situation where there was little alternative for declining UK cities than to compete for private sector capital rather than to expect additional central government support" (Hall and Hubbard, 1996 p157).

However, in reality the local governments still tended to take the lead in the subsequent policies and therefore Hall and Hubbard argue that ultimately what makes these coalitions successful in promoting entrepreneurial growth is the local government's ability to balance the interests of the different private sector groups that become involved. This is an important concept for this research and will be discussed in more detail in terms of the relationship between Grosvenor and Liverpool City Council later in the thesis, (Chapter 4) to highlight how coalitions in regeneration can work. As Jayne (2006) argues "The typology of the entrepreneurial city and the (re)imagining and (re)construction of cities in the contemporary urban hierarchy have been introduced as a new, more aggressive phase in the development of cities, with urban elites fostering projects designed to assert a new

forms of civic identity" (Jayne, 2006 p198). This links to Hall and Hubbard's discussion of the impact of cities adopting polices promoting regeneration which fosters the ideals of a 'new entrepreneurial city'.

Characterisations can become attached to specific areas within a city during the re-branding and regeneration process which often targets certain groups (Binnie and Skeggs, 2000 p56). They give the example that labels such as 'cosmopolitan' are attached to space in order to make it appealing to the different factions in society and to make it appear more engaging to those who can at times find themselves being marginalised in certain areas of city space, with Binnie and Skeggs (2000) focusing on gay and lesbian communities. However, Chatterton and Holland (2003) have argued that labelling spaces to appeal to marginalised groups does not always work. Also, using the example of designated areas that are targeted at the gay and lesbian community, they argue that:

> "The location of gay nightlife in run-down areas of cities continues to have a range of implications, ranging from gay spaces being seen as 'seedy' through to higher incidences of violence, theft and the impact of poverty and drug abuse. Designating areas as gay villages can also lead to them becoming a focus of violence" (Chatterton and Holland, 2005 p168).

The example cited above of gay nightlife areas is an example of how individuals' own identities can become reflected through the spaces that they inhabit and how groups can become associated with certain spaces. It also suggests how negative stereotypes of peer groups can be influenced by the spaces that they are associated with inhabiting. Hall and Hubbard (1996) suggest that in order for the implementation of these labels to develop into successful policies, the local government must find a balance between the new investments and the already established norms and values of the area.

The 'spatial juxtaposition' that can occur in cities is one which needs consideration, since cities, as discussed earlier, can often include 'social extremes', such as different social class groups living in close proximity, in a condensed space (Amin, 2013 p205). The implementation of new urban policies often means cuts in other areas such as education, health and welfare which can lead to certain groups being put at a disadvantage (Hall and Hubbard, 1996 p167). In addition to this, marginalised groups may not benefit from the new policies that are being put in place even if they still reside in or use the space within which these policies are implemented. This can be due to the nature of the coalitions that are formed by the local government and the private investors. It is often the case that marginalised groups in society will not be given an opportunity to express their views on the new policies. This poses very interesting questions regarding private investment in city regeneration and the advantages/disadvantages that it gives different groups in society, as often the groups targeted are those which will bring in the most capital and they are not always local to the space in question.

2.3 Tensions Regarding the 'Image' within Urban Space

As discussed previously in this chapter, Lefebvre places considerable emphasis on how the mode of production determines the nature of urban space, for example the ways in which particular spaces are marketed for specific groups. This section will discuss the implications of the fundamental tensions within the mode of production that can lead to unstable and unpredictable perceptions and uses of urban space, and how 'image' can be used within urban space to help ratify the uses to which it is being put.

Urban space does not simply operate on a singular level; there are hidden practices as well as conscious and visible attempts at encouraging people to use space in a specific way. It is

important to consider both the real (objective) and the imagined (subjective) geographies of space in terms of how they relate to each other, which is something that Lefebvre demonstrates in his theory regarding the different elements of space (Soja and Hopper, 1993 p198). Lefebvre argues that there are three elements of urban space; spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces (Lefebvre, 1974). Spatial practice (or the experienced) is the element of space that is 'presumed'. This links to the routines that surround the space and the impact that they have on how people perceive the space. Representations of space (or the perceived) are the product of the work of architects, planners, social engineers, etc. This space is based on the concept or vision that is initiated by these various groups. Representational spaces (or the imaginary) refer to the images and symbols that exist within the city. For Lefebvre, planners, architects and other professionals seek to develop space for commercial ends. However, these meanings are not always adopted by the wider population, as their own experiences may impact on the way in which they view and perceive these spaces. Lefebvre maintains that the meanings and uses of cities' space cannot be predicted and controlled as easily as those behind the creation and development of it may wish to believe. This causes symbolic and material struggles between the different perceptions and uses of urban space with partial and/or distorted visions of urban space that underpin capitalist development. These are often the site of a wide variety of resistances and subversions in 'everyday' practise.

As discussed previously, Lefebvre believed that the nature of urban space is linked with the mode of production. Therefore, in a capitalist society, the role of urban space is to produce and maintain capital, which in turn is imperative to how individuals use and experience the space, as those who use the space need to be able to buy in to what is being produced.

However, as has been discussed earlier in this chapter, this thesis argues that social construction is also important in how urban spaces are created and develop and how they are subsequently represented and experienced. Consequently, hidden spatial practices need to become embodied and encouraged in the space in order for it to successfully maintain its capital. This is also a fundamental feature of Benjamin's work, who in his 'Arcades Project' considered the meanings behind the development of the nineteenth century shopping arcades in Paris (Benjamin, 2004). The architectural form of these arcades was specifically designed in order to create a contemporary experience for those using the space and thus relate it to a particular image or 'cultural capital'. The covered walk ways became associated with more upmarket shops and encouraged the new trend of window shopping in addition to shopping becoming a tourist attraction, i.e. shopping itself becomes an 'experience'.

Hall (2013) argues that there are two processes or 'systems' that give meanings to representations. Firstly, the process is internal in that we relate both social and non-social entities to our own interpretations of their representation in our own conscious thought. These in turn are then used by us to make sense of our social world, thus they become the basis through which we perceive and interpret surrounding social processes and beings. Through broadly sharing and communicating our internal thoughts about these meanings and representations, we share our interpretations with others who, whilst also having their own unique ideas and thought processes, may also make sense of the social world in a similar way. These shared interpretations are then able to build "a shared culture of meanings" which further constructs our social world (Hall, 2013 p4).

Lefebvre's suggestion that those behind the representations of urban space have the control over how the space is created can however be critiqued, as those professionals who

are behind the planning and creation of city space are subject to restrictions in their work (Harvey, 1985). Often strict and restrictive briefs are given to the likes of spatial planners and architects and whilst these professionals might have the intention to produce something that is best in terms of their own knowledge and experience, they often have to compromise their own informed professional opinion with the opinions of those who are funding the projects and who hope to profit from the outcome. How then do those funding regeneration and building projects decide what is needed for the space in question? Zukin (1993) argues that market culture has a significant impact on the sense of place that specific landscapes have. The design behind urban landscapes has become driven by a 'consumer economy' and this in turn affects the way in which those behind the design of the landscape operate, as they need to conform to the values and image of this consumer economy.

This notion of the 'consumer economy' can be associated with Lefebvre's concept of 'representational spaces' which are those elements of space which tend to be passively experienced as they are mainly associated with images and symbols. People experience urban space in relation to the symbolic elements associated with it (Lefebvre, 1974) and may visit certain places within it because of what they have previously associated with them. Again, this can draw links to Benjamin and the role that personal memories and experiences can have in the way through which a person negotiates and experiences urban space. Lynch (1960, p5) argues that images and symbols can affect a person's emotional security as we often feel more at home when have something distinctive in our home environment that makes it feel familiar and unlike anywhere else. This would suggest our experience and interpretation of these images and symbols is not in fact passive, as we actively seek them

out to enhance our experiences. Zukin (1993) argues that architects and designers of urban landscapes become a force behind structural change, as they themselves control the image of these landscapes. Zukin also argues that the forces that result from the market economy cause detachment from people's sense of place (Zukin, 1993). This results in these landscapes becoming increasingly orientated towards consumption, rather than reflecting a more individualised sense of place. For Zukin (1993), the architecture of these landscapes becomes akin to a franchise as they are not dissimilar aesthetically and aim to produce similar forms of cultural capital. However, whilst the architects and planners can control the image that they design, they themselves are at the mercy of those who commission them in the first instance. For example Jones (2011) discusses how iconic architecture plays an important role in 'place making', and therefore the design and implementation of architecture is not a neutral creation by the architect and design team but rather is integrated into the ideology of and political economy of those who are commissioning such projects (Jones, 2011 p117). Henceforth, urban space is a product that has been subject to a rigorous design specification in order to enhance individuals' experiences.

Niches are important for cities to establish themselves in terms of competition with rival cities and these will often drive the strategies adopted by those behind the place-marketing and branding (Allon 2013). Allon (2013) argues that:

> "The so-called new creative industries built on the production and consumption of profit orientated cultural and symbolic goods are central to these [niche] strategies of city branding. Through such industries built on the production and consumption become imbricated in extensive networks of commerce and economic enterprise that are in turn connected in concrete, material and sensory ways to consciously constructed spaces (neighbourhoods, districts, buildings, sites, and events) within the urban fabric. Leisure, tourism, and consumption practices linked to specific urban "scene" are actively targeted and promoted" (Allon, 2013 p252-253).

Cities and areas within cities can become "coded symbolically" to suggest association with a particular group or image (Allon 2013, p253). Fleming argues that creative industries are often used in driving the "economic, social and definitional transformations of UK cities and specific districts" (Fleming, 2004 p93). Therefore, Investments in city spaces can be used to re-image the space to promote both the physical gentrification and its perceived identity (Fleming, 2004 p93). Creating a 'sense of place' is imperative in promoting a city's cultural image. However, Fleming (2004 p98) argues that there is a paradox that lies within this 'sense of space'. Pointing to Harvey's (1993) discussion regarding breakdown of spatial barriers as a result of globalization, this in turn puts further focus on local identities. However, as Massey (1994 p5) also argues, places also need to have a trans-local sense of space in order to compete in terms of the global economy.

2.4 Bourdieu and the City

This section will consider the design process behind urban space and who really has the ability to influence the way in which cities and spaces within cities are designed. It also takes into account the role that culture has to play in this design process. Culture or perceived culture is frequently at the centre of many design plans for city space, as it is often 'specific' cultures that are targeted. Zukin (1995) argues that the notion of culture is not as simple as the reductionist approach often adopted designers and planners suggests. Linking back to the previous section, it is often the owners of the space who determine what 'culture' they want represented there and who can use the space (Zukin, 1995). She uses several examples of parks in America which were previously used by homeless people as a place of shelter, who were subsequently 'evicted' under new privatised governance. This demonstrates Zukin's argument that space has become a commodity because it exists for the purpose of

'consumer culture' and those who are unable to use the space in this way, or who may divert others from using the space in this manner, are removed from it. However, culture is not static and can have subjective interpretations, depending on whose point of view is being considered. Those who own or have power and/or influence over the space therefore impose their own interpretation of what 'culture' is and the type of culture that they want to promote through the space, as a result of which determines how the space is policed and governed. However, this may not resonate with those who have used the space previously and therefore have a history with it.

Class is an important concept for this thesis and it will be considered alongside gender. Social class can be difficult to substantiate (Adkins 2008; Skeggs 2013; Savage et al 2001a; Savage et al 2001b; Savage et al 2013; Devine and Savage 2005). Class has often been determined by an individual's occupation (and thus their economic capacity), which tended to be determined by their occupation, however with leisure practices encompassing different social and cultural aspects now being used to define individuals' identities, it is important to think beyond the economic definition of class (Savage et al, 2013).

Bourdieu (1986) moved away from the idea that 'capital' was purely based on economic means and instead argued that economic capital needed to be considered alongside social capital and cultural capital. With regard to economic capital, Bourdieu uses this term to refer not only to money, but also forms of property rights (Bourdieu, 1986 p46). However, Bourdieu also identifies cultural capital which refers to the meaning, importance and status to cultural artefacts, places, behaviours, experiences and knowledge (Bourdieu, 1986 p47). He also identified social capital, which referred to the social networks participated in which hold social value and provide social status (Bourdieu, 1986 p51). Finally, Bourdieu discusses

how the combination of economic, cultural and social capital creates symbolic capital: the process through which all forms of capital are symbolised or depicted to an audience (Bourdieu, 1986 p49). Bourdieu discussed how cultural capital occurs in three different forms; the embodied state (which he referred to as 'long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body'), the objectified state (such as books, pictures, buildings, etc. which are 'cultural goods') and institutionalized form (such as qualifications) (Bourdieu, 1986 p47). This thesis is interested in how the embodied state (the participants' experiences) relates to the objectified state (urban spaces), as well as how the representations of space (as discussed by Lefebvre 1974) impact on these objectified states and the participants subsequent spatial practices and lived experiences. Embodied capital's exchanges are more concealed than economic capital and therefore it is likely to function as symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986 p49). Notions of capital can also be reflected through the use of spaces, with spaces and activities within spaces often having a certain cultural capital that may exclude those who do not have the cultural knowledge to access and engage with these spaces (Bagnall, 2003). This thesis aims to look beyond the monetary values placed on space and instead focuses on the lived experiences, of which social capital and cultural capital together with the subsequent symbolic capital play a significant part.

Furthermore, Devine and Savage (2005) have discussed how, as well as moving away from the notion of class being defined by employment, there also needs to be a reconsideration of how social class impacts on individual and peer group identities:

> "Identities are not labels of your position, but 'claims for recognition' which are both contested and fraught. It is therefore highly indicative that that there has been a reorientation from studies of 'class consciousness' to 'identity'" (Devine and Savage, 2005 p12).

Globalisation has affected the way local populations maintain their collective identity, with cultural and social capital often being affected by representations in the globalised mass media (Longhurst et al 2007; Savage et al 2005a; Savage et al 2005b). Previous research into how the media and perceptions of culture have affected localised identities has demonstrated how individuals' and peer groups will often contextualise their everyday experiences, such as relationships, work/employment, family/home life and leisure practices, to social and cultural capital (Longhurst et al 2007; Savage et al 2005a; Savage et al 2005b). Longhurst et al describes this as influencing a 'spectacle/performance paradigm' (Longhurst et al, 2007 p125) in that individuals feel that have to 'perform' in their everyday lives in order to meet the demands of their perceived social and cultural capital (Longhurst et al 2007; Savage et al 2005a; Savage et al 2005b). This is also a classed process, with those from a working class often experiencing increasing pressure to perform and display middle class cultural capital in order to avoid the negative associations and stereotypes reflected in a working class identity.

Adkins (2008) discusses the notion of social capital and how it is difficult to capture because it "is very often defined with reference to what it does rather than to what is specifically compromises" (Adkins, 2008 p1209). She argues that in order to overcome the substantive problems associated with the concept of social capital, it should be considered in terms of the relationship between the economy and society (Adkins, 2008 p1223). Furthermore, Savage et al (2013) have discussed how cultural capital is also complex, and there is much debate around how it should be defined (Savage et al, 2013 p226). This thesis will use these subjective concepts and will cite the case study of the lived experiences of women's experiences of urban space to frame and contextualise these concepts. Notions of cultural

and social capital will be discussed in relation to previous feminist research in the following chapter.

Class identity can cause a contradiction for individuals who often appear to want to distinguish their own personal lives from the public sphere; class will often have little relevance within personal life but plays an important role in the public spheres of the media, politics, etc. (Savage et al 2000). The construct of social class in the public sphere helps people to develop meaningful comparisons to others (Savage et al 2000). This is important for consideration within this thesis because of the public nature of urban spaces. It is of interest to this thesis to explore how the spaces used within the research for this thesis contribute or contradict the meanings that the participants' attach to their social class, as well as to explore how these meanings may be gendered.

The term 'culture' is often used within promoting city spaces and is seen as an important part of how people experience space and why they may choose to visit certain cities and spaces within these cities. Adorno (2006) discussed how culture became an industry within itself, shifting from culture being associated with the more individual and artisan to becoming more of a mass culture.

> "Ultimately, the culture industry no longer even needs to directly pursue everywhere the profit interests from which it originated. These interests have become objectified in its ideology and have even made themselves independent of the compulsion to sell the cultural commodities which must be swallowed anyway. The culture industry turns into public relations, the manufacturing of 'goodwill' per se, without regard for particular firms or saleable objects." (Adorno 2006, p100.)

Adorno's theory of mass culture refers to the overall definition of consumer culture rather than specifically the culture of cities. However, it has relevance to this thesis in terms of his

suggestions regarding the impact that mass culture and indeed the culture industry has beyond that which constitutes a physical commodity. Discussing museums, Longhurst et al (2004) argue that spaces within cities such as museums (which are often familiar to the local population even if they do not visit such spaces regularly) are often related to a sense of belonging to space and reflect life events such as parenthood to such places because of the experiences that they have had there. Longhurst et al (2004) "The city is not mapped in a political-economic space, but as a consumption space" (Longhust et al, 2004 p212). This idea can be drawn together with Zukin's notion of perceived culture and how it is so vital for cities to be able to promote a culture that encourages consumption which increases its ability to compete with other cities, especially in relation to the global economy and competition to become and maintain a position as a globally significant city. In terms of this thesis, this is an important point to consider in relation to whether or not the authentic culture of the city has been jeopardised in favour of what could be considered more in line with mass culture and consumption.

Photography has been one way through which cities' culture has been explored and represented; I would argue that photographs can be used to represent the symbolic capital of a city and/or urban space within a city because they can be carefully crafted to reflect particular images and identities. Jones (2013) argues that "regeneration is a field of politics with a highly visual character" and that photographs are one way through which political agencies can promote and engage with the symbolic images that they wish to be associated with a city (Jones, 2013 p2-3). Jones discusses how photographers commissioned to produce photographs representing the recent regeneration of Liverpool would often be required to photograph what was considered to be iconic parts of the city and that now, due to the

advancements in technology, post-production of the images, such as editing and enhancing, also played an important part of the image formation. Furthermore, the posters which the images were used for all came with captions, thus offered a suggestion of how the image of the space should be interpreted (Jones, 2013 p6). Photography is therefore a strategic way through which the likes of local councils, tourist boards and developers can impose their own 'representations of space'. Photography has been adopted in the methods for this research and will be discussed further in Chapter 5. Using photographs taken by those local to Liverpool in terms of what they feel is significant about certain parts of the city will provide an alternative view to images such as those that Jones (2013) discusses.

Relating back to Lefebvre's 'spatial aspect' of urban space, Paul Knox (2011) considers the relationship between the reality of urban environments and the design process that goes on behind them. According to Lefebvre, 'spatial practise' is the middle ground between what the planners and architects, etc, intend the space to be used for and the reality (Lefebvre, 1974), because of the nuances that exist within urban space. Lefebvre suggests that the experience of space is not a simple process. The intended use of the space can sometimes conflict with an individual's own experience. Even symbols which may be recognisable worldwide can still be subject to an individual's own interpretation based on their own associations and experiences (Gottdiener, 2005 p304). This can be applied to the space itself as people who use it can create their own sense of space through the experiences that they have had which relate to that particular space (Knox, 2011 p174). However, Knox also argues that this process has also allowed us to create an artificial authenticity for places:

> "Streets and neighbour hoods become inauthentic and placeless, a process that
> is ironically, reinforced as people seek authenticity through professionally
> designed and commercially constructed spaces and places whose invented

traditions, sanitized symbolism, and commercialized heritage all make for convergence rather than spatial identity" (Knox, 2011 p174).

This can be related to the work of Lynch (1960) who conducted research into the different ways in which people perceive urban landscapes and made the case that we tend to view urban space in fragments rather than as a whole. For Lynch, the city is something that can be manipulated, and how this is done depends on the underlying images that are chose to represent the city are being conveyed by those who have the power to modify them.

2.5 Meaning, Experience and Urban Space

This section of the literature review considers the meanings and experiences that can become associated with urban space both in relation to a city or large section of space as well as smaller features within the space, with particular reference to the work of Walter Benjamin. Benjamin (2002; 2004) was concerned with the meanings that individuals attach to parts of cities, in particular, the minor details. He argues that whilst it is often the famous, grand monuments that become associated with a city, on an individual level it tends to be the small and seemingly insignificant aspects of a city that we find important. Benjamin (1999) believed that photography was one way in which this could be explored, as photographs allow us to reflect and focus on what we feel has significance about a particular area. This concept will be explored further in the discussion of the methods used in this research but what is important to take away from this notion of Benjamin's (2004; as well as Lefebvre 1974; Lefebvre 1976; Tonkiss 2005) is that city space should not be viewed as a whole entity. Rather, the fragmentations of urban space in a city are what make a city fascinating; it is these fragmentations that can make space created for the use of thousands of people more individualised.

Within sociological research it is important to consider the historical context alongside personal histories, as both help to give context to the other (Mills, 2000 p3). In 'A Berlin Chronicle', Benjamin gives an account of his childhood in relation to the history of the city at the time. However, Tonkiss (2005, p121) argues that this account is not strictly biographical as it is a reflection of memories rather than a complete memoir. This in turn reflects how Benjamin's theory of how we attach meanings to space is mirrored through his own writings as 'A Berlin Chronicle' discusses what Benjamin remembers about his childhood in the city in terms of what happened whilst he was in the space, rather than recounting an accurate description of the time and space itself. He argues that experiences in the city go beyond first appearances and day to day routines "Not to find one's way around a city does not mean much. But to lose one's way in a city, as one loses one's way in a forest, requires some schooling" (Benjamin, 2004 p352). This therefore suggests that in order to fully experience the city we must be able to re-position ourselves and be open to the experiences that the city has to offer.

Benjamin argued (2002 & 2004) that meanings created in cities are intrinsically linked with both individual and cultural memory. Individuals need to gain an understanding of their position in society and in order to do this they need to be aware of the wider historical context as well as gaining an awareness of others in a similar position (Mills, 2000 p5). Tonkiss (2005) argues; "In Benjamin's writing, places and objects have effects which cannot be fully explained by their official uses or representations, nor wholly reduced to the responses of the subject" (Tonkiss, 2005 p120). Therefore, the space itself contains traces of memories that have significance to individuals' who may have previous experiences of the space. This raises questions regarding what happens to these memories when space

changes. Benjamin believed that the city is an enchanted space so therefore do modern cities lose their 'enchantedness' through changes and regeneration? Benjamin's work can be linked to the metaphor of 'dreaming' (Pile, 2005 p50) with changes to the city being the point where the individual experiencing the space would 'wake up' and as Simmel suggested, through our ways of coping with life in the city, we adopt an indifferent attitude to the 'shocks of city life' (Pile, 2005 p55). Pile 2005 uses the term 'phantasmagoria' in association with Benjamin's work in terms of his suggestion regarding the multi-faceted appearance of the city and the way in which this gives it a 'dream–like and/or ghost like quality' (Pile 2005, p19). Referring to the work of Sigmund Freud and how his work influenced Benjamin's writings, Pile argues that when considering the experiences that take place in the city we need "to explore the work that goes into making the phantasmagorias of modern city life" (Pile, 2005, p21). Through exploring what is behind the nuances of the city, we can gain a further understanding of how and why people may have different experiences of city life. Furthermore, the dream like nature of the city, as suggested by Benjamin and Pile, helps to give more precedence to the unseen qualities of the city and adds further to the image of the city as being a living entity, thus augmenting the image of the city (Pile 2005, p24).

However, in relation to the previous sections of this chapter, if the main role of cities is economic gain (which is often reflected in the image they generate) then how does this relate to the experiences of space described by Benjamin? Experience of space can be manipulated so that it can be used for economic gain. Design and development are important in creating and marketing these experiences (Knox 2011). One example that Knox uses to highlight how this works is shopping centres organising events. These allow people to interact more with the space and create an additional experience for those at the event.

This in turn means that the way the space looks also has to be taken into consideration, and in many cases changed in order to fit 'the experience'.

Often the solution to improving city space, which may not be as successful as those in governance would wish, is to undertake regeneration projects in specifically targeted areas of the city. Research surrounding regeneration of urban space tends to focus on both the planning and architecture behind regeneration, or the marketing and rebranding that take place (Julier, 2005). Julier attempts to bridge this gap by choosing to focus on the design process that goes on behind 'culture led regeneration' and argues that it is inherently elitist, yet the desired outcome behind the design of these areas might not always resonate with the wider population that use the space (Julier, 2005). This can be linked back to Lefebvre's concept of 'representations of space' which is what he believes to be the most dominant type of space in capitalist societies. It is the element of space which conceptualises the ideas that the planners and architects want to promote (Lefebvre, 1974). With regards to capitalist societies, this element of space can cause conflict and tension when people use the space differently to how it was originally intended.

Julier refers to 'urban designscapes' which for him refers to the different uses that urban space can have and the different meanings behind these uses. These different elements of the urban designscapes become symbolic and ultimately create the image of 'culture' that the design planners want for the space. They come together to create an image of a sought-after lifestyle, one which people can strive to attain and which is ultimately based around the consumption of these different elements. Julier uses three very different examples of cities (Barcelona, Manchester and Hull) which have undergone culture led regeneration to highlight this. The regeneration that took place in each of these cities was very different, yet

he found the same underlying factors had occurred in terms of the importance of using the new designscapes to promote the cultural image that was needed in each case. Julier concludes that designscapes are complex as they have to contend with keeping original aspects of the space whilst at the same time incorporate the new cultural image that the new design policies want to convey. Instead of completely changing the area it is often the case that certain aspects of it become manipulated into helping form the 'new' image. It is the extent to which these notions are successful that determines the level of power that the elite have over regeneration. If they fail to exploit the existing image in the right way, the intent behind the new designscapes may pass the wider population by and have very little impact on the cultural image of the area. Again, like Hall and Hubbard, this questions the role that those in governance have in regeneration policy.

2.6 The 'Right to the City'

Throughout this chapter it has been noted that a lot of the work concerning the urban experience suggests that different groups within cities can have very different experiences demonstrating the nuanced nature of representations and experiences of urban space. The right to the city is important to consider as the ideology behind it encourages urban policies to promote "justice, sustainability, and inclusion" (Purcell, 2013 p141). This final section will discuss the concept of who has 'the right to the city' by exploring the debate between public vs. private space as well as other issues surrounding the governance of city space and the way through which some groups within the city can become marginalised.

In order to understand cities, the different uses and the needs of different groups using the city need to be taken into consideration (Jacobs, 1961 p144). Lefebvre's ideas around 'the right to the city' argue that it is essential in terms of the wider political struggle (Purcell,

2013 p142) as they go beyond the 'right to consume' (Tonkiss, 2012). As Brenner (Brenner, 2013, p89 and Brenner et al, 2009 p176) points out, the issue raised by Lefebvre concerning people's 'right to the city' is one which still has significant relevance today, with examples lying in the recent Occupy protests that have taken place in major cities across the world over the past few years. For Lefebvre, the right to the city lies more with those who inhabit the space rather than those who can claim a formal citizenship (Allon 2013). This issue is reflected through the work of Allon (2013) who further argues that cultural identity can often be lost when areas are regenerated with a particular group or image in mind (Allon 2013, p258). Citing the examples of Sydney and Berlin, both of which are referred to as "a global city" and "an open city" respectively, Allon argues that these cities still have people residing there that suffer from both social and symbolic divides (Allon 2013, p257). There is a need for the privatization of city space to be addressed as there is a need for "urgent political priority of constructing cities that correspond to human social needs rather than the capitalist imperative of profit making" (Brenner et al, 2009 p176). What this literature review demonstrates is that there is a need to further understand the effects that privatization of urban space can have. Moving away from the reductionist approach, Lefebvre's theory goes beyond linking the rights to the city purely to capitalist production; alternatively he argues that many more nuances occur (Purcell, 2013 p145). This is because for Lefebvre, 'rights' are unremittingly the result of political struggle and consequently will always be subject to further difficulty because of changes to political struggles. I would argue that by considering more specific accounts of people's experiences with privatized space a further in depth understanding of these affects would be gained as they would show explicitly what the issues are that individuals face. This will be considered in the following chapter which gives the more specific account of women's experiences in urban space.

The affects that privatization of urban space within cities has are numerous; different groups in society have very different experiences and therefore have different material interests in urban space (Marcuse, 2009 p190). Consequently, this means that 'the right to the city' does not refer to a singular 'right', rather it includes rights to the space itself, access rights to the services the space offers and rights to information regarding the governance of the space (Marcuse, 2009 p192). Tensions occur in urban space because not all of the interests of those who have a 'right to the city' are represented or considered by those in a position of power in terms of the implementation of urban policy. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Harvey (2008) argues that cities are intrinsically linked to production demand:

> "From their inception, cities have arisen through geographical and social concentrations of a surplus product. Urbanization has always been, therefore, a class phenomenon, since surpluses are extracted from somewhere and somebody, while control over their disbursement typically lies in a few hands" (Harvey, 2008 p24).

Harvey highlights this case in point with the example of Paris in the 1800's when Georges-Eugene Haussmann (who was placed in charge of the urbanization of Paris) completely re-designed and re-structured the layout of Paris in order to meet the perceived needs for the economy, thus demonstrating how the politics of the economically dominant class is often the drive behind the organisation of urban space and therefore claiming their own 'right to the city', whilst disregarding the rights of other groups also occupying the space.

Fear is one way through which people can be made to feel that they have less right to access city spaces. This will be discussed in more depth in the next chapter with regards to women, fear and urban space, since women's experiences of cities are the focus of this

research, but as part of an overall account of the urban experience it must be noted that the experiences of many other groups in the city are also affected by fear. Zukin (1995) argues:

> "One of the most tangible threats to public culture comes from the politics of everyday fear. Physical assaults, random violence, hate crimes that target specific groups: the dangers of being in public spaces utterly destroy the principle of open access... Cities are not safe enough for people to participate in public culture" (Zukin, 1995, p38).

As the following chapter will discuss, women can feel unable to occupy certain parts of the city and at certain times due to fear of attack. However, often these fears are not because of their own experiences in these spaces but because of the way in which the media reports on attacks and how they often focus on women as being victims. This is reflected in the politics of everyday fear as cited by Zukin in the above quotation. However, it is not necessarily the case that cities are not safe enough for people to participate in, rather (as will be discussed) it is that they are perceived as not being safe.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed existing academic literature regarding 'urban experience'. It has explored the ways in which city space is socially constructed, the social and economic tensions that exist within urban space, the importance of the images and meanings attached to urban space, and considerations regarding who has and who controls 'the right to the city'. Through exploring this literature, some significant questions are raised about how our understanding of the urban experience can be furthered and it especially raises questions regarding how more specific groups experience urban space.

There are substantial arguments from the likes of Lefebvre and Harvey that link the social construction of the city to the mode of production. If this is true, then as they argue, the

best interests of certain groups will not necessarily be taken into consideration when it comes to policy in urban space (as argued by Hall and Hubbard 1996). This was explored in section two with regards to the social and economic tensions that can exist in urban space. These tensions exist because of the shift in power within cities, in particular with large parts of cities becoming privatized, meaning that large corporations have control over these parts of the city rather than local councils. As section six has discussed, this calls into question who has the right to city space, as those who now own the space may have certain policies about activities they wish to encourage and prohibit.

The issue of who has control over urban space also has relevance regarding the images and meanings that can become attached to it. This is because once space has become privatized, and if those now in control do have different intentions as to how the space should be perceived and used which are different to how it was used previously, then how does this affect the images and meanings that are attached to the space? Benjamin demonstrated how important both our personal and cultural memories are when it comes to cities and how we view them, and that it is often the smaller details that resonate with individuals and which affect their overall experience of the space.

As much of the work cited in this chapter has implied different groups in society can have very different experiences in urban space, with factors such as race, age, gender, sexuality and social class all having an impact on an individual's experiences and perceptions of urban space. The next chapter will explore in more detail the experiences that women can have in urban space, the meanings and representations that they themselves attach to urban space, and the representations that can become attached to their gender through stereotyping (both gendered and regional) and promoting urban space.

The issues discussed in this chapter are also important to bear in mind when considering the chosen case study and methods used in this research. The fourth chapter will discuss the case study of Liverpool and Liverpool One in more detail, and will critically apply the theories discussed in this chapter to the development and organisation of Liverpool One. In particular, it will focus on some of the implications already introduced in this chapter relating to the tensions surrounding the privatization of public space and how this can affect how people view and use the space, but with more emphasis on the local implications. Following this, the fifth chapter will discuss the methodology that has been used in this research and will rationalize why these methods have been chosen. As discussed throughout this chapter, space is not a fixed concept; boundaries to spaces can change over time as can the use and physicality of the space. This consequently has an effect on how space should be researched, and the ways in which these theoretical concepts have an influence on the adapted research methods used in this research will be explored

Chapter 3. Literature Review – Women and the City

"The anxieties of working-class women are always made through reference to something to which they do not have access, be it money, knowledge or space. They know that nearly everything they do will be recognised as classed." (Skeggs, 1997 p90).

3. Introduction

As the previous chapter has discussed, much of the academic literature regarding our relationships with the city and engagement with urban space focuses on the various tensions that exist between those who use spaces within cities and those who are behind the creation of them. Our knowledge of people's experiences in the city can be furthered by considering more personal accounts of these experiences and putting them into context of the wider academic literature, thus this chapter will explore literature relating to women's experiences of the city. With this in mind, Donna Haraway ([1988] 2003) makes the claim that:

> "Gender is a field of structured and structuring difference, in which the tones of extreme localization, of the intimately personal and individualized body, vibrate in the same field with global high-tension emissions. Feminist embodiment, then, is not about fixed location in a reified body, female or otherwise, but about nodes in fields, inflections in orientations, and responsibility for difference in material-semiotic fields of meaning." (Haraway, [1988] 2003 p413).

Therefore, from this perspective, it is important not to think statically about gender, but instead consider it in terms of the way in which it is nuanced relating to the changing nature of society and the ways experiences of women differ from those of men, and how they can be related to both the wider issues in society and the more personal (see also Fincher, 2007 p6). Through this implication that gender is not a fixed concept but rather is intersected

with many other social divisions such as race, religion, sexuality and class, these influences can go further in affecting the ways in which gendered identities are adopted by individuals. This issue will be discussed in the first section in relation to how bodies become gendered from a young age and how this impacts on how we experience the world.

Likewise, as discussed in the previous chapter, the same has been said of the city in terms of how different nuances can exist within it; cities are constantly in a state of change with many different forces trying to modify and manipulate them (Lynch, 1960 p2). McDowell (1999), like Lefebvre (1974 & 1976) and De Certeau (1988), argues that urban space is surrounded by myths and representations which give more meaning to its everyday uses and the ways in which people perceive and identify with space. Therefore, social practise is key to our understanding of lived experiences in urban space (Lefebvre 1974; Lefebvre 1976; De Certeau 1988; McDowell 1999). Henceforth, this chapter focuses on the more specific experiences that women have in city space and these implications can be used to explore the research questions and objectives set out in the introduction of this thesis.

Tonkiss puts forward the argument that social structures and relationships should be considered in terms of the relationship between women and urban space, arguing that "spaces are gendered through both social practices and symbolic associations" (Tonkiss, 2005 p97) and that it is often the case that the position of women in society is position in terms of the experiences of men (Tonkiss, 2005 p105). However, the city is not just space within which inequalities exist for women (Wilson, 1991). The city can also be a space where, as Soja argues, "consequential geographies of justice" can occur in that the consequences of space contribute to shaping the social consequences and vice versa (Soja, 2010 p2). In response to Soja's notion of these consequential geographies of justice, Tonkiss (2011) also

argues that economic inequality and social distinction often impact on the geographies of cities, but the geographies of urban spaces can also contribute to these inequalities (Tonkiss, 2011 p85). Therefore, the city can act as a place where existing inequalities can be played out (i.e. become part of the lived experiences of those using and interacting in the space), and can also help to reinforce these inequalities.

In terms of this reproduction of inequalities through space and spatial practise, Baydar (2012) discusses how this reproduction also reflects boundaries with urban space and relates them to the concepts of identity and material practices. Baydar argues "tenuous boundaries between conventional, subversive and contested identity categories via material practices which are both produced by and produce spaces that hitherto remain largely unexplored" (Baydar, 2012 p704). This thesis will argue that identity (in terms identity that is created through cultural and symbolic capital as suggested by Bourdieu (1986) within space is important as it contributes to the creation and maintenance of social boundaries within urban space.

This thesis aims to explore these spatial boundaries in terms of the representations of city space by those who create and regulate the space and how this impacts on the lived experiences and social practices of the women who use the space in an everyday sense. This chapter explores academic literature that has considered women's experiences in the city in respect of how women experience the city. This includes the changes that take place through changes to the spaces within cities such as regeneration, and it also considers how women's place and role within the cities has changed and has arguably become more convoluted.

3.1 The Body and Urban Space

The concept of the body is important to consider in terms of urban space as different types of bodies can have very different lived experiences and be subject to different representations that can impact on the ways through which they engage with space (Tonkiss, 2005; Young, 1991; Butler, 1991). Tonkiss (2005) questions the types of spatial difference that relate to bodies. She argues that setting gender "in the city is partly a question of putting bodies in space. But it is also to ask how embodied subjects are located within more general social structures and relationships" (Tonkiss, 2005 p94). This is a key point to note in terms of this thesis as it supports the main argument that it is important to understand why different types of body may have different social experiences overall before the difference is considered with regard to spatial practices.

Bourdieu (1992) in his rejection of grand theory argues that social life cannot be understood in terms of individuals' experiences. Rather we need to also consider the habitual or typical conditions in society, or the 'habitus' as he refers to it, in order to give context to behaviours. The habitus therefore is a bridge between the individual and their wider social life (Bourdieu, 1992 p52). This is an important consideration to be made in terms of the methodology adopted for this research (as will be discussed in Chapter 4) as the historical and social contexts should be explored when considering the experiences that people have which is the result of their 'body' (Grosz, 1994 p19). In relation to Bourdieu's theory, different classifications of the habitus become embodied through human beings in three ways; firstly because the habitus exists within our own minds, secondly because the habitus can only exist through our interactions with our environment, and finally because habitus is rooted in our sensory experience which is something that can only be experienced through a body

(Jenkins, 1992 pp74-75). The habitus is therefore embodied in social practices and therefore these practices become a key factor in social identity (Savage et al, 2005 p98). Devine and Savage (2005) argue that identity is a 'claim for recognition rather than a label', and in terms of Bourdieu's (1986) theory of capital a person can use the different variations of capital (social, cultural, symbolic and economic) for self-advancement (Devine and Savage, 2005 p12-13). Bourdieu refers to the way in which we embody the habitus through our behaviours as the 'bodily hexis' (2010, p93) which determines the way we compose and present ourselves. This would consequently determine which gendered behaviours an individual may take on in composing their own identity. As will be discussed later in this chapter, it is also the way through which an individual would be able to validate the social capital they have been exposed to and possess knowledge of. Ultimately, these embodiments contribute to determining which spaces within a city the individual may relate to and which they may feel alienated from due to the social and symbolic capital that they possess.

Historically, women and their subsequent experiences have generally been defined in terms of their biological make up (Valentine, 2001 p18). Woodward and Woodward (2009 p137) argue that bodies serve both a biological and social function and as such there needs to be more emphasis on what factors implicate the social function, as it is a more complex notion in relation to the different elements that can influence it compared to its biological function. In her discussion of Simone de Beauvoir's infamous quotation from 'The Second Sex' that gender is developed after birth rather than prescribed. Butler echoes this argument by stating that:

> "It does not follow to be given sex is to be given gender…If sex does not limit gender, then perhaps there are genders, ways of culturally interpreting the

sexed body, that are in no way restricted by the apparent duality of sex" (Butler, 1991 p112).

Therefore in the case of gendered identities it is not as simple as ascribing people as male or female; people's identities can be made up of both masculine and feminine qualities. This notion of moving away from the reductionist approach to gender has also been discussed by Woodward and Woodward (2009) who argue:

> "Gender difference and the classification of humans into one of the two universally used categories have traditionally been made on grounds of visible, physical difference. However, social constructivist arguments that emphasise the discursive formation of the body through processes of inscription marginalise the materiality of the body". (Woodward and Woodward, 2009 p136)

This raises questions about the relationship between the body and the city, as the city is space through which bodily experiences form part of the living practices associated with gender. However the city is also a place where gender regulations are reinforced socially and symbolically (as will be discussed later in this chapter with reference to the ways in which women feel able to engage with certain types of urban space within cities, but not others).

Young (1990) considers why women have very different 'everyday' experiences to men. In her essay 'Throwing Like a Girl' Young explores the concept of the 'lived body' and argues that from a very early age, girls are subjected to patriarchal oppression in terms of what they encouraged to wear and specific ideas about how they should act (Young, 1990). She uses the example of Eric Straus' work, which considered why girls will often throw differently to boys, suggesting that it is more of a biological rather than a social phenomenon. Young disagrees with Straus, arguing that there are a range of social implications that affect the ways in which girls use their bodies. For example, the clothes

that young girls are often encouraged to wear (skirts and dresses in particular) tend be more restrictive than those of young boys. This could affect the spaces within which girls and women feel comfortable and the ways in which they may engage with urban space.

Girls are also often told that to engage in certain activities is inappropriate (Mills, 2011; Young, 1990). These restrictions are also applicable to women, who Young observes will often be more closed about their bodies compared to men and "will tend not to put their whole bodies into engagement in a physical task" (Young, 1990 p145) which can be related back to Bourdieu's notion of the bodily hexis, as it is the embodiment of what is considered habitual behaviour. These embodiments have spatial implications in terms of the relationship that women have with space in relation to the way in which women view space as enclosed or confining, i.e. it is the nature of the space itself rather than the woman that determines the relationship (Callard, 2011 p485). This 'gendered knowledge' also contributes to the development of further issues in a person's life course such as what career they may choose to pursue, which has further implications for how gendered stereotypes can continue to be reproduced (Sibley, 2010 p43). Mills (2011) discusses how institutions can also be gendered in the ways suggested by Young, using the example of the Scouts. Mills argues that gendered institutions also have spatial implications because the meanings and practices that they uphold become a part of the everyday encounters that we have, in particular because boys are encouraged to engage more with outdoor spaces whereas girls are encouraged to confine their behaviours to the private sphere of the home (Mills, 2011 p539). Education is a further institution within society that contributes to gender distinctions in learned practices. Kessels et al (2014) discuss gender achievement in education and argue that "knowledge about who one is and who one will be in the future is

continually generated in everyday interactions, as well as via the individual's reflections on feedback provided by the social environment" (Kessels et al, 2014 p222). This is reflected through school subjects and how they reinforce gendered behaviours (see also Evans, 2006) and thus the social meanings associated with these subjects become reflected and encouraged through childhood and into later life. As Gottdiener and Budd (2005) argue, "spatial distinctions play a significant role in the continued socialization of young people into space gender roles that reproduce society's gender bias" (Gottdiener and Budd, 2005 p28). This is a further argument for why gender inequalities should be considered in terms of space and the lived experiences that women have in space.

The differences between sex and gender and the arguments that they should be differentiated from each other have become more accepted in contemporary academic research, however this in turn creates further confusion when researching gender identity, as there is no fixed concept, so it becomes very difficult to define (Ross, 2010 p41). This also applies to sex which has previously been considered to be a more fixed notion than gender, however as Ross (2010) argues:

> "In such cultural artefacts, gender is figured as constructed notion, but elsewhere the fixity of sex is also becoming destabilized with the emergence of alternative sexual identities which challenge the traditional binaries of female and male" (Ross, 2010 p42).

Men and women often feel expected to conform to ideal types in terms of their masculine and feminine identity but these can often be subject to contradictions within these identities (Ross, 2010 p42). For example, feminine ideal types are often suggested through physical appearance, yet the media will frequently be very critical of those who are seen as obese or underweight (Ross, 2010 p50). This can lead to unrealistic demands placed on

women with regard to their appearance and identity that are specifically related to wider societal notions of how women should be performing their gender. Some brands and retailers have used advertising and displays in shops as one way to deter from negative body images of women by promoting what they conceive to be 'normal' body images (Ross, 2010 p61). In terms of the lived experiences of women in the city, the visual displays, together with expectations of behaviours and engagement with particular spaces that they may see when using city spaces, are important to take into consideration (Ross-Houle et al, 2016).

3.2 Gendered Identities and Urban Space

Gender is composed through interactions (West, 1987 p129) and the city is one of the places where these gender defining interactions can occur. In terms of women's interaction with city space, this embodiment of gendered values causes women to feel that they do not belong in public spaces such as cities and that when they do occupy them, they must compose themselves in a particular way (Darke, 1996 p89). Through the consideration of 'lived bodies' and their 'lived experiences', an understanding of the ways in which bodies react in certain situations and the relationship between bodies and situations can be further acknowledged (Woodward and Woodward, 2009 p150). Furthermore, the city is a reflection of the way that we live and is 'the site for the body's cultural saturation' (Grosz, 1998 p47). The spatial practices that we experience in the city reflect those that we learn elsewhere such as through our family (whether through persuasion to partake in certain activities or through having gendered stereotypes imposed on us from a young age from the way we are dressed, as suggested by Young 1991 and Butler 1991) or through the media. This is an alternative way in which we can explore Lefebvre's (1974) concept of the tensions that exist

in urban space between the expectations of appropriate spatial practices and the everyday uses of space, as these expectations can often be different for people of different genders.

In terms of Lefebvre's work, the body can also be used as a metaphor to highlight the different elements of urban space. 'Representations of the body' are like the 'representations of space' in that they are the product of external agencies which can contradict lived experiences. The body itself has certain normative social practices associated with it which suggest how it should be used (just like city space), yet there are also 'symbolic and mythic' connotations connected to it which are often more personal and emotionally based on more individual experiences (Shields, 1999 pp165-166; McDowell, 1999 p168). Taking the work of Lefebvre (1974) discussed in the previous chapter in terms of the conflicts between elite visions of space and lived experiences, what is interesting in relation to gender is the extent to which these lived experiences can be gendered. As discussions in both this chapter and the previous chapter highlight, many factors affect the ways in which one may relate to and experience urban space.

One factor which comes up frequently alongside the consideration of gender is social class because these often intersect and create further inequalities (Massey 1994; Skeggs 1999). There are different ways in which gender and class influence the ways in which people experience space. Whilst people of a lower social class may not possess the cultural knowledge (as discussed by Bourdieu) to give them access to certain spaces, arguably it is easier for working class men to challenge these boundaries than it is for women. The tensions that Lefebvre discusses between elite visions of space and lived experiences therefore take on further precedence when gender is considered (and even more so when class is considered alongside gender).

The issue of gender has now become a more complex concept to consider as there has been a restructuring of gender formations in terms of what is now considered to be more respectable norms and values associated with gender differences (Adkins, 2004 p197). Different stereotypes become associated with women of different classes which determine the expectations of their behaviour in both the public and private spheres. Stereotyping is a practice which is imperative to the creation of representations and stereotypes are ways through which we make sense of the world and categorise (Hall, 2013 p247). Morality is one way in which class stereotypes differ. Women of a working class are expected to engage in behaviour which is considered to be less moral than the behaviour of middle class women and it is the morals and values of the middle class that are used as a means of determining what is considered the correct way of behaving (Skeggs, 2005). Budgeon (2014) discusses how what was previously considered to be the traditional gender hierarchy has become "multi-dimensional and complex" (Budgeon, 2014 p318). Citing feminist social constructionist theories, Budgeon argues that it is:

> "the production of gendered selves, the cultural expectations regarding the performance of 'proper' gender identities which shape everyday interactions and the structure of institutional domains that form the backdrop for changes to gender identities and norms" (Budgeon, 2014 p319).

This is important to consider in terms of the concept of why it is that some women find more opportunities in the city than others.

The media will often present its own concept of gendered ideal types (Atkinson et al, 2012; McRobbie, 2004a; McRobbie, 2004b; Griffin, 2004; Grosz, 1994; Goffman 1976). These ideal types reinforce which behaviours are gender appropriate, for example Atkinson et al consider the way in which the media presents gendered stereotypes with regards to alcohol

consumption. They found that the media suggested that it was more acceptable for men to be seen intoxicated in public than women (Atkinson et al, 2012 p7-10). This was further emphasised through the interviews that they did with young people who tended to have more unfavourable views of female celebrities who were often associated with alcohol consumption in the media compared to male celebrities (Atkinson et al, 2011). Linking this back to the work of Young and Butler discussed earlier, the presentation of these ideal types can be problematic if young people are exposed and take influence from them. Griffin (2004) also looked at gender representations in magazines aimed at young girls. She found that the articles and the photographs which accompanied them often portrayed what she described as "slim, able-bodied and conventionally attractive white girls and young women" with few references to minority groups and with the content of the articles focusing on potential male partners, how to look attractive and celebrities (Griffin, 2004 p41). These idealistic representations of young girls suggest the practices which others should embody and as Atkinson et al suggest, this can then be taken further in terms of what behaviours are the considered to be gender appropriate, particularly when out in public.

The discussion above can also be linked to classed identities, with socio-economic class also affecting the norms and values that women are judged by. Skeggs and Wood (2011) conducted research into women's perceptions of representations and stereotypes presented on television. They state that this is important to consider in terms of how class issues are presented on television:

> "The importance of television is therefore always established in relation to other objects and practices, forming a taste-based ecology that brings the organization of materiality into effect: television is performative" (Skeggs and Wood, 2011 p941-942).

This can be related back to the discussion of stereotypes as it suggests how television can be used to enforce the representations and stereotypes of particular groups and the lived practices of these groups. They discussed television viewing practices as well as discussing clips of television programmes with women from different social backgrounds. In respect of the women who were identified as being from a working class background, they found that these participants felt that often television programmes promoted feelings of comradery when they presented women of a similar backgrounds, but that they also felt that these programmes were condescending and judgemental (Skeggs and Wood, 2011 p947). This research demonstrated how women from lower socio-economic classes can find the power relations that are demonstrated on television (and especially in programmes that portray specific classed and gendered identities) to be supercilious, holding women to the morals and values of those who have the power over the programming creating and/or reinforcing these representations. As Skeggs (2005 p697) states "to smoke, drink, be fat, and publicly fight and/or participate in loud hen parties is a national sin". Relating back to the earlier discussion of Foucault (1980) and taking his notion that knowledge derives and remains with the powerful, stereotypes are also a form of power and it is often those who obtain power that have the influence to determine stereotypes. Hall describes this as 'symbolic power' and states that this needs to be understood in relation to the broader cultural and symbolic terms (Hall, 2013 p249). This is a crucial point for this thesis, which will aim to understand the context behind the participants' experiences.

In addition to gender, class differences between women are further emphasised through the media. McRobbie (2004a) points to how class differences within gender are alluded to within the media, with programmes using middle class values to help refine the behaviours

and appearance of working class women (McRobbie, 2004a p100). Furthermore, Skeggs (2009) has discussed how reality television has had a role in expressing what are considered to be the nation's morals and values, and those of a lower socio-economic class who participate in such programmes are often subject to ridicule and judgement if they do not adhere to these morals and values. This contributes further to the 'ideal types' that women are expected to adhere to, as the media is a way through which reality can be constructed (Giddens, 1991 p26). According to Dyer (1977) the use of stereotypes promotes exclusion through the creation of symbolic boundaries (Dyer, 1977 p29). Charlesworth (2014) discussed how collective dynamics of motherhood are assumed by those who are trying to present an idyllic representation through using the example of Peaches Geldof. Motherhood in this sense becomes a carefully constructed performance which has its own constraints in terms of what is considered appropriate and how members of the public relate to these representations of motherhood that are presented in the media. As Budgeon argues "Interrogating power dynamics associated with these complications involves examining the positioning of femininities in relation to hegemonic masculinity and the workings of internal processes within the category of femininity which devalue and marginalize specific kinds of femininities while assigning privilege status to others" (Budgeon, 2014 p321). In terms of the spatial application of these representations, this raises questions regarding whether a particular space which is specifically marketed at certain groups through the media and through its design would help to reinforce these boundaries and if access to these spaces would be restricted based on the gendered social and symbolic capital of those who wish to engage with it.

Budgeon's arguments can be further linked back to the work of Foucault (1980) and his ideas surrounding representation and power as well as Skeggs and Loveday's (2012) work which considered affect and the idea of class. As discussed in the previous literature review, Foucault (1980) discussed how those who possess power and knowledge in society have the influence over the dominant representations within that society. For those who do not have power to create representations, and as Budgeon discusses it is often the case that power relations are gendered and classed with women and working class often lacking this power (Budgeon, 2014). Furthermore, with links to Foucault's (1980) theory that knowledge is possessed by those that have power, consequently those who lack power will also lack the power to challenge any negative representations. Skeggs and Loveday argue that "The circulation of caricatures… reveal the nature of value claims made through classification practices of the middle classes, of those who want to claim moral authority and attach value to themselves" (Skeggs and Loveday, 2012 p474). Therefore, often these classed and gendered representations of women of a lower socio-economic class will be defined by the moral values of those who maintain power.

Whilst women may be excluded from parts of the city, whether this is done literally or symbolically, the everyday practices which may take place within space can sometimes undermine these exclusions (Baydar, 2012 p701). This is further emphasised as women are not all subject to the same inequalities that they once were because of the increasing differences between women, in particular in terms of their 'life chances' (Wilson, 2001 p16). Cities are spaces within which 'life chances' can be further enhanced (through employment as discussed by Massey and McDowell (1994), or through living arrangements in terms of gentrification (which will be discussed later in this chapter). McRobbie (2009) argues that

now women are engaged in what she refers to as a 'new sexual contract' in that they face less limitations relating to employment, education and family life (McRobbie, 2009 p54), however much of the success in doing so is based on the notion of appearance and gain in terms of commercial success (McRobbie, 2009, p65). This thesis will explore ways in which space within cities can reflect this notion, together with how this can create tension between those who create spaces, based on this more contemporary stereotype of women and the lived everyday experiences of women who use the space.

One way in which the complexity of women's spatial interactions is discernible is through their engagement with the night time economy (Atkinson et al, 2012; Griffin et al, 2012; De Visser et al, 2012; Waitt et al, 2011). Men can often dominate the night time economy through the way in which they engage with women through behaviour such as "horseplay, sexualized banter, loud and aggressive talk, as well as forms of sexual harassment" (McDowell, 2010 p653). These types of behaviours contribute to reinforcing gendered boundaries and gendered stereotypes in relation to what is an acceptable gendered identity to adopt. Griffin et al (2012) discuss how feminine identities have become a more complex issue now that women have more freedoms in the public sphere (see also Wilson, 1991 p76). This has led to what Griffin et al describe as 'hypersexual femininity' as the traditional roles of women become challenged (Griffin et al, 2012 p185). In terms of how this applies spatially, Griffin et al describe research with young women with regard to their engagement in the night time economy. They found that the young women they interviewed felt that they were able to behave in ways which previously would have been associated with negative stereotypes of women, such as groups of women being heavily intoxicated and pole dancing. However, these behaviours are still modified in relation to what is considered

appropriate gender behaviour, especially in respect of gender specific stereotypes. For example, heavy drinking was considered to be more acceptable when out in a bigger group because this was perceived to be safer, and behaviour which could have been deemed controversial under alternative circumstances such as pole dancing in a nightclub was more acceptable when their boyfriends are present. Behaviour becomes acceptable depending on the localised context of the space, the shared consensus between peer groups about morality (Skeggs 1997; Skeggs 1999; Skeggs 2005). This suggests a contradiction in their feminine identity as they may have more freedoms in terms of what behaviour they choose to engage in, yet there are still gendered restrictions placed upon them regarding the circumstances within which this behaviour is acceptable. Further research from Waitt et al (2011) which also considers the role of femininity within the night time economy suggests that women need to use their feminine identity as way of negotiating their way into and around certain types of space. They argue that women use their femininity to overcome territorial boundaries associated with gender and sexuality that can be imposed on spaces such as pubs, bars and nightclubs, and that the women who participated in their study felt like they had to use their appearance more in negotiating these spaces than men (Waitt et al, 2011 p267). Not only do women often have to contend with more barriers in accessing spaces within the night time economy, they will often only occupy certain spaces within clubs and bars, with men tending to dominate the more visible spaces, for example around the bar (Valentine, 2007 p46). Linking this back to earlier discussions in this chapter, this could be used to suggest that the representations that women are exposed to by their peers through media representations (see Atkinson et al, 2012; Griffin et al, 2004; McRobbie, 2004a; McRobbie, 2004b) suggest that women's 'social capital' (Bourdieu, 2010a) in terms of them identifying themselves with a feminine identity is often based on their ascetic

qualities. As Waitt (2011) and Griffin (2012) have suggested, women can be made to feel like they need to use their femininity to negotiate spaces. One issue which this thesis addresses is whether or not spaces within cities can be used to reaffirm this implication.

Over compensating in relation to feminine identities can also contribute to further exclusions for other groups who occupy city spaces. Eldridge (2010) discusses how bodies in space can become problematic when they fail to conform to the social norms associated with the space and the subsequent social practices that are carried out within it. Eldridge argues that anxieties exist in certain groups and practices which are not engaging with what is considered to the appropriate behaviour in the space, and that these anxieties "are motivated by different concerns, each entangled with preconceived ideas about gender, class, age and who has and/or should have access to the city at night" (Eldridge, 2010 p41). One area where research has highlighted these issues in is women's heterosexual behaviour in gay and lesbian specific nightclubs. Heterosexual women felt that these spaces were safe as there was less likelihood of feeling threatened (Skeggs, 1999; Valentine, 1993). However, as Skeggs argues "others may be paying the cost for straight female safety" (Skeggs, 1999, p226). This is because the presence of these women and the way in which they may over exaggerate their femininity can make those to whom the space is originally intended for feel displaced (Skeggs, 1999; Binnie and Skeggs, 2004). This can be problematic in further ways because the groups that are being displaced can often also be alienated in mainstream spaces (Valentine, 1993 p407). This therefore raises the question of what spaces are there that women can occupy without either being made to feel unwelcome or displacing another group who can also be marginalised from the heterosexual male dominated space?

Goffman (1959) suggests that factors about an individual such as gender, race, and social class are often used by others to make a framework that can be applied to others in society in order to predict their cultural and leisure interests. This framework is often reproduced and reinforced through the media (Goffman 1976). Atkinson et al (2012) considered the gendered depiction of leisure activities represented in mainstream magazines. They found that particular spaces alongside the appropriate behaviours within these spaces were represented as being masculine and feminine. For example "representations depicted the pub as a man's place and transmitted the message that drinking within the pub context was an essential male activity and a situation in which to enact masculinity" (Atkinson et al, 2012 p9). Zukin (1995) discusses how women can often be seen as the dominant group that shopping spaces are focused on (Zukin, 1995 p223). However, this particular association suggests women (as well as men) can be "conditioned by commodities" (Zukin, 1995 p189) fuelling the image of the 'female flâneur' experiencing the city through the things that they can purchase, as well as engaging with the desired image and identity required to access such spaces (Buck-Moss, 1986). Furthermore, women with young families have also reported the feeling of exclusion when socialising as a family in pubs and restaurants that are labelled as 'family friendly', which is also emphasised through the spatial layout of such places (Valentine et al, 2007 p48). This demonstrates the segregation felt by women and how women of different ages and circumstances can face further exclusions which are often based on their own social identity and how well they are able to negotiate these often male oriented spaces.

Bodies are often marginalised by many other structural factors including social class (Woodward and Woodward, 2009 p150) and class causes further exclusions to women than

it does for men (Skeggs, 1997 p74). This is because men have more of an opportunity to turn the label of working class into a positive form of identity. Skeggs (1997) discusses how many of those who she interviewed tried to distance themselves from the working class identity through trying to align themselves with the cultural capital of the middle class. Class is ultimately about inequality and exploitation (Skeggs, 1997 p75) and the way in which these inequalities are embodied needs to be taken into consideration alongside other factors which can be used as a means of furthering inequality, such as gender. For women, the working class label becomes something they want to disassociate with which can often become central to the ways in which women live their lives by refusing to be fixed or defined by it (Skeggs, 1997 p75). As Skeggs argues:

> "Class becomes internalized as an intimate form of subjectivity, experienced as knowledge of always not being 'right'. Restrictions on access to the right' knowledge, the 'right' cultural capital, which can be traded, means that there are limits to their passing as middle class. Whilst many anxieties over bodies, homes, children and clothes may be experienced by middle-class women too, it is the particular manifestation that they take that gives them the classed character. The anxieties of working-class women are always made through reference to something to which they do not have access, be it money, knowledge or space. They know that nearly everything they do will be recognised as classed." (Skeggs, 1997 p90).

Whilst the previous chapter considered the different experiences those from different classes may have in urban space, these differences are further exemplified through gender. Men can find the working class label as a means to find comradery but as discussed earlier McRobbie (2004a) and Skeggs (1997), working class women can be subjected to more judgement on their behaviour.

Being part of particular a social class can give access to certain forms of knowledge (Binnie and Skeggs, 2004; Bourdieu, 2010a). Bourdieu also argues that class is often displayed

though the knowledge that we may have, especially with regards to our cultural knowledge. Therefore, if young girls are subjected to specific cultural knowledge in their upbringing then this will affect the ways in which they relate to their social class in terms of the ways through which they may access, presume entitlement of and occupy space (Binnie and Skeggs, 2004 p45). This thesis explores what types of space women feel they can or cannot occupy and why they feel this way.

Ross (2010) points out that 'frames' are often used in terms of the ways in which women are portrayed in the news, which will often mean the report presents the article from an angle which has the women in question stereotyped. For example, when a woman is seen as a dominant figure in media sources she is often portrayed as a trophy wife or girlfriend and the media coined term 'WAG' is frequently used to refer to the wife or girlfriend of a football player (Ross, 2010 p90). A further frame that is used to portray women in the news is as victims of violent crime (Ross, 2010 p95). As Ross (2010) argues, the media has a "fascination with the fragile female form and her vulnerability to violation" and this "says something very powerful about women's agency and women's role in society" (Ross, 2010 p95). Considering advertisements, Gill (2007) argues that:

> "advertisements work by constructing myths, in such a way as to endow products with meanings which appear to be natural and eternal" and that in order to understand how they work they need to be decoded (Gill, 2009 p49).

A similar argument could be made of the ways in which urban space is represented through the media (either through direct advertising and marketing of the space or through the more subtle representations of space in the media) and that a deconstruction of the myths surrounding urban space is needed in order to understand the true experiences of the people who use such space.

3.3 Social Construction, Women and the City

This section considers how the social construction of the city impacts on the ways in which women experience city space and the way in which this has changed over time, with a particular focus on the spatial practices associated with women's fear of crime, as this is an area which has been widely researched (Pain 2001; Ross 2010). It will also consider the extent to which women have been involved with the processes behind the design of urban space and urban policy.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Simmel (2005) argued that the city allows the individual to adopt an indifferent attitude towards others as it gives the people who occupy it the chance to be almost anonymous, thus enabling them more freedom with regard to the identities that they may assume. This resonates the contradiction that the city creates, as discussed in Chapter 2, as the city can reinforce social division (in both covert and overt ways) but can also offer people more opportunity to express their own individuality. In terms of women and the city, this goes even further, offering women the chance to take on roles often more associated with men (Wilson, 1991 p7 & Tonkiss 2005, p94).

As Vaiou et al (2006) argue, cities are central to the wider global economy (as discussed in the previous chapter, this is also a theme in the work of Sassen, 2013; Hubbard, 1996; Lefebvre, 1976) and they are a way through which the state can regulate, for example, through restrictions on certain spaces. Therefore, cities are often the place where political struggles are played out (Vaiou et al, 2006 p731) and are therefore a space within which one can overcome struggles imposed on them by the capitalist power structures in place. In relation to women, this could include using spaces previously thought to be dominated by men or being able to act in a way that may not have been considered acceptable. This is

discussed by Mills (2011) who researched the experiences that girl scouts encountered in order to be accepted as part of the Scouts movement. However, as discussed earlier, alternative restrictions may still be felt by women who may feel pressurised into embodying a new set of gender practices.

It has been argued that gentrification is one way in which women can gain further independence through city life (Rose, 1984; Bondi, 1991; Wilson, 1991) as there are frequently more employment opportunities in the city which is often the place where more professional jobs are located. With job security on the decrease (bearing in mind that Rose was writing in the 1980's and today job security is even less stable), living in city centre areas can give more flexibility as to where people work and offers an alternative to those, including female headed households, who are unable to commit to the more traditional suburban homes (Rose, 1984 p60). However, there is an alternative view to the impacts that gentrification can have on women, as they can also often be a part of the groups who are displaced by the gentrification process (Bondi 1991; Tyler 2006; Tyler 2015). This is further supported by Bondi's (1999) research of gentrification in Edinburgh which showed that it is often the more middle class women who benefit from gentrification, and there are still many women from this class who remain living in the suburbs due to the restrictions imposed on them by family life in the private sphere. This further demonstrates the differences experienced by middle and working class women and how middle class women can have more beneficial 'life chances'. In terms of engagement with urban space, this further demonstrates how middle class women may feel more assured than working class women when challenging traditional gender stereotypes, as they have more opportunities

to embody lifestyles away from what has previously been considered conventional for women.

Traditionally, women's space is seen as being within the private sphere of the home (Massey and McDowell, 1992). The idea that space is meant for certain groups is an issue also reflected upon by Massey (1994). She discusses her own experiences as a child when she realised that much of public space was the dominion of men and that space is "gendered in a myriad different ways, which vary between cultures and over time"(Massey, 1994 p186). Valentine (1989) takes up this discussion of public vs. private space, and argues that there is a link between women's perception of fear of urban space and their perception of who holds power over that space. This can be linked to media reports of crime, which she argues will often over report incidents of crimes being committed against women in the streets despite the fact women are far more likely to be victims of violence in their own homes (Valentine, 1989). This issue was also highlighted in the work of Waitt et al (2011) whose participants commented that they would often feel the need to moderate their behaviour as a result of fear of sexual harassment or assault (Waitt, 2011 p268). This can be further associated with the work of Young (1990) in that women are encouraged to view their bodies differently to men, which would reinforce the idea that they are more likely to be the victim of a crime.

The distinction between the public and the private is used both politically and spatially to impose patriarchal and heterosexist ideals onto society (Duncan, 1996 p128). Whilst historically this was evident through property laws and the right to vote, in a more contemporary context it is visible through the fact that men are more easily able to move around the city with less fear of crime. They tend not to have as much of the care

responsibilities that women often take on (e.g. childcare) that keep women more confined to the private sphere (Duncan, 1996 p129). This substantiates Hall and Hubbard's (1996) argument discussed in the previous chapter that new urban policies often show little consideration to groups whose main concern in terms of policy are those relating to the improvement of education and welfare rather than the promotion of an entrepreneurial city.

However, this idea that the city is reserved as the public sphere for men, whilst women and notions of sexuality are confined to the private sphere of the home, has been criticised by Valentine (1993). Valentine argues that not all forms of sexuality are confined to the privacy of the home, since events such as weddings and christenings are celebrated in public. Women can therefore engage in more public spaces if their behaviour is normative in terms of the society's norms and values, which relates back to earlier discussions about what is considered acceptable in relation to the new gender formations discussed previously.

Characterisations attached to areas of space within cities can be a means through which the anticipated 'proper use of space' can be communicated to those who may occupy it (Binnie and Skeggs, 2004 p40). Using the example of Manchester's gay village, Binnie and Skeggs argue that the use of language in labelling urban space can be done so in order to attempt to break down barriers and to help people who may have previously been alienated from engaging with certain parts of the city. However, this labelling of space does not have to originate from a political motive as discussed by Binnie and Skeggs, for example Hubbard et al (2003) discuss how space can also be gendered in terms of morals and how unofficial labels can be used to segregate space. They describe the way in which sex workers, in response to policing strategies, moved towards forming red light districts in Birmingham, thus demonstrating how unofficial boundaries can be created (Hubbard et al, 2003 p82).

This can be further linked back to what was considered to be the more traditional roles that women had in the city (Wilson, 1991) and shows how these particular spatial practices are still governed in terms of what benefits the overall capitalist nature of the city, rather than what might benefit the women themselves.

The nature of embodiment can be taken further in terms of how these intrinsic ways women consider their bodies can affect the ways in which they interact with urban space and where they feel safe (Baydar, 2012; Skeggs, 1999). Certain areas of the city may be considered 'out of bounds' particularly at night (although as Baydar, 2012 p701 and Skeggs, 1999 p215 point out this is not an issue that is exclusive to women as many gay men in their research reported similar feelings of anxiety in certain parts of the city). Skeggs argues that:

> "Alongside the representations which frame knowledge of and entitlement to the city, the physical cityscape also makes a difference. Architectural design, central to movement and feeding into circulation of knowledge about particular areas, has been shown to be particularly gendered" (Skeggs, 1999 p214).

This was a concern reflected through the Women's Design Service (WDS) who worked with groups of women to determine what issues they face within cities. Common themes that the WDS found were a lack of facilities to help with child and baby care and concerns over safety. Hayden (1981) also points to contributions, particularly by middle class women, to spatial design through their changing role which incorporated both the traditional aspects of family life which were often seen as the women's domain, combined with their changing role in the more professionally orientated workforce. The issues surrounding child care can be related back to the previous discussion on Young, as motherhood is a role often imposed upon a women's identity and therefore, in order for space to be usable by women, issues relating to this need to be resolved. The consideration of women in the city in relation to

urban policy has tended to focus on their interests regarding them being victims of crime or as part of housing policy, often with single mothers being a focus point (Brownill, 2000 p116). The WDS challenged the fact that these issues are often overlooked by what they consider to be the male dominated design industry, however they lost their funding in 2012. This raises issues; as the position of women in the city changes, organisations such as the WDS are needed to challenge the inequalities still faced by women.

3.4 Women's Perception of Crime and Safety in the City

The gendering of urban space occurs because women's space is traditionally seen as the private sphere of the home (Massey and McDowell, 1992). Valentine takes up this discussion of public vs. private space, arguing that there is a link between women's perception of fear of urban space and their perception of who holds power over that space. This can be linked to media reports of crime, which she argues will often over report incidents of crimes being committed against women in the streets despite the fact women are far more likely to be victims of violence in their own homes (Valentine, 1989; Pain, 2001). Considering the earlier discussions of the works of Atkinson et al 2012 and McRobbie 2004a and 2004b the reporting about these issues in the news can further contribute to the stereotypes surrounding femininity by suggesting that in order to maintain the expected gendered behaviours, women should avoid certain areas of urban space and being out at certain times. Perceptions of fear and violence in the city are gendered as they result from the perceptions of the space and who should occupy it at particular times (Tonkiss, 2005 p103, see also Atkinson et al, 2012). Because of the sense of fear of violence that women can feel in city spaces, this means that the space is not as open or accessible for women to explore and experience (Mott and Roberts, 2013 p8). Women can be misinformed through

the media about the levels of crime which take place in certain areas and at what times, causing a 'spatial paradox' between the perceived levels of crime and the real crime levels (Pain, 2001 p903). Gill (2007) argues that there is a disparity in reports on violent crimes committed against women (see also Ross, 2010). Gill argues that the media disproportionally reports crimes against women, especially those which involve sexual assault, by going into more detail about aspects of crimes which are unusual or by focusing on attacks by strangers despite the fact that women are more likely to be victims of violence in the private sphere of the home (Gill, 2007 p135). This can be related back to the discussion of Zukin (1995) and her argument that certain areas of urban space are seen to be the domain of a particular group and as such those who are not a part of this group can be made to feel unwelcome or unsafe in order to deter them from attempting to engage further with the space.

An understanding of the effects of space as well as past experiences of space is vital in the consideration of how our everyday interpretations of space are shaped, especially with regards to issues around violence and fear of violence and how these can become gendered and affect the ways men and women engage with spatial practices (Lombard, 2013). The concept of fear is important to consider in relation to spatial experiences because it affects how people engage with space and how they relate to the various political struggles and discourses of criminality that exist within these spaces (Jeffries 2013). Lombard (2013) asserts that through normalising as opposed to problematizing gendered violence it is implied that the emphasis is on women to adapt and change their behaviours rather than on educating both men and women that gendered violence is wrong. In her discussions with young people about their accounts of spatial gendered violence, Lombard found that young

people will often accept gendered violence as part of the "normalised gendered order" (Lombard, 2013 p1138) and it was difficult for them to provide examples of what they considered to be 'real' violence. This is also reflected in the work of Hlavka (2014), whose research with girls who had experienced sexual violence, harassment and abuse found that they would often negotiate their own lived experiences in ways which are often not considered by law and subsequent policies. This was because they normalised heterosexual male violence and sexual aggression, and were "expected to endure aggression by men because that is *part* of man" (Hlavka, 2014 p339) and describe behaviours such as low level sexual assault and sexual coercion as commonplace masculine behaviour. Research has been done with the student population that has suggested that there has been an increase in 'lad culture' resulting in women often being subjected to unwanted sexual attention (Wattis et al 2011; NUS 2013; Sweeney 2014). This can lead to a normalisation of such crimes against women which further reiterates the sexualisation of women (Griffin et al 2012; Waitt et al 2011).

Panics around practices such as drink spiking are often gendered in that women are encouraged to modify their behaviour in order to avoid falling victim to such an offence, which takes the focus off men as the perpetrators of such crimes (Atkinson and Ross et al 2015; Brooks, 2014; Brooks, 2011). In her interviews with young women, Brooks found that concerns about potential drink spiking were gendered, with their main fear being sexual assault and with women seen as more likely becoming victims compared to men (Brooks, 2014 p305). These perceptions of the dangers of drink spiking led Brooks' participants to modify their behaviour when engaging in spaces which were associated with this perceived risk. This is because of what Brooks describes as "culturally embedded safety concerns"

(Brooks, 2014 p312) which were also linked to the participants not wanting to be negatively associated with what are generally considered to be risky behaviours for women of their age. Avoidance behaviours, such as avoiding heavy intoxication, contradict research which suggests that men are more likely to be victims of crime as a result of intoxication compared to women. For example Miller et al (2014) investigated links between illicit drug use and harm in the night time economy. They collected statistics about substance use and involvement in violent incidents and found that, whilst males were only slightly more likely to take illicit substances and become more intoxicated in general, they were statistically more likely to be involved in a violent incident compared to females (n=2.76). Therefore, the behaviours that women adapt in order to access and safely (in terms of their own perceptions of what is safe) engage with spaces are not always a true reflection of the situation and instead reflect the media representation of how women should behave in these spaces.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the existing academic literature relating to women's experiences in the city, by considering how the embodiment of gendered representations and identities can be reflected through urban space, in terms of the ways in which women engage with space and how they perceive it (Mills, 2011; Young, 1991; Butler, 1991). This is evident through the ways in which they use and interact with space and where they feel safe and unsafe, as well as affecting the types of policies implemented with regards to urban space and how these can impact on women. Through this notion, it has explored the ways in which women's experience may be different to that of men's as a result of the way in which women embody constraints associated with their gender from an early age. This affects how

women use spaces within cities and how they may feel like certain parts of the city are 'out of bounds' (Pain, 2001; Valentine, 1989). These issues are further reflected in the way in which the city is socially constructed to reproduce these gendered embodiments, for example, through the control of how women access certain spaces compared to the way men access them.

Massey (1994) argues that "it is a gendered geography that matters... taking gender seriously produces a different type of analysis" (Massey, 1994 p181). Therefore space cannot simply be viewed in terms of changes in the nature of capitalism and that, since women have such different experiences to men within urban space, these differences should be recognized more within academic research. By focusing more on a specific gendered group instead of applying the same concepts to both men and women, the tensions in urban space can be highlighted and explored further. Whilst simply using the male/female divide can also be considered simplistic and un-inclusive of other categories relating to gender and sexuality, by focusing on women this thesis allows for women's experiences in urban space to be explored and can also be used to highlight how more specific experiences within this gender classification could be explored in future research. More research into women's experience in space is needed therefore, and this research is required in order to challenge and displace the gender norms which enable the repetition (albeit in different forms) of gender inequalities (Butler, 1991 p148). The relationship that women have with urban space is further complicated through the way in which gender is becoming a more intricate concept to explore. Whilst feminism was previously concerned with questioning the more traditional patriarchal forms of oppression, it now has further challenges to consider. These challenges have been discussed in this chapter with reference

to contradictions within the feminine identity (as discussed by Griffin et al 2012) and the variations that women from different classes may experience (see McRobbie, 2004a; McRobbie, 2004b; Skeggs, 1997). These examples show how women's experiences within urban space are changing, but that this area of study needs to be revisited because, as argued by the likes of Lefebvre (1974) and Lynch (1960), cities are constantly in a state of change and therefore women's experiences within city space will also be changing.

For the purpose of this thesis, the ways in which women experience urban space will be explored in relation to a specific case study which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. As this chapter has demonstrated, there are a wide variety of influences on the lived experiences that women have in the city, ranging from upbringing, peer influences, media influences and political structure. Due to the limitations associated with focusing on a particular case study (to be discussed further in Chapter 4) this thesis will not be giving an account that reflects the experiences of all women living in contemporary European cities. However, it is anticipated that by focusing on more individual accounts, the issues discussed in this chapter can be explored further in a more in-depth manner. The methodological issues of gender based research will be discussed in Chapter 4 and will include many of the concepts relating to women's lived experiences in the city that have been considered in this chapter.

Chapter 4. Case Study – Liverpool, UK and Liverpool One

"It's a dramatic, great city, and at its centre is the most wholly and thrillingly urban environment in England outside of London." (Hatherley, 2010 p331).

"When you demolish familiar places, or obliterate old pathways, you deracinate people, cutting them off from the psychic roots that nourish our sense of belonging" (Du Noyer, 2007 p11).

4. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the case study that has been used for this research. The previous two chapters have focused on urban experience with a particular focus on women's experiences in the city. They have argued that the way in which we experience the city is complex, particularly as cities are often sites within which discord is evident between elite visions in terms of representations of space and the lived experiences of groups that use the space (Lefebvre, 1974). This chapter will take the issues discussed in the previous chapters and will apply them to the case study of Liverpool, UK and use them in consideration in terms of researching the issues that were raised in the previous chapters. As the previous literature review discussed, the identity that becomes associated with particular groups in society is important in exploring social, cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Therefore, the exploration of the cultural identity of the city of Liverpool and the people who are from and/or live in Liverpool and the background context to these identities are imperative to the overall context of the research.

The research for this thesis is focused on the many experiences that women have in certain areas of urban space and how they feel the space is represented, as well as how they themselves feel about the ways in which they are portrayed through their use (or lack of use) of the space. In order to highlight and emphasise these changes further it was decided

upon to use a space which had recently undergone change. The details regarding the methodology for this research will be discussed further in the following chapter; the purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate how the case study of Liverpool and Liverpool One can be used to highlight the issues raised in the preceding two chapters. However, it is important to note that the primary focus of this research is to investigate the tensions between the elite visions of urban space compared to the lived everyday experiences of women who use the space, rather than to investigate Liverpool and Liverpool One. As discussed previously, Liverpool and Liverpool One are being used to provide a framework within which to base the research. However, it is still important to have an understanding of the Liverpool One development and the background of the changes that took place in the city in order to give more perspective to the experiences of the women that took part in the research. It is also useful to understand the history of the development in order to gain insight into the symbolic capital of the space in terms of how it has been designed and marketed. This chapter will provide a back ground to the development. This will then be referred back to and developed later in the thesis when the ONE Community Annual Review 2012 is critically considered in terms of the participants' responses from the walking interviews.

Liverpool is located in the North West of England. The borough of Liverpool has a population of 473,100 and Liverpool City Region has a total population of 1,517,500 (data for 2014 from Liverpool City Council, 2015). Data from the 2011 Census showed how educational attainment tends to be lower than the average for the rest of Great Britain and Liverpool also has an unemployment rate which is above the national average and household income is below the national average (figures from Liverpool City Council 2011 Census Data,

published 2013). The 2011 Census also showed that "in general greater proportions of Liverpool's working residents than nationally are employed in lower level occupations and fewer than nationally in higher level occupations" (Liverpool City Council, 2013 p34). Therefore, those of Liverpool's population that are working are less likely to have a senior or managerial post with only 7.6% of Liverpool's working residents being employed as a manager, director or senior official compared to national figures of 10.8%. In addition to this, Liverpool has 11.2% of its working residents employed in professional or technical occupations (compared to 12.7% nationally) and 9% of its workforce work in what are considered to be skilled trade occupations (compared to 11.5% nationally) (figures from Liverpool City Council 2011 Census Data, published 2013).

Tourism is very important to Liverpool's economy. In 2010 there were 54.4 million visitors to the Liverpool City Region (30.1 million of which were to the city centre). There were 47,500 jobs directly related to tourism and the visitor economy in Liverpool City Region was estimated to be worth £3.0 billion with £1.9 billion in Liverpool City Centre (Figures from Tourist Digest Statistics, March 2012). The 2011 Census data un-surprisingly states that Liverpool has above the national average number of local workers working in the 'caring, leisure and other services' workforce, which is what many tourism related jobs would be classed as, with 10.5% compared to the national figure of 9.4%. Due to the importance of tourism to Liverpool's economy, its cultural identity is also critical to Liverpool's economy (Cox and O'Brien, 2012) because this inevitably increases the number of tourists visiting the city. Boland (2007) discusses how, in an attempt to attract mobile capital investment, cities are being "transformed into spaces of cultural consumption" and "brand themselves to international audiences as destinations for the cultural experience" (Boland, 2007 p1027).

The concept of culture is consequently of prominence in many regeneration attempts, but as has been demonstrated in the previous literature reviews, the concept of culture is fraught with its own tensions. This chapter will now go on to discuss cultural image and how identity has been crucial to Liverpool's recent regeneration efforts.

4.1 An Overview of Relevant History and Previous Regeneration Efforts in Liverpool

The Port of Liverpool and port related industries had been central to the growth that Liverpool had experienced pre twentieth century. However, since the mid twentieth century their importance in the local economy has declined. Wilks-Heeg (2003) discusses the reasons why cities like Liverpool have been so heavily affected by the changes that have been brought about by globalisation. As discussed in the previous chapter, Sassen (2000) has argued that as a result of globalization, many global cities now hold more economic power than the nation states to which they belong. However, this is not the case for all major cities. Wilks-Heeg argues that "if one city epitomizes the consequences of economic decline arising from the reordering of urban economic functions, it is Liverpool" (Wilks-Heeg, 2003 p36). However, Wilks-Heeg puts forward the argument that the current economic state of Liverpool has not always been so, and there were times when Liverpool was a 'key node' in the global economy. During the nineteenth century, Liverpool was considered to be amongst the major maritime centres alongside London and New York City. Liverpool established itself as a leader in terms of regulations that had to be imposed on international trade (in particular the cotton trade). Liverpool also had a key role in migration, which encouraged a lot of major shipping lines, including Cunard and the White Star Line, to set up offices in Liverpool (Wilks-Heeg, 2003).

Liverpool was often referred to as being the 'Gateway to the Empire' and the 'second city' of the British Empire (Rodwell 2008). Much of Liverpool's success was dependant on its role in the British Empire. The merchant class of Liverpool exercised considerable influence over how the Empire developed; in particular with regards to the trading links they had pioneered (Wilks-Heeg, 2003). However, this success did not last;

> "As Britain fortified its dominance of world trade and the old international division of labour centred on the British Empire began to break down, Liverpool's merchants were increasingly exposed in world markets. In the context of growing international competition, they failed to exploit new markets and began to lose ground in established markets to overseas interests" (Wilks-Heeg, 2003 p47).

As Liverpool's economy was so dependent on its port, a decline was inevitable after these changes in trade. Of course this situation was not exclusive to Liverpool and many other cities in the UK and throughout much of the industrialised world had found their manufacturing and traditional trades declining. This led to many inner city buildings becoming derelict and there being a considerable amount of un-used space in city centre areas. Furthermore, as Rodwell (2008) and Du Noyer (2007) have both pointed out, not only was the decline in Liverpool's maritime trade key to its economic decline but Liverpool's geographical position also meant that it was at a disadvantage. Rodwell questioned the role of Liverpool in the wider UK economy, asking:

> "What is the long-term destiny for a city whose infrastructure and historic environment no longer perform the set of functions for which they were conceived and which was built to house and serve a population twice its present size?" (Rodwell, 2008 p86).

Liverpool therefore needed regeneration efforts that would suit its population size and create potential investments to improve the economy of the city.

Consequently, Liverpool City Council had to consider how they could attract new businesses to the derelict areas that had been left across the city. However, as Crouch (2003) points out, businesses were becoming attracted to developments outside of city centres due to lower overhead costs and space for expansion possibilities. Liverpool City Council therefore had to think of new ways of utilizing space in the inner city. One idea implemented during the 1960's and 1970's was the mass building of office space in areas such as Old Hall Street. Similar projects had achieved success in other cities, for example, Manchester and Birmingham, but Liverpool failed to match this success. Liverpool City Council then decided to focus on retail investment, resulting in the opening of several shopping centres such as St John's Precinct, Cavern Walks and Clayton Square. However, they failed to reach the levels of success intended; "effect has been rather piecemeal and an unplanned series of interventions that have lacked coherence" (Crouch, 2003 p56). Other more recent regeneration efforts have been more successful in changing the perception of Liverpool and these will be discussed in due course in this chapter.

In recent years Liverpool has experienced resurgence in terms of national prominence, although it remains one of the poorest cities in Great Britain (Hatherley 2010). In the 1980's Liverpool was considered to be in severe economic difficulty and the negative image surrounding Liverpool was further emphasised through events such as the Toxteth riots, which demonstrated the discontent of those who lived in the city. For much of the 1980's Liverpool City Council was dominated by Derek Hatton who was later expelled from the Labour Party due to being a member of Militant (a Trotskyist group operating within the Labour Party at that time which now tends to be more associated with the Socialist Party). Hatton's regeneration policy for Liverpool (according to Hatherley, 2010) was to "give

people what most (if not all) always said they wanted – a house and a garden close to their place of work" (Hatherley, 2010 p335). This led to closes and cul-de-sacs of mainly semi-detached housing being built around the city centre. The reasoning behind this was that Liverpool did not need large apartment blocks as it was the only British city to have experienced a population drop similar to that of North American cities, with its population declining by half between the 1940s and 1990s (Hatherley, 2010). Many of these areas are still designated to social housing and are placed in very close proximity to the gentrified areas of the city centre, including the newly built luxury apartments as well as the renovated warehouses and the grade two listed Georgian Quarter. As O'Brien (2011) has argued:

> "Governance is perhaps the single most important term in contemporary understandings of the British political system, at both national and local level. The term captures the transition that has occurred within the policy process in the UK from hierarchical modes of government control over policy development and implementation, to the fluid forms of interaction between actors within policy networks that are dominant in many areas of the contemporary British state" (O'Brien, 2011, p48)

This example of Liverpool and the conflicts between the policy development and the needs of local residents is reflected with O'Brien's argument. The spaces which required regeneration were subject to governance but this tended to be done to the benefit of the local government as opposed to those who occupy such spaces. O'Brien (2011) also states "The city [Liverpool] has seen a major transformation over the last 10 years as the physical development of the city centre has gone hand-in hand with political change and renewed cultural confidence" (O'Brien, 2011 p47). As the previous chapter which discussed literature surrounding the urban experience demonstrated, the gentrifying of urban spaces can lead to conflicts within local identities and the dominance of a particular cultural and/or social capital over others.

During the 1970's the post war economy faltered, meaning that local governments were unable to invest properly in cities (Minton, 2009). These issues with investment, along with the other damaging attributes that became associated with the city, led to disparity when 'Liverpool – Maritime Mercantile City' became a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2004. Whilst this decision would have increased Liverpool's cultural identity and viability as a tourist destination, the decision faced some criticism because of the reputation of political extremism, riots, unemployment and social deprivation that had become associated with the city between the 1960-90's (Rodwell, 2008 p90-91). Therefore, those involved in the regeneration of the city not only had to contend with the economic factors that were preventing growth but also the social factors associated with the image and perception of the city.

The difficulties caused by the setbacks in the UK economy led to the private sector funding new property developments (with the incentive of large amounts of public money) and this was highly evident in Liverpool which had unused city centre space. However, this became problematic after the 2008 financial crisis caused significant changes to the financial sector. Previously, the financial sector used the 'business model' which is based on both property value and property speculation. Property developers stand to make large profits when the market is strong, but when it starts to fail these developers (together with bankers) lose profit resulting in the collapse of the economic market. Shortly after the 2008 economic crash, tens of thousands of flats and apartments across the UK (in particular Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool) were left empty due to firms going bankrupt before completion of projects, and potential buyers struggling to get mortgages.

In recent history, Liverpool has often been a city that has been used to pilot many different urban policies, from the 'Community Development Project' and Industrial and 'Commercial Improvement Areas' to David Cameron's 'Big Society' and has been described as "a laboratory for almost every experiment and innovation in modern urban policy and planning" (Crouch, 2003 p3). Jones (2015) states that "one of the cumulative effects of these variegated strategies has seen major capital investment on the city's waterfront, a site that accordingly reflects the waxing and waning of historic, recent and projected accumulation of strategies" (Jones, 2015, p466). For example, the area of the Albert Dock during the 1980's was subject to regeneration to develop un-used dockland to upmarket leisure space (Belchem, 2006). This has generally been considered a successful development with increasing numbers of visitors from 5.1 million in 2010 to 5.8 million in 2013 (M, 2014). A further example of planned regeneration that never went ahead was the suggestion of building 'A Fourth Grace' on the waterfront. However, this was deemed 'unworkable' (BBC News, 2004) and the development did not go ahead following what were considered design issues (Rodwell, 2008 p98) and the design not being in line with the wider regeneration strategies (Jones, 2011 p116). Another area that was identified for redevelopment was the Liverpool Waters by Peel's Holding (Rodwell 2008; Harrison 2014; Jones 2015). This was seen by The Peel Group as a way that urban regeneration through private investment could help improve the city of Liverpool's overall image as well as help with its economic issues and spatial issues relating to the under and un-used waterfront space (Rodwell 2008; Harrison 2014; Jones 2015).

Despite the many failed regeneration efforts in Liverpool, it was clear that something needed to be done to help improve Liverpool's economy. As Jones and Wilks-Heeg state:

"During the late 1990's, key public and private sector interests, working collaboratively via the Liverpool Partnership Group, identified Liverpool city centre as the focus for future regeneration efforts, arguing that its role as the key driver of employment for local residents had been seriously neglected by previous urban programs" (Jones and Wilks-Heeg, 2004 p346).

The area around Paradise Street in Liverpool's city centre[1] was targeted as being a key area for privatised development and the contract to undergo this development was put out to tender by Liverpool City Council.

4.2 The Liverpool One Development

On March 6th 2000, Grosvenor emerged victorious after a selection process had considered several potential developers for the Paradise Street Project, which later became known as Liverpool One. In 2003 compulsory purchase orders were issued by Liverpool City Council resulting in the controversial closing down of Quiggins[2] and the Quaker residence, causing many local people to argue that this was displacing what they considered to be the true culture of that part of the city (Jones and Wilks-Heeg, 2004 p354).

Cultural production and consumption have been key elements in many recent regeneration projects (Jayne 2006; Jones and Wilks-Heeg 2007; Jones 2011). Whilst the attempts by Liverpool City Council were already underway to re-brand and reinvent the city, the prospect of being named European Capital of Culture 'accelerated' many of the processes already underway (Jones and Wilks-Heeg, 2007 p204). On 4th June 2003, Liverpool's bid was successful and the city was awarded the title of European Capital of Culture 2008 (ECoC08). Winning the bid was seen of great importance to the city with the hope that it would not

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[1] A map of Liverpool City Centre can be found in Appendix 1.
[2] Quiggins was an indoor 'alternative' market located within a building that was on the site designated for the Liverpool One development. Despite petitions for Quiggins to remain the building was purchased under a compulsory purchase order and the market was relocated to another part of the city centre.

only create more jobs within the city but would also have positive effects of Liverpool's image (BBC, 2003). Liverpool's diverse population was one of the focuses of the bid to be European capital of culture with the tag line "the world in one city" cited frequently in the bid (Jones and Wilks-Heeg, 2004 p349; BBC, 2003). Tessa Jowell (then Culture Secretary) praised Liverpool's ECoC08 bid because it "embraced the whole city" (BBC, 2003). Because of its major role as a port, many different communities settled in Liverpool, and it is home to the UK's oldest Black community and Europe's oldest Chinese community. The diversity of Liverpool's population is reflected through the numerous religions practised, with two cathedrals, as well as Jewish, Sikh, Hindu, Islamic and Buddhist places of worship being present throughout the city. However, as Jones and Wilks-Heeg point out, using the portrayal of Liverpool's Somalian community in the bid as an example of the city's diverse culture, despite the fact that as a group they remain very much disadvantaged and socially segregated (Jones and Wilks-Heeg, 2004 p252-253), shows that Liverpool as a city is still suffering inequalities.

Liverpool being named ECoC08 was not directly associated with the Liverpool One development, however it was clearly an opportunity that Grosvenor couldn't afford to miss and the scheduled opening date was pushed forward to 2008. Littlefield (2009) notes that

> "the fact that Liverpool was to take Capital of Culture in 2008 began to weigh on people's minds; in spite of the determination to achieve something of spectacularly high quality, everyone concerned had to press that little bit harder if the city was to be more than a construction site when it was most in the public eye" (Littlefield, 2009 p107).

Furthermore, the private sector was seen as being imperative in continuing Liverpool's ECoC08 legacy (BBC, 2011). There were mutual benefits to bringing forward the completion

date of the development, with Liverpool One benefitting from the media attention and extra visitors to the city and the city's image in the media profiting from Liverpool One.

Liverpool One covers 1.65 million square feet and consists of over 20 bars and restaurants, over 160 shops, a cinema, 2 hotels, a large bus terminal, apartments and parkland[3]. It is made up of 36 individual buildings and was designed by 25 different architects in order to give a 'cutting edge' and contemporary feel to the complex (Liverpool One Website, 2009). Liverpool One was opened in three separate phases due to the change in its opening date, the first one being May 2008 to coincide with the European Capital of Culture celebrations. It was predicted by Grosvenor that Liverpool One would create over 5000 jobs, a factor that was important in justifying the privatised development of Liverpool One because unemployment had been such a longstanding and contentious issue within the city.

Liverpool One was purposely split by Grosvenor into five districts; Paradise Street, Hanover Street, Peter's Lane[4], South John Street and Chavasse Park. According to Littlefield[5] this was done with a specific vision in mind, arguing that:

> "It would have been relatively simple, in the name of consistency, to employ a single approach in terms of scale, materiality and detailing – but Grosvenor judged that successful cites are not just characterized in that manner. Even the most rigidly planned environments became fragmented and take on their own small-scale personalities" (Littlefield, 2009 p67).

In addition to this Grosvenor wanted the buildings of Liverpool One to "become part of the fabric of the place" (Littlefield, 2009) and reflect the past and present of the city. This notion is of great relevance to this research and is reflected through the research aims and

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[3] A map of Liverpool One is included in Appendix 1.
[4] Also called Keys Court (participants tended to refer to the area as Keys Court).
[5] Author of 'Liverpool One: Remaking a City Centre' a book funded by Grosvenor and therefore presents a biased view of the development and within this thesis is used to present facts about the development as well as being used to demonstrate Grosvenor's perspective of the development.

questions; as mentioned previously Lefebvre (1974) argued that it is not always easy to predict how people will perceive urban space due to many conflicts surrounding its creation. Furthermore, Benjamin's (2002) account of his own memories connected to urban space demonstrated how personal experiences can have profound effects on how people experience urban space. Therefore, what happens when these changes take place and how it affects the ways in which people experience and perceive spaces is one of the main themes reflected through the research questions for this thesis.

The idea of segregating spaces is one which has been used in other (not necessarily private) development and regeneration strategies. Evans (2004) discusses the trend of 'quartering cities' He argues that quartering cities has led to a clustering of groups which are international to the city as well as 'cultural quarters' linking to Bourdieu's notion of 'cultural capital' often initiated by the more avant-garde movements (Evans, 2004 p74). Evans also suggests that quartering the city in this way can have negative consequences with some groups feeling displaced or alienated from certain parts if the city. However, these quarters will often appeal to tourists. Whilst Liverpool One does not have an official 'quarter' title like other parts of Liverpool's city centre, an effort has still been made to give it a quarter feel and this is demonstrated through the marketing literature which signifies Liverpool One as being seen as a shopping and leisure district in the city centre. It does have clear and distinct boundaries which show it is separate from the surrounding parts of the city, an issue which was explored in this research.

4.3 Implications of the Privatisation of the Liverpool One Development

The idea of privatising what has previously been public space has been the subject of much criticism, in particular with regards to issues over ownership and governance of space as

well as who ultimately profits from such developments. With regards to the Liverpool One development, Minton (2009) is highly critical of their claim cited by Littlefield in the previous section about designing the development in order to reflect the history of Liverpool and to maintain the traditional street patterns:

> "Considerable effort has been made to make Liverpool One 'architecturally striking'. I found that despite the relatively interesting architecture, there was nothing about the place to remind me where I actually was – I could have been anywhere in Britain or America with a high end shopping centre with hundreds of upmarket shops." (Minton, 2009 p34).

According to Minton, the branding reminds you that you are in Liverpool One but the way in which the design faithfully followed the original street pattern was difficult to see. This is an interesting point because Liverpool One specifically stated that the design would follow original street patterns in order to maintain the history of the space (Littlefield, 2009), however as has been discussed previously it is often the experiences within space rather that the physical aspects that matter to those who use spaces (Benjamin 2002; Benjamin 2004; Tonkiss 2005). Minton cites the architect Hans Van der Heijen who worked on the restoration of The Bluecoat[6]. He argued that the feeling of disconnection between Liverpool One and Liverpool as a city was deliberate; the wall of Liverpool One is invisible but clearly marked by the distinctive architecture. This is one way which it could be argued the developers are displaying their cultural capital through these symbolic boundaries and symbolic disassociations with other parts of the city. The aim of the development is to be self-contained (Van der Heijen as cited by Minton 2009, p36).

The 1990's saw a growth of entirely private spaces in cities becoming the template for new developments: "Like the early nineteenth-century estates, today's 'malls without walls' are

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[6] A centre for contemporary arts located next to the Liverpool One development and could not be incorporated into the development because of its listed status.

private property, which means that the landlord has the power to decide what rules and regulations apply in the places that they control" (Minton, 2009 p29). The way in which these estates are run is very different to the rest of the city, often because landlords are reluctant to acknowledge the changes that private ownership involves. Often they claim these developments are not entirely privately owned because they tend to be leased from the local authority (as Liverpool One is). However, Minton argues that this is more of a technicality as a standard lease of this type is 999 years (Minton, 2009 p28) and therefore to all intents and purposes the space is privately owned.

Before the New Labour government, finance centres (e.g. Canary Wharf) were seen as singular places created specifically to meet the needs of business (Minton, 2009). This trend continued throughout the 1990's but it has only been in the past decade that privatization has gone as far as it has in developments such as Liverpool One (Minton, 2009). This is seen as the 'American Approach' to the city and according to Minton, developments like Liverpool One have gone even further than those in America (Minton, 2009 p32). In other European cities the locally distinctive, public cultures of places reflected in streets, cities, etc. has been protected to a far greater degree against the pressures and effects of globalisation, with their policies favouring small shops and restricting larger stores.

Hans Van der Heijden (the architect behind the renovation of the Bluecoat Art Centre- mentioned previously) felt that in Europe, municipal governments work with the architects and developers to help find what would be best for the city as a whole (as cited in Minton, 2009 p34). Minton argues that "In Britain, rather than looking to do everything possible for the benefit of place, policies have developed along the same lines as the US" (Minton, 2009 p198). Therefore today in Britain, the public good is what makes the highest profit.

American style policies such as compulsory purchase orders (as used in preparation for the Liverpool One development) mean developers can build big and create economies of scale; however these plans can often lead to their own destruction. Smaller interventions may not create as much profit but are more likely to be in line with public spirit and in tune with the local people as well as having the ability to be more diverse. This will be an interesting subject to broach with my participants, to see if they feel Liverpool One is in their opinion fitting with the identity of their city and how they feel the identity of Liverpool may have changed since Liverpool One opened.

One major factor which these private estates, including Liverpool One, often have in common is the emphasis on security and safety. This is frequently referred to by criminologists as being part of the 'mass private property thesis'. Interestingly, details of how these estates are run and their security policies are rarely made available. The estates often include plaques and signposts listing behaviours which are not permitted within them (for example skateboarding, rollerblading) and will include a name and telephone number of the company which controls the estate and a statement regarding CCTV. However, other behaviours (for example filming, political activity and selling the Big Issue) are also prohibited but rarely included on these signposts (Minton, 2009 p32). Minton also observes that high levels of security are also associated with the arrival of American style compensation culture, being heavily influenced by the role of insurance and risk.

The use of CCTV in Liverpool's city centre as a whole has also been criticised by Coleman and Sim (2006). Crime and violence have both been associated with Liverpool in the past by the media (Garcia, 2006 p9) and therefore it was a stereotype that both those behind the ECoC08 bid and Liverpool One wanted to overcome. Coleman and Sim argue that strategies

such as 'place marketing' are used by those governing the city which promotes the city on the basis of its sense of 'safety' and 'security' (Colman and Sim, 2006 p106). The use of CCTV helps in the promotion of safer city centre spaces as it helps to give those using the city centre a similar sense of security to that experienced in an enclosed mall, thus deterring what are seen as undesirable users from entering the space and engaging in activities that may threaten those using the space on a consumer level (Coleman and Sim, 2006 p107). This certainly seems to be the case in the Liverpool One development, which (as also discussed by Minton, 2009 and Hatherley, 2010) has very strict rules regarding the use of the space. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this use of CCTV is often justified in terms of making certain groups that can sometimes be vulnerable in space feel safer and that often these policies are targeted at women (Coleman and Sim, 2006 and Ross, 2010).

The security within Liverpool One received unfavourable publicity (Minton, 2009). Traditional rights of way were replaced by 'public realm arrangements' and policed by private guards. Putting into effect these regulations relating to how the spaces in Liverpool One are used and by excluding certain behaviours (often associated with what could be considered undesirable and delinquent behaviour) further alienates some groups within society (Minton 2009; Chatterton and Holland 2003; Zukin 1995). As Daramola-Martin (2009) who was the Marketing Director at Grosvenor at the time of the Liverpool One development opening contends, Liverpool One very much wanted to attract those living in wealthier surrounding areas of Liverpool (Daramola-Martin, 2009 p304). This is a point which Minton (2009) agrees with, suggesting that Liverpool One was aimed at specific people; the 'Cheshire ABC's'. However Minton is much more critical of this strategy by Liverpool One suggesting that these people are targeted over the local population as they are people with

more expendable income in order to help obtain higher profit margins. Therefore through the ideology of the owners, certain people are made to feel more accepted in Liverpool One and others excluded. Minton links this to the concept of "clean and safe cities" which can operate in both a covert (making certain groups feel uncomfortable) and overt (issuing a ban) manner. This can go beyond the usual list of undesirable behaviour, as mentioned previously, such as Big Issue sellers, skateboarders, political protesters, etc. to include anyone who is not there to spend money. Hatherley agrees, arguing that Liverpool One is "unashamedly designed for the consumers from Cheshire rather than Bootle (hence the many car parks)" (Hatherley, 2010 p342). Minton visited Norris Green, which is approximately 5 miles from the city centre. She found that people there felt disconnected from the city (Minton, 2009 p35). Hatherley considers Minton's argument that Liverpool One is a prime example of the secularization and privatization that is becoming an increasing trend in many of Britain's major cities. He agrees with her that that is the case but questions why should Liverpool One try to blend in with the rest of Liverpool?

Jan Gehl, a Danish urban theorist and architect who is credited with transforming Copenhagen, argues that shopping should not be the main reason people come to the city; rather it is the atmosphere that should be the main attraction (as cited in Minton, 2009 p198). This argument is reflected by Kevin Lynch who argued that learning with/about space is often more effective when done spontaneously and by surprise and that it is important to have spaces which encourage creativity by simply having no set activities within them. This is also reflected through the work of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation which emphasised how important it was to have places to do nothing in, particularly for groups of young people (cited by Minton, 2009 p53). Again this is of great relevance to this research; how do

the participants feel about Liverpool One in comparison to what was previously available in Liverpool and has it changed how they use the city?

4.4 Liverpool and the Mass Media

Positive images of cities, the spaces within cities and the people who occupy cities have become increasingly important with councils, developers and planners in attracting investment and tourism to cities (Boland 2008; Avraham 2004 & 2000). Boland (2008) argues that people who are behind the promotion of cities are very much aware of the influence that the media can have and that a widespread problem in the UK, in particular the north, after the economic restructuring during the 1970s and 1980s, is that cities have become associated with many negative images related to social deprivation such as poverty, crime and unemployment (Boland, 2008 p356). Using Liverpool as an example, Boland points to stereotypes of people from Liverpool[7]. Liverpool and the people from Liverpool have also been associated with negative regional stereotypes (Jemphrey et al 2000; Du Noyer 2007; Boland 2008; Belchem 2006).

The poverty associated with people from Liverpool has often made them subject of unpleasant chants at football matches (Boland, 2008 p357; Du Noyer, 2004 p180) and as football is one of the most common themes associated with Liverpool in the media (Garcia, 2006 p2) much of the city's image is heavily associated with it. One of the main examples of the use of negative stereotypes that has been applied to those from Liverpool relates back to the Hillsborough Disaster in 1989, where ninety six Liverpool FC supporters lost their lives, with the blame being wrongly placed on Liverpool FC supporters by the mass media, which

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[7] People from Liverpool are colloquially referred to as 'scousers'.

relayed back to the already negative image of Liverpool and its people (Jemphrey et al 2000; Du Noyer 2007; Belchem 2006).

Jemphrey et al (2000) argue "the complex relationships between media ownership, the market and the routines of journalistic practice exhibit many tensions" (Jemphrey et al, 2000 p479). These tensions can add to associated symbolic and cultural capital. As the previous chapter discussed, in relation to women and the media, the images that the media portray of a particular group can often then affect the ways in which they then behave as well as their experiences and perceptions of space (Valentine 1989; Gill 2007; Ross 2010). Therefore, women from Liverpool not only have the gendered implications to contend with but also the regional stereotypes, resulting in a perceived symbolic and cultural capital associated with women from Liverpool, thus demonstrating these tensions cited by Jemphrey et al.

Boland (2013) considers the rebranding of Liverpool alongside socioeconomic datasets. He argues that 'place promotion' has changed over time from focusing on increasing tourism and investors to creating newly branded spaces, a move which increases their potential to compete on an international scale (Boland, 2013 p253). The main aim behind this branding is to overhaul the city's image and to help attract what is considered to be the more desirable residents, visitors and investors (Boland, 2013 p253). Liverpool City Council (under the Liberal Democrats and later the Labour party) wanted to attract private investment to the city centre. However, this has created tension within the city because the entrepreneurial ideology that is needed in order to attract this type of development does not support or work in cohesion with that of the social welfare approach (Boland, 2013 p256 also see Hall and Hubbard, 1996). Examples in Liverpool given by Boland relating to this

move in regeneration policy are the regeneration at the Albert Dock, the new Museum of Liverpool, the Liverpool Waters project and the Liverpool One development, which he describes as Liverpool's 'signature project' that 'reveals the physical and symbolic transformation of the city centre' (Boland, 2013 p259). It could therefore be argued, using Lefebvre's (1974) discussion of the tensions between 'elite' visions of space and the everyday uses of lived practices of space can become exaggerated and more apparent when processes such as the one described by Boland occur, as those who have strong connections with the city become further marginalised with these changes in policy. This marginalisation can also become more apparent with certain groups, as discussed in the previous chapter in relation to women. Boland (2008) discusses how the colloquium 'chav' has often become associated with people from Liverpool and how this term has been used to refer to several well-known women from Liverpool, in particular those who are married to successful footballers (Boland, 2008 p361). This relates back to Ross's argument about how often in news reporting women are only referred to in terms of their relation to a successful husband or partner (Ross, 2010 p90). Therefore, the example of Liverpool and Liverpool One provides for this thesis a frame within which to investigate the themes outlined in the preceding two literature reviews.

As discussed in previous chapters relating to Bourdieu's (1986) theory of capital, and in particular cultural and symbolic capital, individuals are able to gain social distinction (in terms of both their individual and peer group identity) through consumption practices (Bourdieu, 1986) and this can include the symbolic consumption of place image (Kokosalakis et al, 2006 p 389). Place images can often be placed within a hierarchy, which depends on how they are consumed (Gunn, 1972). Kokoslakis et al (2006), using the case study of

Liverpool, considered how place images are formed and the implications that these images can have for urban regeneration. They discuss how place images have been used in an attempt to overcome some of the negative imagery associated with Liverpool in relation to crime and safety. Using an example of a place promotion advertisement from The Mersey Partnership's national advertising campaign, they argue that:

> "the image is indicative of the interplay of discourses of different image agents. It is an attempt by Liverpool's place marketing organizations to subvert perceptions of the city as a dangerous place, held by the general public, fuelled by the media and originally instigated by not the whole, but a section of the city's population. As such the image is representative of the shifting power relations between the place, and the various producers and consumers of its image" (Kokoslakis et al, 2006 p393).

Kokoslakis et al (2006) go on to discuss how the previous negative images produced of Liverpool by the media also created a place image, which is what campaigns such as the Mersey Partnership's national advertising campaign have had to contend with and subvert.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the elements of the history of the city of Liverpool that is of relevance to this research and demonstrates why Liverpool and the Liverpool One development create a useful case study within which the research questions outlined in the introduction can be addressed. Liverpool is a city which has a strong cultural heritage and identity and its economy is heavily reliant on tourism which in turn relies on the city's cultural image and therefore successful place marketing has been an important part of Liverpool's regeneration strategy (Jones and Wilks-Heeg 2004; Rodwell 2008; Jones 2011).

As considered in this chapter, in terms of the Liverpool One development it has been discussed how this development was used in order to help facilitate a particular image of

the city of Liverpool and was very much designed with the intention of attracting those from outside of the city. This then raises the question about how those who have associations with the history of this space feel about these changes and how it has affected their current lived experiences. These were key themes used in the walking interviews as well as in the introduction of the participants to the cognitive maps and photograph elicitation. Therefore, linking back to the research questions outlined in the introduction, the impact that the changes to the space that is now Liverpool One has had on the cultural and symbolic capital of the space and those who use it, can be examined through gaining an understanding of the lived experiences of those who use the space in an everyday setting. As the focus of this thesis is women's everyday lived experiences the sample will focus on women from Liverpool. The following chapter will discuss further justifications for using this sample as well as the research methods that were used.

Chapter 5. Methodology – Researching Experiences and Representations in Urban Space

"Images of different kinds are central to how a great deal of social life is lived now. Fundamental forms of social difference – of class, gender, sexuality, race, disability, religion and so on and so – are persistently, pervasively visualized, they are constituted in large part by being made visible – or invisible – in particular ways, as banal, as spectacular – and that visualizing is being done by many many different kinds of practices – from large media corporations to small community groups to political extremists across the spectrum to familial kinship networks to diasporic communities" (Rose, 2015 Keynote address at the International Visual Methods conference in Brighton).

5. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the mixed method approach to researching lived experiences and representations in the city, building on the contentions set forth in both of the literature reviews which argued that experiences in the city are not fixed and are subject to many everyday interpretations and subversions. It will explore the methodology behind this research and the research methods that will be used developing on from the previous chapter, which considered the relevant context of the city of Liverpool and the Liverpool One development. Mills (2000) believed that the role sociology should have is to make connections between the wider history of a subject and the private histories of those situated therein (Mills, 2000 p5). Therefore, if the previous chapter's role was to cover the wider historical context for this thesis then the role for this chapter is to consider how the private histories of individuals can be explored. Further links between these private histories and the wider historical and cultural context (as well as the relevant themes regarding experiences of urban space and the gender representations that can become manifested within urban space) will be drawn together in the following chapters in terms of the data collected for this research.

Chapter 2 highlighted complexities around creation of urban space, the way we use space and how we interpret the representations that can become associated with it. Chapter 3 went on to discuss the intersections between class and gender and how these can impact on women's lived experiences and perceptions of representations of space. Through the consideration of the theoretical notions discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 alongside the discussion of existing research that has been carried out, it was determined that a flexible approach to the methodology of this research was required.

In the introduction to this thesis the argument towards a social constructionist approach was put forward. Burr (2003) argues that different environments (such as public and private) have different values and practices associated with them which determine what behaviours are considered appropriate and which are generally constructed by those who have influence and power within society. This social construction of norms and values and how they influence behaviour within urban spaces in terms of class and gender has been clear throughout the literature reviews within this thesis. This is therefore in line with the interpretivist approach of relativist ontology, in that our realities are socially constructed through shared meanings, and therefore to understand lived experiences we have to explore the symbolism and interactions behind these shared meanings (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Consequently, this research has adopted a mixed method approach incorporating cognitive maps and photograph elicitation alongside walking interviews in order to further explore these shared meanings and the symbolism behind them. The photography element of the research allowed participants to explore the symbols that they believe exist within the urban space (both in reality and conceptually). The cognitive maps and the walking interviews allowed participants to explore their own spatial practices and in the interviews

discussion around how these practices aligned with their perceived representations of the space and the norms and values that they felt were associated with the space.

This chapter gives a rationale for the methodology of this research. It will discuss the reasons behind the sample for this research. This chapter will consider some examples of the types of research methods previously used in research into urban space and the implications suggested in related academic literature that relate to the ways in which urban space should be considered and researched. This will then lead in to a discussion of the research methods that I have adopted and the rationalisation for these methods. Feminist research often addresses the epistemological issues regarding choice of research methods as it attends to the oversight in much positivist research which does not always consider women's lived experiences (Westmarland 2001). Therefore a mixed methods approach has been adopted for this thesis, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

5.1 Research Sample and Case Study

As discussed in the previous chapter, it was decided that the city of Liverpool and the Liverpool One development would be used as the area to situate this research because of the recent developments and relevant history of the city. The site that is now Liverpool One has undergone major regeneration and privatisation (Minton 2009) and could be used as an example of the place marketing strategies that are often developed alongside regeneration policies (Jones and Wilks-Heeg 2004; Rodwell 2008; Jones 2011). As discussed previously, there have been a number of negative stereotypes associated with people from Liverpool (Boland, 2008) which also makes Liverpool a suitable city to frame this research because of the interest of the thesis focusing on how representations can be reflected through urban space. The use of Liverpool One and Liverpool as a case study for this research provides an

appropriate framework within which representations of space (as discussed by Lefebvre 1974) can be explored as well as how the cultural and symbolic capital (as discussed by Bourdieu, 1986) of urban spaces can impact on the cultural capital of those who use the space). This is to be explored in terms of women's perceptions and experiences of these representations of space.

The sample consisted of 20 women who were either from Liverpool or who had lived in Liverpool for over ten years. This decision was made to ensure that the participants had knowledge and lived experience of the space prior and post the Liverpool One development so that they were able to make comparisons and discuss the changes to the cultural and symbolic capital of space as well as differences in the representations of space and their spatial practice. The interest in urban practise, memory and perceptions of cultural and symbolic capital means that this would be particularly relevant to those who had both pre and post experience of the space that is Liverpool One and ten years seemed an appropriate determent of this because of the timescale of when the project plans were made public, the development and construction stage as well as experience of the development itself. Fourteen participants were from the local area and six had lived in Liverpool for over ten years. The majority of those who were not originally from Liverpool had moved there to attend university. Eleven of the participants were in a relationship or married and seven had children. A table that outlines the biographical details of the individual participants is included in Appendix 4. As Chapter 3 demonstrated, there has been a lack of recent research into women's everyday experiences in the city (Tonkiss, 2005 p105) and it was therefore decided that an all-woman sample would help to address this issue. Furthermore, it would help to give a more detailed example of the affects that the regeneration of urban space can have on people's experiences of the space and the representations that can

become associated with the space, as it eliminates the variable of gender (in terms of a male female divide) from the analysis. In terms of theorizing who has the right to the city, it is generally agreed that in order to have claim to the right to the city one does not necessarily have to be 'native' to that city, but have the 'experience of inhabiting the city' (Purcell, 2013 p142). This is why the sample of research participants not only includes those who are from Liverpool but also those who have past experiences of the space that is being researched. In the interests of providing an in-depth analysis of the more specific issue of women's experiences of urban space and the representations associated with them, this research will focus on the sample described above.

A number of recruitment methods were used. Local women's interest groups (LGBT groups, reading groups, craft groups) were contacted and they were asked to promote the research to their members, which was mainly done through social media. Recruitment posters and leaflets were also disseminated in local libraries and some recruitment was carried out within the University of Liverpool through the Guild of Students. A small number of participants also encouraged friends to take part in the research. The sample was therefore an opportunity/snowball sample and whilst this can mean it was not representative, because of the exploratory qualitative nature of this research this was not envisaged to be an issue.

As the previous chapter has discussed, Liverpool One was the product of planning by Grosvenor, Liverpool City Council and the various agencies involved with the design and implementation of creating the space, and its subsequent symbolic capital. If we take the notion that there are conflicts between those who are behind the commodification, creation and development of urban space and those who use the space (whose use and interpretations of the space all form part of its creation in the first place (see also Lefebvre

1974; Hubbard 1996; Harvey 1985), then the impact that these carefully planned spaces have on those who use them can be called into question. This is because those behind its creation are unlikely to have the same lived experiences as those who will be using the space and who are also affected by the representations of the space. This is one of the issues that this thesis aims to explore. Hubbard (1996) argued that often new urban landscapes are being used to help forge what he refers to as "new cultural politics of place" which in turn help to legitimise the entrepreneurial polices and governance that are behind these landscapes (Hubbard 1996). He argues that there has been a shift in the role of cities and that they have changed their focus from local provision to enhancing the prosperity of the city. However, Hubbard questioned what meanings are actually attached to these landscapes, especially by those who experience these changes, a concept closely linked to the research questions for this thesis. Using the example of Birmingham and the need to encourage national and international investment, the city council stated that they would encourage consultations with the local population, although the reality was that only specific groups were consulted (Hubbard, 1996). Hubbard's research is a useful example of how perceptions of regenerated spaces can differ between those who are behind the creation of the space and those who use it. However, much of the theories discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 suggest a very complex relationship between urban space and those who engage with it, implying that those who use space have very different lived experiences and that these are often affected by their own personal histories, as well as the representations they find and experience within the space. In turn, these are also affected by the ways through which space is regulated and how relationships between those who may occupy and use space and those who may own, design, develop and govern space can also affect these lived experiences (e.g. Simmel 2005; Lefebvre 1974; De Certeau 1988). This

complexity is multiplied when considerations associated with gender are made because a person's gender can affect the way in which they interact and behave within urban space, with women often having more regulations imposed on them as well as having preconceptions about how they are expected to behave (Young 1990; Haraway 1988; Tonkiss, 2005; Massey; 1994; Valentine 1989; Valentine 1993). This is further emphasised through the mass media which also reflects and reinforces representations and perceptions that may be experienced in urban space.

One issue that has been of relevance throughout this research project is my own perspective, which is implicit through the work that I have drawn upon, suggesting that knowledge emerges through situated standpoints (McIntyre, 2003). Cuomo and Massaro (2014) discuss how this is increasing becoming an issue in human geography research because the field has now moved away from almost exclusively studying unfamiliar spatiality's to localities that are familiar to the researcher. Being someone who has always lived in Liverpool in addition to studying and living in the city centre, close to the area that is now Liverpool One, it is unavoidable that I have my own thoughts and opinions about the subject of this research. Furthermore, and arguably more importantly, because of my own gender I also have had my own gendered experiences in urban space that reflect those discussed in Chapter 3, and again this could affect the way in which I conduct the interviews and the types of questions asked. However, any researcher bias was minimised through considering the academic literature relating to this area which was discussed in the earlier chapters, and using this to help shape the themes used in the interviews. Furthermore, as the only researcher involved with this research it is also important that my own bias is not reflected trough the analysis of the results as ideally the transcripts from the interviews

would be double-blind coded however due to the purpose of this research being to be put forward for a PhD this is not possible. It is important to be reflexive in data analysis and throughout data collection in order to ensure that the power hierarchies do not influence the outputs of research, especially when the research is concerned with everyday lived experiences (Ali, 2015). Dwyer and Buckle (2009) argue that it can be helpful if the researcher is an 'insider' of the group that is being studied as the group are then more likely to share their experiences. In terms of the sample and case study of this research, whilst the topics discussed in interviews were not of a sensitive nature, I did feel that the common ground between myself and the research participants facilitated the research in terms of their engagement with the research and in encouraging a more conversational rather than interview like discourse. For example, when I first met the participants in person we would often talk initially about where we were from and where we had lived in Liverpool. It was also helpful that I had a local knowledge so when participants referred to a past event or a place in Liverpool I would more than likely not have to enquire as to what they were referring to. That being said, I did not want to impose my own thoughts and opinions on the research. The way in which I avoided this will be discussed more specifically in relation to the different research methods in the subsequent sections of this chapter, as they were chosen to help overcome this issue by allowing the participants to have more control over the research process than they might have had if more traditional interview techniques had been used. However, my overall aim of avoiding researcher bias links back to Becker, who suggests trying to empathize with an alternative point of view and making yourself and anybody reading your research aware of its limitations in terms of what has been studied and from whose point of view (Becker, 1967 p245 & p247). The limitations of the methods

used and the overall research process used for this thesis are discussed in this chapter and they are also reflected upon in the conclusion.

It is clear therefore that the methods used for this research need to reflect the complexity of the subject as outlined in the two literature reviews. Savage and Burrows (2007) argue that there needs to be a move away from methods such as in-depth interviews and an increase in usage of further innovative methods which engage with more specialised methods. Furthermore, there is an argument towards engaging in more participant led research (Frendenberg and Tsui 2013; Holland et al 2010) in order to allow those who are being research the power to be able to shape the research themselves and leave less to the determinant of the researcher. Therefore, to reflect the complexity of our relationship with urban space and in order to attempt to use more specialised methods, a mixed methodology was decided upon which will now be discussed in the following section.

5.2 Research Methods

As the literature reviews have demonstrated, much of the previous academic literature suggests that urban space is not fixed and is always in a state of change (Lefebvre 1974 & 1976; Harvey 1990; Zukin 1995). People also have different ways of relating to urban space (Benjamin 2002 & 2004; Jacobs 1961; Brenner 2009; Harvey 2008; Lefebvre 1960) meaning that it can be a difficult concept to research because of the various nuances associated with it; research methods need to address these nuances and allow for a deeper understanding of lived experiences. As a result of this, a research methodology that encompasses three different data collection techniques was adopted in an endeavour to gain a more thorough understanding of the participants' experiences of the Liverpool One development and the representations and cultural and symbolic capital that have become associated with it. The

primary method of data collection that was used for the research was participant-led walking interviews around the Liverpool One site. In order to further explore the nuances associated with the space, the walking interviews have been combined with cognitive mapping and photography. As discussed previously in this thesis, experiences of the city are often explored from the male perspective (Mott and Roberts, 2013 p2). By putting bodies into space this contributes towards the experiences that they will have because of the existing perceptions and representations of the space (Mott and Roberts, 2013 p6). Referring to their concept of urban exploration (or 'urbex' as they refer to it), Mott and Roberts state that:

> "Ultimately, we find a paradox where, on one hand, urbex emphasises embodiment and progressive politics, while on the other, there appears to be a reluctance to consider different kinds of bodies and the inclusions/exclusions perpetuated through practices and discourses of exploration and the privileged explorer-subject... Deeper acknowledgement of individually differentiated bodies in urban exploration research provides a way to bring about consideration of a more socially just city, particularly in terms of what constitutes authentic participation in the practice" (Mott and Roberts, 2013 p7-8).

This idea of bringing the sense of place to research by conducting the research in situ is very much the underlying methodological focus for the methods adapted.

With regard to the research methods that I have used for this thesis, it is important to note that through focusing on the Liverpool One development I have placed my own boundaries on this research and the types of data that were collected. This was done so as to be able to address the research questions that were set out in the introduction as it helped to keep the interviews, cognitive maps and photographs more focused. However, throughout the whole process, the underlying issues which inspired the research questions were explored and often participants gave examples of their experiences outside of Liverpool One.

Furthermore, the research methods were not intended to produce data that was evaluative of the Liverpool One development. As previously discussed the purpose of using the development of Liverpool One and the city of Liverpool as a case study was to highlight an area of space that could be used as a spatial framework for the research. However, inevitably the participants did give their opinions of the development and this was unavoidable because of the participant led nature of the data collection. This was overcome in the analysis of the data by focusing more on how and why the participants felt this way and whether or not it was because of their perceptions of the representations of the space and their own lived experiences.

The following lays out the three research methods used and the reasons why these methods were adopted for this research:

5.2.1 Walking Interviews

As discussed in Chapter 2, De Certeau believed that spatial stories can be linked with the routes that people take through the city as the urban environment is a site of practise (Tonkiss, 2005 pp126-127). For this reason, the interviews which form the main method of data collection for this research took place in Liverpool One, the site for the case study. Walking interviews, which are also sometimes referred to as go-alongs, (Kunesbach 2003; Carpinio 2009) have been described as a "hybrid between participant observation and interviewing" (Kusenbach, 2003 p463). They can be an effective research method, particularly when studying themes such as environmental perception, spatial practices, biographies, social architecture and social realms, as they enable the researcher to uncover spatial practices which may be more difficult to explore in a traditional interview as they help to give more spatial context to the interview (Kusenback, 2003 p463).

Carpinio (2009) states that "the "go-along" interview method is a variation on qualitative interviewing techniques that has great utility (either alone or in conjunction with other methods) for exploring – and subsequently improving understanding of – peoples' experiences of their local residential context" (Carpino, 2009 p263). Carpinio also discussed how walking interviews can help to overcome issues relating to the traditional qualitative interview in that it gives a context of place to the research and allows for the participants "interpretations, experiences and practices" (Carpinio, 2009 p264) to be explored within the spatial context itself. Jones (2008) has also discussed how engaging in discussions about space within the spatial context adds "another layer of interpretation" (Jones et al, 2008 p4) to the data. Walking interviews are a popular method within ethnography as they allow researchers to give context in terms of the participants' lived experiences in the physical environment that is being researched (Lynch and Rivikin 1970; Kusenback 2003; Pink 2008; Carpinio 2009; Clark and Emmel 2010; Darling et al 2012). Whilst this research is not strictly ethnographic, due to one of the main research aims being to explore 'everyday' experiences', it was felt that it was appropriate to take inspiration from ethnographic concepts. These concepts encourage participant led research (which in turn helps to overcome issues of researcher bias as discussed previously) and are useful in reflecting upon practices that may not be at the forefront of participant's conscious thought.

In order to maximise the benefit of walking interviews, it is important that participants are given a greater degree of control over the research process than they would usually have in a more traditional interview. This is because it allows participants to present the area being researched in the way that they want (Clarke and Emmel, 2010 p2) and allows them to focus on areas that have more significance to them (and in the case of this research this was also

further emphasised through the use of photograph elicitation). This seems particularly important when considering that the main purpose of this research is to understand more individual experiences of urban space and it helps to minimise the influence that the researcher can have on participant's responses. Jones et al (2008) argue that when carrying out walking interviews it is important to consider the relationship that the participant has with the space within which the interview is being carried out. They state that this is because of the emotional attachments that people can have with certain spaces. This is a further positive reason for them being adapted as a research method for this study, because it is the participant's relationship with the space and its associated representations that is being explored.

Evans and Jones (2011) compared findings from traditional qualitative interviews and walking interviews in order to investigate how the data collected differed. This was done as they argue that whilst social science has shown a recent interest into the positives and negatives associated with walking interviews there has been little substantial statistical evidence that demonstrates the difference in the data collected (Evans and Jones, 2011 p850). Through comparing data obtained from traditional interviews and walking interviews they found that walking interviews produced more spatial stories from participants and with a higher number of specific places mentioned (Evans and Jones, 2011 p856). They also observed that it was easier to keep the participants focus on the spatial aspect of the research when doing a walking interview.

The use of walking interviews as a research method is more powerful when used alongside elicitation devices such as photo voice (Wang et al, 2004). Lynch and Rivikin (1970) conducted research using similar methods to walking interviews, within which they

recorded the impressions of their participants as they walked through a city, arguing that "the process of perception is so rapid and complex, often so difficult to verbalize, the findings [of their research] must be regarded as only the perceptions which were 'at the top of the heap' in the whole conscious-unconscious sensing of the environment" (Lynch and Rivkin, 1970 p24). Therefore, in order to help make further sense of the participant's experience of the environment for the purposes of this research, walking interviews were used in conjunction with cognitive maps and photography, with the hope that this will give further insight into their experiences of the space.

The space of Liverpool One, as discussed in the previous chapter, is the main focus for the case study and the research will investigate the participants responses to the so called 'sense of space' that the development claims to have created (Littlefield, 2009 p158) was imperative in the planning behind it, as the planners wanted Liverpool One to both fit in with the existing layout and atmosphere of the city whist still maintaining a feeling of uniqueness and separation. Consequently, the way in which the research participants visualise the space of Liverpool One in the context of the city of Liverpool is an important theme to be considered. However, this is not necessarily something which can be easily expressed, as when people frequently visit an area they can often find it difficult to reposition their thoughts about the area when they are so familiar with it. Therefore, combining walking interviews with other more visual methods enables participants to express their perceptions visually as well as verbally.

5.2.2 Cognitive Maps

Cognitive mapping (also known as mental mapping) is a method which can be used to explore a person's beliefs about a particular topic as well as relationships that exist among

the beliefs (Kenney, 2009). Kevin Lynch is one of the pioneering theorists to use cognitive maps in social research. In his work, which was carried out in Los Angeles, Boston and New Jersey, he asked participants to sketch maps in order to highlight what they thought was important and interesting in the city that they lived in. Through the use of cognitive mapping, combined with other research methods (such as interviews and photography) Lynch found that people do not view city spaces as a whole entity, instead their perception is often fragmented (which was demonstrated through the use of cognitive maps). He argued that the frequent changes and modifications that are made to cities mean that the city itself is unfixed and often in a state of change (Lynch, 1960). Cognitive maps can help to give participants a way to express these changes as they can illustrate the current and past layouts and features of a city. Cognitive maps also go further than demonstrating the physical aspects of a city as they can also be used to display the more complex notion of a person's perceptions (Montello, 2002). Furthermore, taking the notion that differences within the city can become manifested in both material and imagined forms (Lefebvre, 1974; Soja and Hopper, 1993), by giving participants a visual alternative to spoken narratives, they are given the opportunity to express these imagined elements of urban space. Methods which involve drawing are exploratory in that they do not encourage a definitive response but rather "gauge the knowledge, understandings, beliefs, attitudes or perceptions of certain groups towards certain issues" (Mair and Kierans, 2007 p123). In this sense, they are valuable in the initial stages of the research to help introduce the subject matter of the research and to facilitate further discussions.

Curtis et al (2014) have discussed previous use of sketch maps and their use in understanding environmental perception. They discuss how previous work using sketch

maps to explore environmental perception has tended to focus on issues that require a more accurate spatial description of the space in question (e.g. Kohm et al (2009) who in their research into perception of inner city crime required research participants to demonstrate which areas they felt unsafe). Previous research into environmental perception has made use of Geographical Information System mapping software (GIS) to map spatial perceptions (for example Curtis et al 2014; Boschmann and Cubbon 2014). In terms of the research carried out for this thesis, the use of GIS was considered however it was decided that as the main themes to for this project are more abstract and conceptual the data gained from the cognitive maps did not need to be geographically situated.

As per Chapter 3, women can have very different ways of negotiating spaces than men (Young, 1990; Haraway, 1988; Tonkiss, 2005; Massey, 1994; Valentine, 1989, 1993). Whilst the literature cited earlier has investigated the reasons for this, it has not considered the use of visual methods such as cognitive maps. As discussed throughout this thesis so far, the spatial elements of our experiences in urban space are crucial to our understanding of how and why we have different experiences in city spaces. For this reason, the use of cognitive maps helps to further emphasise the spatial aspect of these experiences.

One issue that was encountered when recruiting participants was that some felt that they were unable to recall much of the space that was the subject of this research before the Liverpool One development was created. When research is relying on memory this can be a problem when changes have taken place, as Michielsens (2000) states "Stories become difficult to tell when the frame of reference in which experiences were originally placed has evaporated" (Michielsens, 2000 p183). This was also reflected in the walking interviews; when discussing past experiences of the space participants sometimes struggled to recall

specific details because of the physical changes to the environment. However, in areas where little or no physical change had taken place, or if certain details were still present, participants found recollection much easier. In this project, cognitive maps were most useful in terms of allowing the participants to situate themselves in the space within which the research was being conducted. This is because they did seem to encourage the participants to reflect on the space in question before the walking interviews took place and they would often use and refer to their maps during the interviews. Michielsens (2000) argues that 'contemporary concepts' are important when asking research participants to recall something from their memory and without these 'contemporary concepts' present it can be difficult to recall accurate memories (Michielsens, 2000 p184). By asking participants to complete the map before the interview takes place it helps them to create contemporary concepts within which to frame their experiences (and likewise, this is a further advantage of conducting the interviews in situ by means of the walking interview). Michielsens also argues that 'framed experiences' are imperative when asking research participants to discuss past experiences as these can help the researcher to understand the content behind the recollections since other aspects of the experience (for example emotions or other interrelated events) can impact on the ways in which the participant recollects and expresses their experiences (Michielsens, 2000 p184). Again this gives support to the reasoning behind selecting cognitive maps as part of the research process for this thesis as they give further context to the lived experiences of the participants. They also assist in making sure the memories and experiences recollected in the subsequent walking interviews are more of an accurate recollection rather than over-exaggerated, which can sometimes be the case when describing past experiences.

5.2.3 Photography

Photography, like the cognitive maps, provides an alternative way with which to explore the themes of this research. Photographs are a way for research participants to tell their own stores about their experiences (Burles et al 2014; Fortin et al 2014; Rose 2014). The photographs that were taken by the participants were used as an elicitation device to explore and reflect upon what they felt was the representations behind parts of the space. Pollock (1994) claims that photographs are subject to interpretation and are not 'privileged images of reality' (Pollock, 1994 p13) and therefore photographs are in fact 'spaces of representation' that are for the audience of the image to interpret Furthermore, in her consideration of how visual images reflect spaces of representation Rose (1997) has argued:

> "The notion of a 'space of representation' connects the fictive spaces of the image with the spaces of its interpretation by considering the relations between the image and the audience implicit in particular spatial configurations" (Rose, 1997 p277).

Rose and Pollock discuss the audience as being key to the representations of the image, however in the case of this research, it is why they choose to create these images of spaces that is of particular importance. However, I would still argue that the idea of Pollock's 'spaces of representation' is still of importance to this research as it also relates to Lefebvre's (1974) concept of 'representations of space' that was discussed earlier. Lefebvre discussed how in terms of his theory, 'representations of space' reflected how spaces were perceived, which is similar to how Pollock views the subject of photographs. In terms of this research, the photographs were used to reflect on how the participants perceived the spaces of the development and also how they reflected the representations that the participants believed were reflected through these spaces.

The use of visual methods that give participants further control over the data helps to explore the more intricate aspects of the participant's experiences. Research that has used photography as part of the research design has demonstrated how the use of such methods help to gain further insight into the embodied experiences of the participant that would be difficult to achieve using more traditional research methods (Burles et al 2014; Drew et al 2010; Thompson et al 2008).

Halliday (2006) argues that the incorporation of the use of digital media into social science research has impacted on the sociological imagination as it invites "not only another way of seeing urban and cultural life, but also to think about other ways of telling" (Halliday, 2006 p9). Taking DeCerteau's (1988) concept of walking and how in the exploration of the city it can allow an individual more freedom from the psychologically autonyms rhythms of the city, Halliday (2006) undertook a twenty year study of the city through photographing his own urban detours. Halliday (2006) suggests that "photographic walking might be thought of a means by which the city can be experienced and made sense of through the medium of the camera" (Halliday, 2006 p6). Mott and Roberts (2013) argue that urban exploring is a contemporary way through which people experience the city (Mott and Roberts, 2013 p2) and photography is one of the ways through which people can document their experiences (Mott and Roberts, 2013 p4). This is why photographs were brought into the research process as they give a further dimension and depth to the data collected and allow participants to engage in their own urban exploration of the space.

Using visual methods helps to enhance the quality of the data gathered from qualitative interviews and helps to give further depth to the data in terms of its 'cultural reality' (Liebenberg, 2009 p444). Drew et al used visual methods to help give further meaning to the

lived everyday experiences of the participants in their research (Drew et al, 2010 p1681) and they argued that "visual storytelling can help promote reflection and communication about issues that can be difficult to conceptualize and express" (Drew et al, 2010 p1685). This can be particularly relevant when considering the city as it is space which we very much experience through our vision of what we can see (as well as how we feel, which is explored more through the cognitive maps and the walking interviews). Furthermore, in the study of the city, photography has had a 'symbiotic' and 'symbolic' relationship with the city which is evident through the use of photographs in promoting cities (Jones, 2013 p2) as well as the popularity of historical accounts and exhibitions of old and new photographs.

In his discussion of walking interviews, Carpinio (2007) suggested that it was important for the researcher to make notes of landmarks that the participant feels are significant during the research; however by also using photograph elicitation this was not needed for this research. I would argue that the photograph elicitation also gives the research participant more influence over the direction of the research because it leaves it entirely to them to determine what landmarks are significant instead of relying on the researcher interpreting this. Benjamin believed that a photograph can help to demonstrate the more individual meanings within urban space (Tonkiss, 2005 p124). It is not necessarily the famous and well known monuments that individuals associate with urban space but rather the seemingly insignificant aspects of the space that they themselves find more significant and interesting. This is because a city can be visited and experienced every day by thousands of people, and it is the fragmentation and seemingly insignificant details of urban space that mean that each of these people can have very different experiences whilst in the city (Benjamin, 2004). Photography can also empower participants in social research as it enables them to express

their own stories and perceptions as well as giving them more freedom to express their own experiences (Darling et al, 2012 p21). Therefore, the use of photography in this research encourages the participants to focus on the individual aspects of Liverpool One as well as the development as a whole.

Research carried out by Cannusico et al (2007) used photography to explore the physical and social environment relating to health and the city. They used photography in different ways to explore these contexts through asking health staff to take photographs (thus displaying the 'outsider' context), those living in the community that was being studied (thus providing the 'insider' context) and through collaborations between staff and residents. This allowed different perceptions of the same area to be obtained. They then used the photographs in subsequent interviews with the participants in order to gain their interpretation of the photographs and this was then used to create a basic four tier coding frame for the photographs. Cannusico et al (2009) claim that through using this mixed method approach, they gained "a more layered portrait of the physical and social environments that shape health in the city" (Cannusico et al, 2009 p559). Whilst Cannusico et al used both insider and outsider perspectives for their research; this was not possible with the research that was carried out for this thesis because it is investigating the conflict between everyday perceptions and the elite perceptions (in this case the developers behind Liverpool One). However, in an attempt to overcome this issue Chapter 7 of this thesis will discuss the ONE Community annual Review 2012 (a policy document produced by Liverpool One) in order to gain an insight into their perspective on the development and to act as a comparison to the research participants perspectives.

The use of visual methods also helps to break down boundaries between the researcher and participant. Liebenberg (2009) argues that using images created by participants in research can help to enhance communication. Whilst Liebenberg's research was with marginalised women who were from a very different cultural background to herself and therefore had very different issues to comprehend compared to this research, her point was that researchers often maintain "a position of privilege" because of their own history and experience in research which can be imposed on the interpretation of the participants own lived experiences (Liebenberg, 2009 p442). This is clearly an issue in terms of this research; whilst the fact that I am from Liverpool and that it is hoped that this would encourage dialogue between myself and the participants there is also the possibility that my own background as a social science researcher may have impinged on the way in which I collected data. As discussed previously, one of the main objectives of this research was to explore the participants' everyday lived experiences in the space in question. As a social science researcher, due to the nature of the subject and the critical thought associated with the discipline, it is likely that I have considered the consequences of the changes that were brought to the space in a different way based on my academic studies. By giving the research participants the opportunity to express themselves visually (both in terms of the cognitive maps and the photographs) it is anticipated that these issues will be overcome as they create an opportunity for "researchers to literally see what participants are talking about" (Liebenberg, 2009 p444). This is imperative and more so in terms of researching the participant's everyday lived experiences of space because overlooking personal experiences of those being researched can mean that the complexities of their experiences are not fully represented in the dissemination of the research findings (Liebenberg, 2009 p442).

McIntyre (2003) who carried out participatory action research including photographs with women from Northern Ireland in order to gain an insight into their everyday lived experiences argues that the use of such methods gave the participants the opportunity to reflect on the intersections of their responsibilities (McIntyre, 2003 p52). McIntyre discussed the themes for the research with her participants to further ensure that the research was participant led. Whilst this did not happen for the research undertaken for this thesis as I had themes that I wished to cover during the interviews, the interviews were participant led (although within the remit of Liverpool One) and therefore I would argue that they did have some influence over the themes.

A further advantage of participants taking photographs as part of qualitative research is that it encourages them to give more consideration to their responses to questions and why the information that they are providing is important to them (Liebenberg, 2009 p441).

> "Because images are argued to be visual representations of subjective experiences, rather than objective statements, the exploration of visual meanings not only help us 'see', but also asks us to slow down and consider, to think about what it is we are seeing and what it is we don't see, and why" (Liebenberg, 2009 p445).

This helps to give more validity to the data as it increases the likelihood that the responses in the interview and the cognitive maps and photographs produced by the participants are a more veritable account of their experiences.

Rose (2007) discusses the use of photo elicitation within social science. She argues that the use of photography in terms of photo elicitation can be useful as the data produced can be used to support data collected through other methods, for example through encouraging discourse in interviews (Rose, 2007 p239). As Drew et al (2010) argue that "photo-elicitation approaches tend to emphasise images as a means of accumulating rich verbal data, which

then tends to be prioritized over the visual photographs themselves" (Drew et al, 2010 p1678). Photo elicitation combined with qualitative interviews means that the photographs gain meaning through the interviews (Rose, 2007 p239) but they also provide an insight into the way in which the participants view their environment, which would not be possible without the use of photography.

5.3 The Research Process

After an initial discussion during which a brief background to the research was given to each participant and they had signed the consent form, they were asked to sketch a cognitive map. This was the first stage of the research process as it was thought that it would help to encourage the participants in repositioning their view of the space (linking back to Benjamin 2002, 2004). In order to avoid any bias or influence occurring from myself I kept the explanation of what I wanted from the map to a minimum by simply asking them to sketch out what they considered to be Liverpool's city centre (although I did emphasise that they did not have to be geographically accurate). Some participants described what they were drawing whilst they were sketching the map, however in all cases I took the opportunity after they had finished to ask questions regarding the map and to give the participants an opportunity to explain what they had drawn. The main points of interest on the maps were whether or not the participants included Liverpool One, and if so, where they positioned it in relation to the city centre. It was also of interest to see whether the participants referred to any changes in the city centre on their map. In the discussions that occurred after they had drawn the maps I asked the participants to indicate whether their concept of the physical boundaries of the city centre has changed since the opening of Liverpool One, and if so, to use the map to indicate how it had changed.

The walking interviews followed the cognitive maps. Again, in order to avoid any researcher bias or influence, I gave very little guidance regarding the walking interviews as I wanted these to be participant led. I asked participants to walk around the Liverpool One development and to focus on the parts that had the most significance for them (whether for good or bad reasons). Throughout the interviews I kept the discourse as more conversation like rather than structured interview questions. This is because, whilst I would not claim this research is strictly ethnographic, it still relates to the 'everyday experience' and therefore the interviews needed to be as natural as possible. Topics covered throughout the interviews included how participants felt about Liverpool One, how they used Liverpool One, how their use of the city centre had changed since the opening of Liverpool One and what identities they felt were represented through Liverpool One. Whilst the interviews remained qualitative and I had no set order of questions, I still thought it necessary to have a list of topics that I wished to discuss in order to ensure that the data collected was comparable. However, I did not limit my interviews to these topics as I felt it was important, since my research focused on more individualized experiences, that my participants had the freedom to express their own ideas about the issues discussed. This also ensured the conversation flowed much more naturally as it allowed for topics to be discussed when they seemed most relevant. Interviews were recorded using a Dictaphone and a handheld video camera. The main reason for filming the interviews was so that the route the participants took around Liverpool One could be recorded.

At the start of the walking interviews, participants were provided with a digital camera and asked to take photographs of anything they felt was particularly significant about Liverpool One. This helped to facilitate further discussion during the walking interviews and helped to

keep the participants' thoughts focused on their own relationship with Liverpool One. The main advantage of asking participants to take photographs during the walking interview rather than at an alternative time was that it allowed me to clarify why they thought the subject of the photograph was of significance.

Both the cognitive maps and the photographs were useful ways of gaining an insight into my participant's experience of urban space. I would class both as 'elicitation devices' rather than standalone methods for the purposes of this research. The role of the cognitive maps and the photographs was to elicit discussion around the perceived representations of space and the perceived cultural and symbolic capital of the space, as well as their own perceived cultural capital and how this affected the ways through which the experienced the space. This is because the data collected from both would have been very difficult to interpret without the context given by the walking interviews. This is a point made by Clark and Emmel (2010), who argued that the data produced through their research into neighbourhoods indicated more about the way in which their participants moved through space rather than their 'actual everyday spatial practices' and that in order to make sense of the data collected through their various methods, it needs to be considered in terms of the 'epistemological and methodological contexts' (Clark and Emmel, 2010 p5-6). This is a point relevant to the research for this thesis as it is not concerned with the 'day to day' uses of the space (in reality, many of the participants did not live in the city centre so would not have daily encounters with Liverpool One). Instead this research considers their experiences when they visit the space in an everyday sense (i.e. as part of their habitual behaviour).

5.4 Ethical Considerations

As with any academic research project, ethical issues have been carefully considered and ethical clearance has been gained in respect of the University of Liverpool's ethics policy. A copy of the consent form and participant information sheet that were approved by the University of Liverpool's Research Ethics Committee can be found in Appendix Two and Appendix Three.

Informed consent was obtained from all participants. Participants were recruited through local interest groups and were given a summary of my research and asked to contact me via email or telephone if they were interested in taking part. After participants contacted me, I explained what the research entailed and, if they decided they wanted to take part, a date and time was arranged. When I met with the participants, I provided them with an information sheet and gave a further more in depth explanation of the research and asked them to sign a consent form This ensured that the participants fully understood the purpose of the research and that they knew they were giving consent to take part in the research. As the participants were aware of the purpose of my research there was no need to de-brief them. However, I did provide them with my email address in case they had any follow up questions.

Consent also had to be gained from Liverpool One in order for me to film my walking interviews and for my participants to take photographs. This was achieved by contacting their media officer who agreed to allow me to film and photograph within Liverpool One on the condition that I gave them advance notice of the dates and times of interviews. I had to report to their customer service desk before each interview to collect a pass which I could display, ensuring that security staff did not interrupt the interviews.

Confidentiality was an issue that had to be carefully considered in terms of this research, because, as it took place in the field, confidentiality could not be guaranteed. The participants that took part were all local to Liverpool and therefore there was a chance that they could see people that they knew during the interviews. However, participants were fully aware that the research involved a walking interview around Liverpool One. Furthermore, none of my participants worked for or had any professional affiliation with Liverpool One and therefore the nature of the interviews would not have any detrimental impact on them. Also because the interviews were not of a sensitive nature, it was anticipated that they would not suffer adverse effects if they did see someone they were familiar with whilst taking part in the research. One of the participants did not want her walking interview to be filmed. This was overcome by recording the interview on a Dictaphone and taking copious research notes after the interview about the route that was taken through the development.

In addition to the issues surrounding obtaining informed consent from my participants and Liverpool One, there was also the more complicated issue of those occupying the spaces within Liverpool One whilst the research was taking place, as there was a high chance that they may appear in the film and in the photographs that the participants took. This issue was raised by the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Liverpool. Liverpool One itself, as a private development, states that people within its confines may be filmed and/or photographed. However, I was aware that not all people using the space may realise this. I did not find filming to be problematic. As mentioned previously, the filming of the interviews was solely for my benefit in terms of being able to make accurate transcripts of the interviews and being able to map the routes that my participants took around Liverpool

One. I took a number of steps to reduce the likelihood of any non-participants appearing in photographs. Firstly, whenever possible I tried to schedule interviews at quieter times of the day. In addition to this (and especially when interviews had to be carried out during busy periods) I asked participants to avoid taking photographs which would show people close up enough to be recognised. Furthermore, Pauwels (2008) makes the point that people who are occupying spaces which may be popular with tourists tend to accept that they may coincidently appear on other people's photographs. Finally, the photographs that do have people who could be recognised will not be included in any of the dissemination of this research (e.g. publications, conference papers). Photovoice (2013) has a statement of ethical practice that is available for researchers who are using photography as part of their methods and this was consulted to aid the facilitation of the photographs as well as to ensure that any relevant ethical issues where adhered to.

Participants were made aware that the results of this research would appear in my final thesis and could also be referred to in potential publications and that this may include citing verbatim quotations from the interviews. I assured participants that no names would be used if their responses to questions were referred to in any publication.

5.5 Considerations for Data Analysis

The following chapters will discuss the results and analysis of this research. The purpose of this section is to discuss how the intended methods of analysis impacted on the design and implementation of the research methodology discussed above.

Throughout this chapter I have emphasised the importance of collecting qualitative data for this research because of the nature of the concepts that are being explored. However, it is

still important to ensure that the data collected from each of the participants covers common themes so that the responses from the different participants can be discussed alongside each other in order to form some conclusions from the analysis. In order to ensure this happened I had a list of topics that I wanted to cover in each interview although these were not exclusive and because of the participant-led nature of the research other themes became apparent throughout the research process. I conducted three pilot interviews using this list of topics to see whether they inspired conversation that would meet the research objectives and questions set out in the introduction chapter and to see if any other themes emerged that may be of relevance to this thesis. This method of approach to starting data collection is based on the premise within grounded theory that qualitative research should explore social phenomenon rather than test hypotheses and answer very specific research questions (Heath and Cowley, 2004). Whilst there was a list of prescribed topics that I covered in each of the interviews, I still allowed and encouraged the interviews to go beyond these topics. Furthermore, whilst it is useful to be able to compare data collected from the participants, each interview also had value in its own right and therefore I did not envisage it as being problematic if some interviews discussed issues that were not mentioned in others. I would therefore argue that, in the case of this thesis, an adapted use of grounded theory was used for the analysis. The data was thematically coded; some initial codes were developed, which is not in line with the notion of grounded theory as discussed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). This was because I was already familiar with the main themes of the interviews and was aware that there were important themes that would form a significant part of the analysis. Also, whilst the interviews were unstructured I did have a number of points that I guided the conversation towards to ensure data that was relevant to this thesis was collected. Therefore, elements of grounded theory have been adapted for

the analysis as there was subsequent coding that was open and was developed throughout the analysis. This t ensured that relevant data was collected and that themes that may not have been apparent in the initial coding were also highlighted and explored. Such approaches to the use of grounded theory have been discussed by Charmaz (2000 &2014) and Crotty (1998), which allows for constructionist elements within grounded theory, suggesting that the way researchers conceptualise and comprehend data has to have some element of prior knowledge. This links further to the discussion at the beginning of this chapter which justified the research methods used through the methodological approach of social constructionism and how our understanding and interpretation of social processes are affected by the shared meaning and symbolism attached. Through using adapted grounded theory alongside social constructionism the prior knowledge of the shared meanings and symbolism that is attached to the space gained through literature and media searchers, as well as my own knowledge as somebody who is local to the area can be incorporated alongside the unknown elements of the participant's personal experiences and perceptions.

This list of topics that was used in each of the interviews forms the basis of the coding that would be used in analysis. In terms of analysis of the interview transcripts, it was anticipated that both manual coding and the use of QSR NVivo would be used to identify common themes within the interview transcripts. The reason for not simply relying on the outputs from QSR NVivo is because the software should only be used for the purpose of making it easier to quantify appropriate aspects of qualitative data, and it is still down to the researcher to analyse the outputs from QSR NVivo (Bringer et al, 2009). The details of the analysis and the coding manual used will be discussed further in the next chapter. However it was important to bear in mind the way in which the data would be analysed whilst

conducting the interviews. All interviews were fully transcribed which helped to familiarise myself with the data and the emerging themes. The photographs taken were stored alongside the extract of the relevant interview in order to provide the context behind each picture. A similar method was used to store the cognitive maps. The routes that the participants took around Liverpool One and the location of where each photograph was taken was also noted.

In addition to the analysis that was done using the transcripts from the participants walking interviews, the cognitive maps and the photographs, analysis was also done on the ONE Community Annual Review 2012 policy and strategy document. As discussed previously, this was done in order to give a comparison from Liverpool One to the responses from the participants in order to see how the perceptions of cultural and symbolic capital of the space. This was done through reviewing the document and looking at what codes that were used to analyse the participant responses were also relevant to this document.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the methodology and the research methods adopted in order to investigate the research questions set out in the introduction chapter. The mixed methods approach combining walking interviews with photography and cognitive maps was adopted to try and address the complexities of researching the ways in which women experience urban space and the representations that become associated with it. Furthermore, it also helped to increase the validity of the data collected from the participants, which was of great relevance to this research since much of it was based upon memory together with lived everyday experiences, which can become part of a routine and therefore may not initiate much conscious thought.

The research sample and case study were chosen to explore the issues highlighted in the previous literature review chapters about tensions between those who create space and those who use it and the representations that become associated with urban space. Due to the nature of this research in that it only consists of twenty participants and is limited to women who are from Liverpool or who have lived in Liverpool for over ten years, the results gained will only reflect their own individual experiences. However, this is still valuable data (as the following chapters will demonstrate) because it shows how their experiences of the Liverpool One development compare with the predictions and expectations of those who created the development. In this sense, the Liverpool One development is used to frame their experiences and to help give context for the research process. The wider implications of issues surrounding our experiences in the city and the more specialised themes relating to women that were outlined in the two literature reviews were explored in relation to the participants' own experiences in the city of Liverpool and more specifically Liverpool One.

A criticism that could be made of the research methods used relates to the fact that the data collected could not be quantified. Pawels (2010) argues that using qualitative methods such as visual methods should be the subject to thought and consideration as to whether or not these are the most appropriate methods for the research in question. In order to address whether the use of visual methods is appropriate, Pawels (2010) states:

> "Are the visuals the most appropriate [method] that can be chosen or produced, do they add essential elements that cannot be – or would be less effectively – communicated in umbers or a verbal description and argumentation?" (Pawels, 2010 p573).

The lack of quantitative methodology for the research carried out for this thesis can be criticised as the study will not be representative and the number of participants was too low

for any statistical analysis to be carried out on the NVivo outputs. However, because of the quality of the data collected and the emergence of similar themes despite the lack of quantitative analysis, it can be argued that for this research the adoption of such methods was not necessary and that in order to explore the research questions and objectives set out in the introduction the adaptation of qualitative in-depth methods was more appropriate. Therefore, using Pawels' view of whether visual methods are appropriate, I would argue that in the case of this research they are because of the rich and in-depth data that they were able to obtain.

The following chapters present the results of this research and the implications in terms of the theories and existing academic literature discussed in the previous chapters and the research questions and objectives set out in the introduction chapter. As highlighted throughout this chapter, the cognitive maps and the photography were used more as elicitation devices and therefore the data collected from them gives more meaning to the walking interviews, and vice versa, the walking interviews give further contexts to the cognitive maps and the photographs. Because of this, the following chapters for the data analysis are not split in terms of the types of data collected, rather they each consider the different (yet interrelating) themes that have emerged.

Chapter 6. Overview of Data

6. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to give an overview of the data that was collected. As has been discussed in Chapter 5, the data collected was qualitative in nature, and therefore it was difficult to make generalisations. This chapter will offer a general overview of what themes occurred, but the following chapters will provide the context to these themes. The data was coded (manually for the cognitive maps and photographs and through the use of NVivo QSR software for the interview transcripts) in order to aid in the analysis. Thematic analysis was done in order to elicit any themes that ran across the data. This chapter will provide an overview of the themes relating to the data collected from the interviews, cognitive maps and photographs. This will demonstrate what themes were the most common and will give an overview of the subject matter of the cognitive maps and photographs. It is anticipated that this chapter will facilitate further understanding when considered alongside the following data analysis chapters that will provide further context to the themes elicited from the data.

6.1 Overview of Interview Themes

Table 1. Themes from the Walking Interviews

Theme	Number of references	Number of participants who made references	Notes
Privatisation of space	32	20	This theme related to discussions around the fact that Liverpool One is a private development.
Participant's past experiences of the space	57	20	All of the participants discussed their previous experiences of the space that is now Liverpool One.
Changes made to the	26	20	Quiggins was the main feature

space			of this theme which included discussion around the change to the space and the businesses located there as well as how this impacted on the participants own lived experiences and spatial practices.
Participants current use/experiences of the space	80	20	This theme was used in the discussion of the disparity between representations of space and lived spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1974)
Participants current use/experiences of Liverpool as a whole	87	20	This theme was used in the discussion of the disparity between representations of space and lived spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1974)
Associations to other parts of Liverpool	24	18	This was often reflected back to the cognitive maps.
Comparisons made to other cities	5	3	These participants compared the design of the outside space attached to coffee shops and restaurants to other European cities.
Association of Liverpool One with Liverpool's history	24	15	This was reflected through photographs of the Old Dock and the Albert Dock.
Safety and space	40	10	This focused on discussion around the notion of safety in urban space and which parts of the development that participants felt represented safety.
The night time economy (NTE)	55	14	This was the subject of much discussion for these participants who felt that the NTE of Liverpool One symbolised the overall exclusivity of the space and reflected classed and gendered distinctions.
Exclusivity and Space	42	18	There was cross over between this theme and the NTE as well as gendered and classed experiences and exclusion and space. Exclusivity was seen as

			being applicable to certain parts of the development and was reflected within the photographs taken by participants.
Family and women's role as mothers	10	7	This theme related to how family identity affected what spaces the participants felt they could access
Young people and space	14	5	This theme related to how participants perceived young people experiencing the space in terms of the restrictions on activities that young people often engage in.
Exclusion and space	64	20	There was reflection between this theme and classed and gendered experiences as well as the NTE.
Architecture and identity	59	20	
Liverpool One and the media	34	12	This was an important theme for those who made reference to it with participants discussing how Liverpool and Liverpool one are represented in the media. This was also reflected through photographs taken.
Governance and space	21	18	This theme also related to the NTE and the privatization of space.
Cultural Capital	69	20	This theme was based on analysis and interpretation of the participants' responses to elicit whether they could be related to cultural capital in terms of Bourdieu's (1986) theory.
Symbolic Capital	73	20	This theme was based on analysis and interpretation of the participants' responses to elicit whether they could be related to symbolic capital in terms of Bourdieu's (1986) theory.
Identity of space	88	20	These references relate to when the participants described a particular identity that was attached to the spaces in the development.
Gendered experiences	39	20	These references were related

			to experiences where the participant made a reference to how a particular gender may experience spaces. There was strong links between this theme and the classed experiences.
Classed experiences	47	20	These references were related to experiences where the participant made a reference to how a particular social class may experience spaces. There was strong links between this theme and the gendered experiences.

Table 1 was produced using coding outputs from NVivo QSR. The data was coded in a way so that the number of references refers to each separate time a theme was discussed throughout the interviews. Participants may have discussed each theme more than once throughout the course of the interviews and therefore multiple references may have come from single participants.

The themes were very much interrelated and this will be discussed further in the following data chapters. What was clear from the coding that was carried out on the interview transcripts (and especially when the transcripts were considered alongside the cognitive maps) was the importance of personal histories and experiences and how they impacted on current lived experiences and spatial practices. Gender and class were important in many of the participants' experiences of the space, and the way they impacted upon experiences was often related back to the symbolic and cultural capital of the spaces. Furthermore, the representations of space (Lefebvre, 1974) were discussed by the participants in relation to the spaces symbolic and cultural capital and this affected how they accessed and used the space and who they felt would be excluded from the space.

6.2 Overview of Cognitive Maps

Table 2. Themes from the Cognitive Maps

Theme	Number of participants who made references	Notes
Boundaries of Liverpool One	20	All of the participants made a reference to the boundary of Liverpool One.
Boundaries of the city centre	20	All of the participants discussed what they thought the boundaries of Liverpool's city centre were, but also discussed how this was very difficult to define.
History of the space that is now Liverpool One	9	These participants included a reference on their maps to what previously occupied the space that is now Liverpool One.
History of other spaces in the city centre	5	These participants included the past use of other spaces on their maps.
Links to participants history	7	These participants included references to their own history, such as university, where they have lived and where they have worked.
Links to participants current spatial practices	17	These participants included references to their current spatial practices such as university, where they live and where they work as well as the routes that they take through the city and the leisure spaces that they engage with.
Iconic buildings in Liverpool	20	All of the participants made reference to what they thought were iconic buildings in Liverpool.
Liverpool's culture	15	These participants made reference to what aspects of the city centre they thought reflected Liverpool's culture.

Image 1 – Example of a Cognitive Map
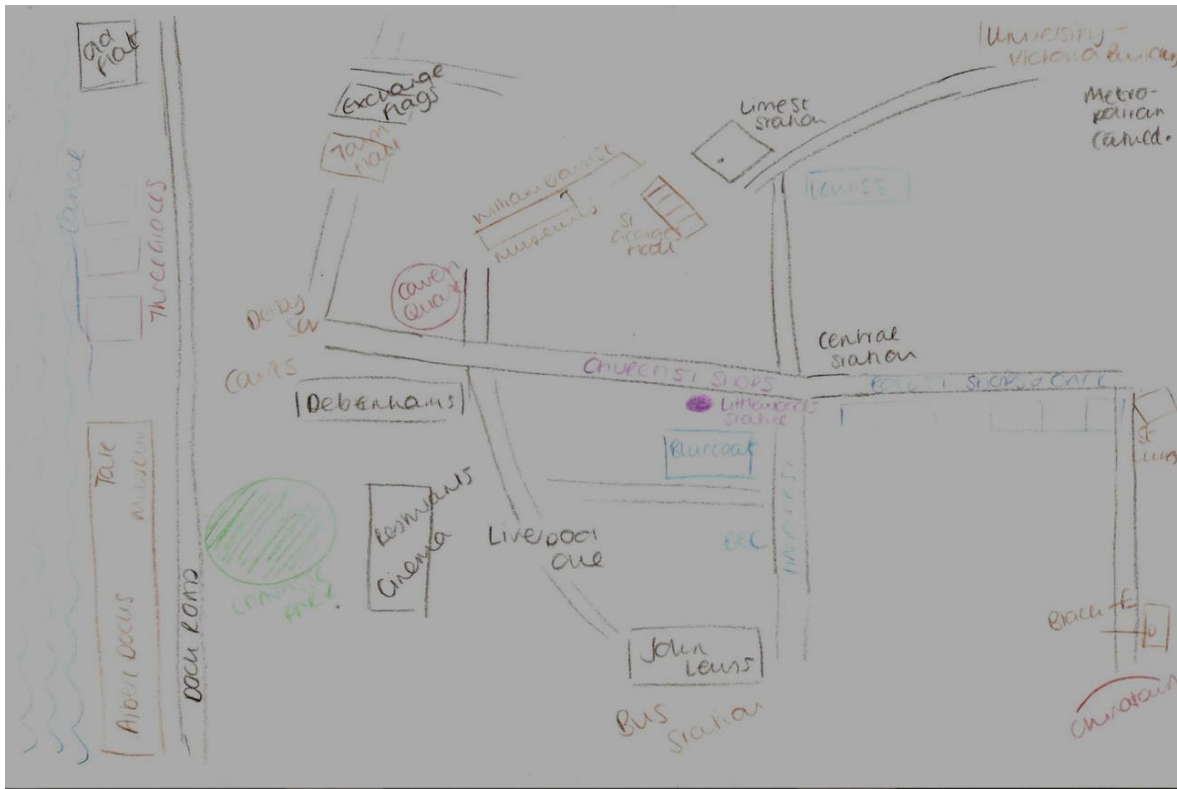
Image 2 – Example of a Cognitive Map

The cognitive maps that were produced by participants were varied and it was difficult to apply a coding structure to these maps. Therefore a basic coding structure was used (with the main themes being included in Table 2) and each map was considered alongside the transcript for the interview that took place during and/or after the participant had drawn their map. This allowed the overall themes that related to the maps to be explored and these themes were also returned to in the subsequent walking interviews with the participants. Therefore, whilst Table 2 only outlines the content of the maps and the initial discussions relating to them, the maps did also facilitate discussion in the walking interviews that has been coded with Table 1. Images 1 and 2 are two examples of the maps drawn by participants.

Table 2 shows the main contents of the cognitive maps. These themes will be expanded upon in the following data chapters but what is important to gain from this overview of the cognitive maps is that the importance of boundaries was clear to the participants (n=20). For example this is highlighted in the maps included in Images 1 and 2 who both differentiate between Liverpool One and the rest of Liverpool's city centre. Furthermore, some participants related their past experiences (n=7) and current experiences (n=17) to the space, thus demonstrating how lived spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1976) are important in the way spaces are perceived. For example the map included in Image 1 refers to where they used to live in relation to the city centre. In addition to this, the culture of Liverpool was also a key theme within the maps for the majority of the participants (n=15) and this will form a key part of the analysis in terms of Bourdieu's (1986) notions of symbolic and cultural capital as the maps showed where the participants felt these different types of capital were present. Both the maps included in Images 1 and 2 highlight landmarks of the city (for

example the river, the Liverpool Eye, museums and the Three Graces) and during the interviews about the maps the participants discussed how these iconic landmarks where a representation of what they felt the 'culture' of Liverpool was.

6.3 Overview of Photographs

Table 3. Themes from the Photographs

Theme	Number of Photographs with reference to theme	Number of participants who made references	Notes
Identity of space	136	20	These photographs were taken alongside discussions about the identity that they felt was attached to certain spaces within the development. Keys Court was the most photographed district with 50 photographs taken there followed by Chavasse Park which had 42 photographs taken within the space.
Gendered experiences	102	20	Participants discussed how these photographs related to gendered experiences, mainly referring to how they felt a certain physical appearance was needed to access spaces. There was a link between the gender and class themes.
Classed experiences	113	20	60 of these photographs also related to gendered experiences. These photographs also linked with the notion of exclusivity and space.
Associations to other parts of Liverpool	38	18	18 photographs were taken to show the association between Liverpool One and the Albert Dock. A further 15 showed views of other iconic buildings.
Association with Liverpool's history	19	14	These photographs included images of the Old Dock and the Albert Dock, thus there was a focus on the maritime history of Liverpool.
Safety and space	10	5	5 photographs were taken that related to the car park, the

			remainder related to other aspects of the development (e.g. security staff, CCTV) that the participants felt represented safety.
The night time economy (NTE)	78	19	This theme was often related to gendered and classed experiences, as well as exclusivity and space. 10 participants took multiple photographs of The Hilton because they felt the identity of the hotel was significant in the development because of what it represented. Bars were also the subject of photographs as well as the Albert Dock with participants stating the NTE of the Albert Dock was similar to that of Liverpool One.
Exclusivity and Space	52	17	These photographs were taken of The Hilton and bars that were considered exclusive and located within Chavasse Park as well as of the shops located in Keys Court. This theme was also reflected on in terms of gendered and classed experiences.
Family	7	7	These participants took photographs of Chavasse Park and discussed how it is seen as a space for families. This was also reflected upon in terms of gendered themes and exclusion and space, with participants' referencing women's role as mothers.
Young people and space	10	8	This theme related to how participants perceived young people experiencing the space in terms of the restrictions on activities that young people often engage in.
Exclusion and space	40	19	This was a key theme with participants photographing what they felt represented or demonstrated exclusion. This theme also related to classed and gendered experiences as well as the themes of family, young people and exclusivity and space.
Design and space	90	20	These photographs related to the

			architecture and the overall design of the space. This was often followed up with a more specific theme relating to identity and associations to other parts of Liverpool.
Liverpool One and the media	25	12	This was an important theme for those who made reference to it with participants' taking multiple photographs of spaces within that they felt had been present in the media and had given a specific representation of the city as a whole
Governance and space	21	17	This theme related to exclusion and space and reflected on the areas of the development that the participants felt were highly governed and images of what they felt symbolised this governance.
Cultural Capital	34	20	This theme was based on analysis and interpretation of the participants' responses to elicit whether they could be related to cultural capital in terms of Bourdieu's (1986) theory.
Symbolic capital	41	20	This theme was based on analysis and interpretation of the participants' responses to elicit whether they could be related to symbolic capital in terms of Bourdieu's (1986) theory.

In total, 221 photographs were taken by the participants. The following chapters will use some of the images to highlight these themes but it is anticipated that the above table will give an overview of the themes that were elicited from these photographs. Multiple themes may have been applied to some photographs. This table was developed through consideration of the photographs themselves alongside the relevant section of interview transcripts. This table has been used as a guide for the discussion of data in the following chapters.

The photographs that the participants took reflected notions of identity in terms of how parts of the space resonated with the participants' identity as well as the parts of the development that they felt had a specific identity. These photographs were used in discussions around the representations of the space and the participants lived spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1974).

6.4 Conclusion

Following a thematic analysis of the data collected from the cognitive maps, photographs and walking interviews, several themes were identified. Firstly, physical and social boundaries were identified by participants. Participants discussed how the physicality of the space had appeared to change since the development opened in May 2008. These physical changes were also linked to social boundaries that the participants believed existed within the space. The participants discussed how social boundaries meant that certain social groups were alienated and excluded from some spaces within the development and they related these back to both classed and gendered experiences. They also discussed how some of the space within the development was represented as being exclusive and that this also contributed to the social boundaries within the space.

Other representations of the space were discussed by participants, relating to the development itself. They discussed how the space is represented as safe and how this then impacted on the way through which they engaged with it, e.g. late at night. They also discussed how parts of the space where represented as family friendly and how this could also create exclusions for women who did not have children. Participants also discussed how representations were also attached to women who used the spaces within the

development and how representations could also mean that certain women felt excluded from the space.

The themes elicited from the data will be discussed in the following chapters in relation to how they resonate with the existing academic literature and what implications can be drawn from them. A final chapter that will discuss the data overall will draw the themes together as well as reflect on the research questions and objectives set out previously.

Chapter 7. Review of the 'ONE Community Review 2012'

7. Introduction

This data chapter will critically discuss the 'One Community Annual Review 2012'[8], which is a document produced by Liverpool One outlining its corporate social responsibility, including its commitments to both the environment and the local area of Liverpool. This document is publically available through the Liverpool One website and the 2012 review was the first provided by Liverpool One with the view that future reviews would use the statistics provided in that review as a baseline for comparison. It is an important document to consider for this thesis as it outlines how Liverpool One wishes to be perceived by the wider community of Liverpool and how it believes these perceptions were met. It will also provide an insight into the different perceptions of the cultural and symbolic capital of the space. The analysis of the document will demonstrate how Liverpool One wishes to be perceived by the public and discusses what it feels are its priorities. These are important for the consideration of the symbolic capital of the space because they show what elements the development is emphasising as well as providing an insight into what image the development wishes to project. The document can also be used to explore the development's cultural capital because it gives an understanding of the activities that take place within the development and what the development does in an attempt to relate to the wider culture of the city of Liverpool. This will make for an interesting comparison with the contents of subsequent data chapters. There are important considerations to be made within this chapter between what the development believes are important in its image and

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[8] A more recent review is available, however for the purposes of this research the 2012 review was chosen as this was released before the interviews with participants were carried out and therefore gives further context to the analysis of the data.

the spaces it provides and how this has resonated with the research participants. It is also important to note that the purpose of this is not to evaluate the policies of Liverpool One and how successful it has been, rather it is to provide context for the comparison of the cultural and symbolic capital of the development in terms of the development's perceptions and those of the research participants.

The 'ONE Community Strategy' of Liverpool One is outlined in the review. It states that

> "ONE Community demonstrates a resolute commitment to reducing environmental impact and maximising Liverpool ONE's positive effects on its local communities. Its vision is to take a brave and spirited approach to community engagement and environmental responsibility. Liverpool ONE is an integral part of the Liverpool City Region and recognises the need to work with and to develop this community" (ONE Community Annual Review 2012, pg2).

The strategy is made up of four areas; environment, education and employability, community involvement and the way Liverpool One works. This chapter will be structured around these four areas. Each section of ONE Community Strategy interrelates and all have some relevance to this research. As has been discussed previously with regards to the use of the Liverpool One development as the case study for this research, it is important to note that the aim of this chapter is not to provide an evaluation of the development itself. Rather, it aims to use the framework of the review as a guide to what could be considered the elite representations of the space (in terms of Lefebvre's (1974) theory) in the same way that space of the development was used as a site within which the participants' experiences and perceptions could be framed.

7.1 ONE Community Strategy – Environment

> The ONE Community strategy states that raising awareness about environmental issues and managing their environmental impact are key parts of the environmental strategy. This is done through discussion of these issues with stakeholders, controlling waste management and energy use and promoting recycling. In terms of the physical space of the development, the green spaces throughout Liverpool One, the use of sustainable materials and minimisation of pollution and noise are also cited. The strategy claims an 11% decrease in carbon emissions as well as promoting their own and partners recycling and waste management.

The green spaces within Liverpool One were the aspect of the strategy that had the most importance to the participants. The following photographs were taken by participants to reflect the significance of the presence of green spaces:

Image 3 – Green space in Liverpool One **Image 4 – Chavasse Park**

The participants cited many reasons for the importance of the green spaces in the development. Firstly, and the reason that was most commonly cited, the fact that the area had had green space previously and that this had been included as part of the development was of great significance to many of the participants because of its link to the past use of the

space. Several participants discussed how they were initially concerned when they had heard about the Paradise Street Project because the space of Chavasse Park[9] was included in the boundaries of the development. For them, having a green space in the city centre was paramount. This was partly for nostalgic purposes, with several participants discussing how it was an area that they occupied when they were younger and felt that it was important for young people to have areas such as Chavasse Park to go to. This reflects Benjamin's (2002 and 2004) discussion about how memories of space are significant in considering current lived experiences, because the knowledge of the space prior to the development opening affected how this space was viewed by the participants. Others discussed how they felt Chavasse Park was a community space, having played host to part of the Matthew Street Festival in previous years. It could be argued that this reflects cultural capital in terms of what the participants' value in terms of how this space was used. The participants who discussed Chavasse Park in relation to these past experiences were critical of the use of the space for musical events now, because of the difference in the type of music and events that were hosted. They felt that the musical events now hosted in the space were highly governed and catered to a very specific audience that was in line with the intended audience of the space overall. This implies that there is conflict between the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) of these participants and that of the space, as well as demonstrating how the representations of the space (Lefebvre, 1974) reflects the cultural capital of the space and that this can add further to the conflict between how the space is represented and how it is perceived and experienced by those who use it.

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[9] Prior to the Liverpool One development, there was an area of green space on the site that was called Chavasse Park. Grosvenor kept the name for the space which is now part of Liverpool One.

A minority of the participants did cite environmental reasons for being pleased that Chavasse Park was included in the development, although these came secondary to the community value of the space. These participants felt that it was important to have green spaces within the city because of the positives associated with the creation of wildlife habitats, which is also cited in the ONE Community Annual Review 2012. However, whilst the participants' did think that this should be an important consideration of regeneration strategies, they did state that benefits to the wider community and particularly marginalised groups should be prioritised above all else.

The research participants discussed mixed experiences of the Chavasse Park space in the development. The main issue that they discussed related to the way the area was governed. The majority of points raised around the governance of the Liverpool One development were related back to this space because, for the participants, this was the area where the governance was most prominent, and where they themselves had had the majority of their experiences of this governance. In particular, participants were aware of activities that were prohibited in this space and made reference to how these could exclude certain groups in society. This links back to earlier discussions relating to the work of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation who argue that spaces which do not include set activities and therefore encourage spontaneity are important to have in cities, especially for young people who may not have the means to engage with other spaces that are more structured (JRF as cited by Minton, 2009 p53). However, it could also be argued that as Chavasse Park is now part of the Liverpool One development it does not allow for this spontaneity because many of the activities that take place there are planned and organised by Liverpool One, and thus are further subjected to its governance. This will be discussed further under the 'community

involvement' section of this chapter. This point can also be related back to the discussion of Bourdieu's (1986) theory of capital, as the governance of Liverpool One allows activities that relate to its own symbolic capital and is able to prohibit those that don't. Again, this also supports the notion of representations of space (Lefebvre, 1974) with the representations put forth by the development reflecting the symbolic and cultural capital and the participants whose capital does not align with this have conflicting experiences to these representations of space.

Access to public transport was also important to the participants and this was also included within the ONE Community Annual Review 2012 as being a key part to its strategy. However, there were disparities as to why public transport was important when comparisons are made between the review and the participants' responses. The ONE Community Annual Review 2012 puts emphasis on the environmental benefits of promoting the use of public transport. It cites its 'Green Travel Plan' which aims to encourage staff and the public's use of public transport in order to access Liverpool One, as part of its overall attempt to lower the environmental impact of the development (ONE Community Annual Review, 2012 p8). The participants, on the other hand, discussed how public transport was important for those who may rely on it for accessing city spaces and did not discuss the environmental benefits of increasing its usage. A common theme throughout the walking interviews was the notion of social economic class and how this affected the way people use space. As has been emphasised throughout this thesis, class has become a contested issue and has moved away from a purely economic basis, with other factors such as social peer groups and cultural engagement as also being important in determining a person's social class as well as a symbolic accumulation of social, cultural and economic factors (Bourdieu 1986; Savage et al

2013). Interestingly, access to public transport and the accessibility of the development because of its public transport links was very much discussed in terms of its economic value to the participants and this was one of the few themes that moved away from the focus of cultural and symbolic capital. Some participants discussed how it was important for them to be able to have an affordable way to access they city centre and in terms of their own perception, this has been more convenient because of transport links that Liverpool One has created (although it is possible that these links existed before but were disrupted during the construction of the development). The fact that these participants could travel and remain in one section of the city centre was important, especially for those who discussed how, with having young children, their time was often restricted and the accessibility and enclosed nature of the development made it easier for them to use the space. As has been discussed, other participants disliked this form of spatial planning and where highly critical because of the way the development created boundaries to other parts of the city. This therefore demonstrates how individual taste and experiences of space determine how the representations and connotations relating to the physicality of urban will be perceived.

A further issue with regards to the benefits of the public transport made accessible by Liverpool One, which was discussed by the participants but was not included in the ONE Community Annual Review 2012, related to the participants' perceptions of safety and the development. As will be discussed in Chapter 9, several of the participants made reference to the space of Liverpool One being represented as being safe through its physical appearance (e.g. lighting, CCTV warning and visible security team). This was highly important to them and meant that they may be more likely to use the spaces within Liverpool One, including its public transport access over other spaces within the city, if they

were out at night. In relation to the public transport provision in Liverpool One, the participants discussed how the fact that it was part of the development meant that to them it had a representation of being a safe space to be in, and this was important in influencing how they related to and used spaces, especially at night. As discussed in Chapter 2, women are often discouraged from occupying public space at night, especially if they are alone, with this discouragement being based on misleading media representations of crimes that occur against women in public (Pain 2001; Gill 2007; Ross 2010; Jeffries 2013). However, the benefit of having access to public transport in a space which is represented (and in the case of these participants, perceived) as being safe is not discussed in the review. Again this demonstrates how the symbolic nature of urban space can often reflect the disparities between the representations of space and the spatial practice (as discussed by Lefebvre, 1974).

What is interesting to note is that once again, Liverpool One has cited some aspects as being an important part of their strategy as well as their overall representation as a development that is contemplating and acting on environmental concerns, whilst the participants see these aspects as more of a benefit in terms of accessibility and inclusivity. This therefore shows how different symbolic values (Bourdieu, 1986) can be placed on aspects of urban space, which depend on the priorities of the different perspectives of space (as discussed by Lefebvre 1974; Hubbard 1996).

7.2 ONE Community Strategy – Education and Employability

The ONE Community strategy makes resources and educational activities as well as work placements available to local schools, colleges and universities through partnerships with local educational institutions. It discusses how Liverpool One has worked with local schools in providing employability skills for students, as well as proving apprenticeships and work places. Furthermore, it also gave local schools the opportunities to take part in the performances that take place throughout the year in Chavasse Park. The strategy also outlines fundraising that Liverpool One has carried out in partnership with local schools. In encompassing all these activities, the review states that "working to develop the next generation is vital. Key areas have included educational resources, working in conjunction with schools, colleges and universities, and providing work placements and apprenticeship opportunities" (ONE Community Annual Review 2012, p10). With this focus in mind, the representation that the space of Liverpool One moves beyond a consumption focus and towards the idea that the space should benefit the local community and economy appears to be evident. The strategy also outlines its 'old dock experience' as an opportunity for the general public to celebrate and experience the history of Liverpool's old dock.

The ONE Community Annual Review 2012 includes much discussion about the development's work with schools in order help improve the employability skills of children from Liverpool. This was done through sessions led by Liverpool One staff in schools (alongside local charities) as well as through providing work placements and apprenticeships. The strategy cites that ten students and young people took part in over 650 hours of work placements and were also provided with a mentor to help with career development (ONE Community Annual Review 2012, p13). Employment opportunities were one of the discussion themes that came up through the walking interviews with participants. Whilst some were positive about the potential employment opportunities that they thought had been offered by the development, many were also critical about the potential loss of jobs in other parts of the city because of other shops and leisure spaces closing down. Furthermore,

it was pointed out by several participants that the majority of the 5000 jobs that Liverpool

One claimed it would create would be high turnover and minimum wage roles with them

also speculating that many of the managerial positions will have most likely been awarded

to people who live outside of Liverpool. At no point does the review address these issues

that the participants felt were imperative to the idea that Liverpool One represented

employment opportunities to people from Liverpool. This reflects Lefebvre's (1976)

argument about the concept of the tensions that can exist in urban space in terms of those

in more privileged positions in society having their "basis for strategic force" (Lefebvre, 1976

p 81) within urban spaces because it demonstrates how the space appears to benefit those

who are integral in its management and development, but not those who would provide its

majority workforce. The participants who were critical of the privatisation of the space were

also critical about the potential job creation and questioned the beneficial impact that

would have on Liverpool as a whole. This therefore demonstrates how we can use our own

agency to look beyond marketing and policies relating to the representation of urban space,

especially when an individual's own experiences can influence the way they interpret the

representations of space that are put forward by the planners, developers and owners of

the space.

The Old Dock is mentioned in the strategy as being of importance in educating the general

public about Liverpool's maritime history. This aspect of the strategy also resonates with the

discussions around how Liverpool One wanted to appear integrated with Liverpool's cultural

identity and reflect this identity as well as the history of the city (as discussed by Littlefield,

2009), although this claim was criticised by Minton (2009). As discussed in Chapter 3, the

maritime history of Liverpool has been vital to its regeneration efforts as well as the identity

of the city (Belchem 2006; Rodwell 2008; Harrisson 2014; Jones 2015). This was very much reflected in many of the participants' discussions and cognitive maps in relation to the physicality of the space, with the majority stating (as will be discussed in Chapter 8) that since the development opened, there appears to be more of a link with the area of the Albert Dock and the waterfront than with any other area in the city centre.

This can be interpreted with reference to Bourdieu's theory of capital (1986) as Liverpool One aligning itself with the cultural and symbolic capital of the Albert Dock in terms of the association of exclusivity associated with the Albert Dock, which will be discussed further in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9. Furthermore, many of the participants chose the Albert Dock and the part of the Old Dock that is visible, as the subject of several photographs because of the prominence of the maritime heritage in Liverpool. The following photographs were taken by participants to reflect the importance that they felt the presence of the Old Dock had in Liverpool One because of its link to the Maritime History and the Albert Dock:

Image 5 – The Old Dock   **Image 6 – The Old Dock**

This therefore reflects the discussion around how place imaging (as discussed by Julier, 2005) can use aspects of a space's history in its rebranding and reimaging of the space. It

can also be related to the work of Benjamin (2002 and 2004) who discussed how the history and memories associated with urban spaces are important in people's lived experiences because of the attachment that people can feel to such spaces.

As will be addressed in Chapter 8, several of the participants discussed how the Liverpool One development appears to have created social boundaries within the city of Liverpool, and that there is a distinct notion that certain groups within society are not welcome to occupy the space. This is reflective of the notion that spaces within the city are not always accessible, especially to already marginalised groups, with more dominant groups claiming more of 'a right to the city' (Zukin 1995; Harvey 2008; Marcuse 2009). This is further emphasised through the privatisation of city spaces, such as Grosvenor's privatisation of the Liverpool One development (Minton, 2009). Several participants were aware that there was no evidence of homeless people within the development, as well as a lack of Big Issue vendors, with the exception of one. In reference to the Big Issue, the Education and Employability aspect of the strategy as cited in the ONE Community Annual Review 2012 states that "Liverpool One provides a Big Issue pitch within the estate. We also provide a co-branded jacket and encourage the vendor to feel linked to the Liverpool One team" (ONE Community Annual Review 2012, p13). The participants who had an awareness that the privatisation of the space meant that those in governance of the space could prevent the homeless population from occupying the space, as well as preventing vendors from selling the Big Issue, were very critical of these aspects of Liverpool One's policy. In particular they felt that allowing one pitch for a Big Issue vendor was done to help improve Liverpool One's representation of community cohesion, but that in the wider scheme it did little to help the homeless population in Liverpool and excluding them from the space added to the

stigmatisation and alienation that is often faced by this group of people. One participant also commented that she felt by making the vendor who is allowed to have a pitch inside the Liverpool One development wear a jacket which has their brand on it, they were exploiting this individual and were creating a false representation of their identity as an inclusive space.

7.3 ONE Community Strategy – Community Involvement

The ONE Community Strategy works with charities that also develop young people's skills and they work to raise funds for these charities. This part of the strategy very much links to the Education and Employability Strategy and reflects many of the values discussed in the above section. The strategy discusses how it aims to promote awareness as well as funds for many community based charities, the majority of which are focused on children and young people. Furthermore, the ONE Community Strategy also discusses the various events that have been held within the development which have had a focus on community involvement and engagement such as the 'Tickle the Ivories' project (where pianos were set up around the development for the public to perform on), free cooking and music lessons for children, various musical performances on stages set up in Chavasse Park and an ice rink that was set up for the Christmas period.

The ONE Community Annual Review 2012 states with regards to community engagement that:

> "Working with the community and providing opportunities for local people is a significant part of Liverpool One's ethos. We strive to establish a culture that encourages and supports this philosophy. It is not just about giving money, it's about giving time too, sharing skills, showcasing local talent and 'it's the experience'" (ONE Community Annual Review 2012, p14).

This claim is relevant to this thesis especially because of the focus on the idea that experiencing the development is key for those that engage with it, as well as the focus on the culture of the development and the links to the local community. The idea of experiencing spaces such as Liverpool One was reflected upon in Chapter 2 in relation to how so called 'scenes' within urban space are becoming increasingly relevant in terms of how urban space has become a commodity in itself, with experiences of the space becoming as important as the traditional consumption practices that take place in such spaces (Zukin 1995; Fleming 2004; Allon 2013). This is also evidenced through the idea of the symbolic

capital of urban space (in terms of Bourdieu's (1986) theory of capital). It also reflects many of the participants responses in terms of how a visit to the Liverpool One development could at times be more than to visit the shops, restaurants, etc. but can also be described as "an experience" when referring to some of the more exclusive (in terms of the participants' perception of the spaces representation) areas of the development. This therefore demonstrates how the participants' discussions around experiencing the spaces of the Liverpool One development is also reflected in the Community Engagement Strategy of the development.

Throughout Chapter 8 it will be discussed how the creation of experiences within the Liverpool One development was a significant part of why some participants felt that social boundaries existed within the development. This was because the image of those who were associated with the experiences that the development was trying to promote (in terms of the participants' perceptions) reflected the idea of exclusivity and a cultural capital that did not resonate with many other social groups. Therefore, whilst the ONE Community Annual Review 2012 discusses how creating experiences within the Liverpool One development serves to promote community involvement, it could be argued based on the participants' responses that it can also do the opposite, with groups who do not fit the desired cultural and symbolic capital of the space being excluded. As discussed in Chapter 2, these boundaries can also be gendered in their nature, with women having to use different means of accessing such spaces compared to men (Skeggs 1995; Waitt et al 2011; Griffin et al 2012). Furthermore, as has also been discussed in terms of the data collected for this research, some women who did not have children felt excluded from some of the spaces within the development when there were activities taking place that were aimed at families. Therefore,

whilst creating experiences within urban spaces can encourage community engagement (especially when the events are free and include children), these experiences can also create exclusions for those who do not have the aligned cultural capital.

As discussed in section one of this chapter, which relates to the Environmental Strategy, as well as in Chapter 3 in relation to the design and development of the Liverpool One development, one of the aims of the Liverpool One development was to represent the culture of the city of Liverpool (Littlefield, 2009). This was also reflected in the ONE Community Annual Review 2012 which states that community involvement includes promoting the wider culture of Liverpool. However, one issue that was raised by some of the participants who would contest this claim relates to the loss of spaces as a result of the creation of the development that previously conveyed and encompassed the culture of Liverpool. Participants discussed how Quiggins and the Quaker Centre were seen as important community hubs for their social peer group because of the accessibility of the spaces (in terms of social acceptance and affordability to use these spaces) and that since they closed in order to make way for the Liverpool One development, these participants have struggled to find comparable spaces within the city centre. This therefore demonstrates how hierarchies can exist within urban space that reflect whose needs come first in determining the use of space (Shields 1991; Massey 2005). It also demonstrates how regeneration can lead to social and economic tensions existing in urban space when the role of spaces changes (Hall and Hubbard 1996; Jayne 2006; Amin 2013). Consequently, the promotion of community involvement in urban spaces may be beneficial to certain groups within society, but this can sometimes be to the detriment of other groups, especially when

spaces become privatised and it is the owners of the space that determine what activities

will take precedence in the space.

7.4 ONE Community Strategy – The Way We Work

The ONE Community Strategy makes the claim that Liverpool One is a "Nurture environment in which diversity is valued and there are equal opportunities for all" (ONE Community Annual Review 2012, pg5). This section of the review discusses the training opportunities that are made available to staff of the development, citing that in 2012 there were 75 training sessions organised as well as staff being provided with opportunities to undertake management training and NVQs. The ONE Community Strategy 2012 also discusses how, as part of the legacy of Liverpool being ECoC08, it has collaborated with Liverpool City Council to promote the 'City Stars' volunteers, who assist with cultural events in Liverpool.

This relates back to the discussions under the 'Education and Employability section' in terms of the discussions around the actual employment opportunities that Liverpool One created for the local population. As discussed, several participants were sceptical of the jobs that where created by the development and whether or not they would provide sustainable careers for those in Liverpool. Through highlighting the opportunities that are available to staff, Liverpool One appears to be implying that it does provide opportunities for advancement, however it should be noted that these opportunities would only be available for those who work for the development itself. The potential 5000 jobs that were cited in justification for its development included the employment opportunities in the shops, restaurants, etc. that are included in the development, which may not provide the same opportunities for their staff. Again, this questions the benefit that the development has brought to the city, as raised by the research participants.

Additionally, links are made back to Liverpool being ECoC08 in 'The Way We Work' section of the review. As discussed earlier, the development was not part of the ECoC08 bid and

celebrations, but its opening was brought forward in order to capitalise on the advantages that ECoC08 brought to the city (Littlefield 2009). The ONE Community Strategy 2012 discusses how, as part of the legacy of Liverpool being ECoC08, it has collaborated with Liverpool City Council to promote the 'City Stars' volunteers, who assist with cultural events in Liverpool. Again, this relates back to the previous discussions around the notion of cultural capital, and the need to have what is generally considered to be the correct cultural capital in order to be included in such projects. As has been discussed throughout this chapter and will be discussed in Chapter 8, several of the participants felt excluded from some spaces and activities within Liverpool One because that did not feel that they possessed a cultural capital that was in line with that of the development. Therefore it could be questioned what culture is reflected and promoted through schemes such as the 'City Stars' and how inclusive it is in terms of culture that is outside of the remit that was used in the ECoC08 celebrations as well as in the development of the Liverpool One development.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the ONE Community Annual Review 2012. The content included within this review has compared the discussion of the Liverpool One development and the wider city of Liverpool in Chapter 3, and has also made reference to the academic literature discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. This in turn has been analysed with consideration to the participants' responses in order to compare distinctions between their perception of the space and what could be considered to be the 'elite' perception of the space.

As would be expected with a document such as the ONE Community Annual Review 2012, there are no reflections on anything negative associated with the development, and a positive view is taken on all the statistics and policy implementations that the review

discusses. However, the lack of a critical assessment by Liverpool One in its review document and the fact that it does provide a biased view of the development doesn't affect its usefulness in terms of this research because it provides an insight into the development's perception of its cultural and symbolic capital. The review demonstrates what those behind the development feel it is important to represent and draw attention to. As set out in the introduction, the purpose of this review is not evaluate the Liverpool One development, instead it is to see how its priorities for the space compare with those of the participants in order to explore the tensions, disparities and similarities between the representations of space and the spatial practice (as discussed by Lefebvre, 1974).

What has been interesting to observe throughout this review is the fact that several of the ONE Community Strategy priorities are similar to those cited by the participants; these included the green space of Chavasse Park, public transport links, community cohesion and employment and educational opportunities. However, there have been some disparities in why the participants feel these should be priorities compared to the reasons cited within the ONE Community Annual Review 2012. Furthermore, the notion of culture and community involvement have been themes throughout the review and appear to be at the core of the ONE Community Strategy that is cited in the review. However, as highlighted in the previous data chapters, the notion of culture is complex as it can mean very different things to different groups within society. Furthermore, it can be easy for some groups to feel displaced from urban spaces when the culture of one group is appearing to be favoured over another. What the review does not do is define what it is classing as culture and community involvement. Therefore it can be argued that the ONE Community Strategy is in place to benefit certain groups within society, but those whose cultural capital is not

reflected through the development may well find themselves displaced from the Liverpool

One development.

Chapter 8. Data – Boundaries in Urban Space

8. Introduction

This chapter explores the concept of boundaries in urban space, which was a frequent theme across the data collected from the cognitive maps, photographs and walking interviews. Two distinct yet related types of boundaries were identified by the participants; physical boundaries and social boundaries. In terms of the physical boundaries identified by the participants, this referred more to the material layout of the city and much of the data relating to this theme came primarily from the cognitive maps and the subsequent interviews. Some participants also used photographs to represent what they viewed as a physical boundary in the space. Discussion of the social boundaries experienced and perceived by the participants is a more intricate theme to consider. This is because social boundaries are more subjective and harder to represent, which is why the mixed methods approach, incorporating the cognitive mapping and photography as elicitation devices alongside the walking interviews, was adopted for this research as discussed in Chapter 5. The social boundaries discussed in this chapter relate to the lived experiences of the participants and why they felt certain areas are not as accessible as others (to themselves and/or others). Consequently, much of the reasoning behind why these boundaries are perceived to exist will also be discussed in the subsequent data chapter which focuses on the representations experienced by the participants.

Chapter 3 considered existing literature relating to women's experiences in urban space and reflected how gendered experiences were often intersected with classed experiences. This has also been a theme which emerged in the data collected for this research and as such, much of the data discussed in this chapter (and the following data chapter) include themes

related to women's experiences in terms of both their perceived economic class and their gender. In this chapter these perceptions will be discussed in terms of how they relate to perceived boundaries in urban space. The following chapter will also consider data collected for this research and will expand further on some of the matters that have been discussed in this chapter. Therefore, whilst data has been separated into different chapters according to themes, it is important that the data chapters are considered alongside each other because of the many links and crossovers between the themes.

8.1 Changes to Physical Boundaries After Regeneration: The impact of the Liverpool One Development on the Participants' Perception of Boundaries

Firstly, this chapter will discuss the idea of physical boundaries in the city. The introduction to this thesis set out how the main objectives of this research were to explore lived experiences which are difficult to relate to physical boundaries. This is because physical boundaries are often fixed and regulated whereas lived experiences tend to be more fluid in their nature and can be more difficult to determine and define. In terms of this chapter, the concept of the physical boundaries of space does not refer to the official spatial boundaries set out by Liverpool City Council; instead it refers to the participants' own perception of where the boundaries of Liverpool's city centre are and how they may have changed after the opening of the Liverpool One development. However, the physical boundaries of Liverpool One are also important to consider, as through the comparison between the official boundaries and the participants' perceptions interesting points can be made about the differences (if any differences do in fact exist) between the two. It also considers how the changes to these perceived physical boundaries impact on the participants' perceptions of the rest of Liverpool's city centre. The idea of these physical boundaries is important to

consider alongside the social boundaries discussed in Section 8.2 of this chapter as it helps to give further context to the lived experiences of the participants. As this chapter will discuss, the perceived physical boundaries of the spaces covered in the walking interviews were often linked to the participants' own interpretations of the wider social boundaries that they felt existed. By framing these boundaries in the physical context of the Liverpool One development, participants were able to develop their own frame within which to situate their wider lived experiences. This is a further justification for using the space of Liverpool One as a case study for the research because it may have been difficult for participants to be able to frame their experiences without having a point of reference.

The physical boundaries within urban space are also interesting to reflect on in terms of the image and identity that the developers of Liverpool One wanted to portray, as discussed in Chapter 4. This links to Lefebvre's (1974) discussion of tensions between spatial practise and representations of space to see if the developer's vision of the development coincides with the participant's lived experiences and if any of the charges they proposed had impacted on participant's perceptions. Chapter 2 discussed how the physical appearance of urban space can have symbolic representations which are often a carefully thought out part of the design process. The design of spaces frequently depends on the market culture which impacts on the requirement of the design meaning that it is often based on the funder's interpretation of economic symbolism rather than the skills of the designers and architects (Zukin, 1993 and Harvey, 1985). During the walking interviews, participants discussed how parts of the development appeared to be designed to connect and be associated with certain other parts of the city, whilst the design also appeared to be disassociated with other parts.

The most common association that participants made was between Liverpool One and the Albert Dock, which, as discussed in Chapter 4, has become an area symbolic of wealth because of the leisure spaces that are situated there and the associations of the people who typically use the space. The Albert Dock therefore has cultural capital association leading to this symbolic capital of the spaces situated there and the people who occupy these spaces. This association was further reflected in the participants' interpretation of the representations presented in the media of these spaces.

Image 7 – The Albert Dock   **Image 8 – The Albert Dock**

These photographs were taken by participants who felt that the culture of Liverpool One reflected that of the Albert Dock; this was a significant aspect of the development for these participants which was why they decided to photograph the Albert Dock. I would argue with this example that the representations of space (Lefebvre, 1974) in terms of the Liverpool One development and the Albert Dock are in line with each other because of them having similar cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). This is reflected in the participant's lived experiences and spatial practices because as discussed it changed how they would use and access these spaces. As will be discussed in the following section of this chapter several participants' felt that this refection between the two spaces made the physical boundaries

of the Albert Dock and the city centre feel altered, causing some participants (usually those whose personal cultural capital aligned with that of Liverpool One and the Albert Dock) to be more likely to visit the Albert Dock because it felt closer. This demonstrates how changes to space can affect lived spatial practices.

Chapter 7 consisted of a critical review of the ONE Community Annual Review 2012. Whilst this review does not discuss the physicality of the space, it does discuss how the spaces of the Liverpool One development should be inclusive of the whole community of Liverpool. The review also reiterated Littlefield's (2009) discussion of how the aim of the development was to reflect the original layout of the space as well as the overall culture of the city of Liverpool, bearing in mind that both publications are commissioned by Grosvenor and therefore offer a biased perspective of the development. What is important to consider in relation to these claims by the Liverpool One development is how they equate to the responses from the participants in terms of the physical boundaries of the space. The claim by Liverpool One that it wished to reflect the original layout of the space implies that it wishes to maintain an aspect of the spaces history, and furthermore wishes to reflect the culture of the city also implies that it is attempting to also reflect the cultural capital.

Image 9 – Link between Liverpool One and The Bluecoat

This photograph was taken by a participant who felt that it demonstrated how the spaces of Liverpool One were trying to align themselves with other well-known parts of the city centre (in this case it refers to The Bluecoat Contemporary Arts Centre) to show how close it is. This advertisement was part of a range which also included signposts to other galleries and museums as well as train stations. The fact that Liverpool One is choosing which parts of the city to align itself and which not to align itself with is a reflection of which symbolic and cultural capital it wishes to be associated with although participants were often critical of this suggesting the culture of Liverpool One was in fact contradictory to the of The Bluecoat.

If the development is making connections with certain areas of the space as opposed to others it could be argued that it is not encompassing Liverpool's culture, rather it is encompassing certain aspects of Liverpool's culture. In fact it could be questioned whether

or not a development such as Liverpool One would be able to embody the culture of a city such as Liverpool which is considered to be diverse. These discussions were expanded upon in Chapter 7. However, an issue that is important to be considered here in relation to the physical boundaries of the space is the impact that these spaces can have on people's lived experiences. As discussed within the literature reviews, urban space is important to those who use the space and can reflect many of the inequalities in society (Zukin 1995; Skeggs 1999; Binnie and Skeggs 2000; Amin 2013). Therefore, if the physicality of the space is seen as connecting more to certain parts of the city that have a reputation for symbolising wealth, it could be argued that design of the development is reflecting (and perhaps facilitating) these inequalities. As will be discussed in the subsequent section, this notion of segregating space and creating physical boundaries was important in influencing the perceived social boundaries of the space, which were more likely to have an impact on the participants' everyday lived experiences.

8.1.1   Liverpool City Centre and Perceived Boundaries

There was a general consensus amongst all participants that since the Liverpool One development had opened, the boundaries of the city centre had appeared to have changed. This question was posed to the participants in terms of their own perception of the city centre boundaries and what they themselves classed as the city centre rather than official boundaries, although some did recognise the official boundaries that existed around Liverpool One. The changes to the participants' perceived boundaries of the city centre were often discussed when the participants were drawing their cognitive maps. Whilst sketching their maps, several participants talked about the changes that occurred to the space, with some maps including references to the history of the space. The history of the

space formed an important part of the participants' memories of the city and also affected their current perceptions of the space. Participants felt that the new use and regeneration of the space was an improvement to both the space itself and the overall image of Liverpool as a city. However, others also discussed how the overall image of Liverpool One detracted from the city's history, in particular with regards to the architecture of the development and its contrast with nearby buildings. This was an important contention to observe, displaying how a person's cultural capital can affect the ways through which they experience urban space. The maps were a useful elicitation device for understanding how the participants experienced and perceived these boundaries and led to further discussions during the subsequent walking interviews, which often made the link between these perceived physical boundaries and the social boundaries that the participants felt existed.

Participants suggested that for them, the city centre appeared to have expanded and now included both the areas that they saw as being the city centre in the past as well as the Liverpool One development. Often the area that is now Liverpool One was previously not considered to be a part of the city centre. Instead it was thought to be more on the periphery of the city centre, although this was not necessarily because of its physical locality but rather because they previously did not have much cause to use or engage with the space. Therefore, in terms of the participants' perceptions, the 'centre' of the city was based on the spaces that they used rather than the physical location of the space. Thus, for these participants, the boundaries of what was considered to be the city centre have changed as they now include the additional area of the Liverpool One development. This shows how changes to the physical appearance of urban space can impact significantly on the ways through which people engage with space, as even those who are familiar with a place's past

can still have their subsequent experiences and perceptions altered after these changes take place. Therefore, whilst those behind the construction design and regulation of urban spaces may try to control the boundaries of urban space (Zukin 1993: Jones 2015), the data discussed above suggests that individual lived experiences of spaces will often supersede these interpretations of space. The physicality of the space is important to consider for the themes that will be discussed subsequently in this chapter as it often contributed to the participants' more subjective perceptions.

Alternatively, there was discussion around Liverpool One changing the boundaries of the city centre. Again, there was a general consensus that pre-Liverpool One, the area which it now occupies was not considered to be part of the city centre and was seen as being peripheral to the city centre. Previous to Liverpool One opening, these participants tended to view the area around Church Street and Lime Street as being the city centre. However, these participants suggest that since Liverpool One opened it has changed the focus of the city centre.

> "I do think of Liverpool One as part of the city centre, but it's on the edge. People are going to go to Liverpool One because it's more advertised. I think the boundaries have changed. TJ Hughes used to be one of the most popular shops so a lot of people went there so it was more central. It's not as popular now so it's changed the boundary. Here is now part of the centre because it's popular" (Participant 10)

> "Especially for younger people, I think they would see Liverpool One as the hub of the city centre, but not for me. I still think of Bold Street and Church Street as the city centre with this now as an addition but I would imagine over time it will shift and it will be Liverpool One" (Participant 5)

> "Liverpool One is the centre now as far as shopping and daytime stuff. It's the main place to go and you always see it advertised but you don't see that for other parts of town. I really do think it [Liverpool city centre] has changed over the past couple of years" (Participant 16)

Participants gave several reasons for this change in focus, all of which related to the perception of the area being economically successful. Firstly, some suggested that advertisements for the city of Liverpool referred to Liverpool One much more than other parts of the city centre when promoting leisure activities. Several participants also mentioned advertisements that they had seen or heard on the television and radio about Liverpool One and commented how they could not recall any other advertisements bringing attention to other parts of the city in terms of these leisure practices. These participants commented how they felt much more attention was being drawn to the Liverpool One development that other parts of the city centre and that this was why they felt the actual city centre had changed and was now more focused on the Liverpool One development.

> "It's constantly on the radio and I think I saw some television adverts over Christmas. Also I know they have leaflets in the tourist information for it. It doesn't seem right to me at all because it makes it impossible for other parts of the city to compete because they don't have the budgets that Grosvenor has. It's like they get to dominate what tourists see in terms of what is Liverpool's culture" (Participant 2)

> "I think that Liverpool One is treated a lot like the Trafford Centre and other shopping places in the way it's promoted. You don't really see city centres in general promoted; you just know they're there. But Liverpool One is in the city centre so by seeing it promoted so much it can be easy to forget about the other areas available. I don't know how much other people who aren't from here, you know like students or tourists, how much they get to experience other parts other than this commercial bit" (Participant 19)

Clearly, the ability to pay for advertising is based on the economic power of those behind the development, and other parts of the city of Liverpool are unlikely to be able to compete with Grosvenor in terms of advertising. However, the dominance of companies such as Grosvenor and the way through which this causes them to have more prevalence in urban space reflects the premise that the shift from the publically orientated political realm to the

private and economically driven realm has created changes within urban space and the 'new forms of economic power' (Sassen, 2000 p199; Brenner et al, 2009). The participants' perceptions of the advertising of Liverpool One shows how, in their estimation, the focus of the city is now on the development itself as well as the image and representations of the city that are reflected by the development. The concept of the images and representations associated with the development will be discussed further in the following chapter, with particular reference to women as being targets of representations put forth by these advertisements. However, the participants' perception that more focus is being brought to the Liverpool One development is also important in terms of some of the subsequent themes to be explored throughout this chapter.

Reflecting on the example discussed above, participants commented how since Liverpool One opened, other parts of the city appeared to have shown signs of economic decline, especially in comparison to Liverpool One, often pointing to Church Street and the increasing number of empty units as a key example of this. When discussing Liverpool One the majority of the participants stated that they had noticed how a lot of the shops that are present in the development had also been present in other parts of the city pre-Liverpool One.

> "In the old days it used to be all about Bold Street but then they put Liverpool One on the end of Bold Street and some of the shops moved there. I remember coming into town and thinking where have all my shops gone? I don't like shopping where they're all together, I like walking to them. But I don't get why they did that, it's against what it used to be. People coming here now won't get to see most of the city, just this posh bit" (Participant 4)

Participants who had identified this had mixed views on whether this could be seen as positive or negative for the city as a whole. Those who felt that this was negative for the city

made a point of discussing how they had noticed many empty retail spaces in other parts of the city and they put a big part of this down to the fact that many of the shops that had closed had another store in Liverpool One. These participants were critical of Liverpool One's claims about job creation, suggesting that in their opinion it was probably the case that many people were simply relocated to the Liverpool One based shop. Others questioned the types of jobs that are created through developments such as Liverpool One. Whilst they recognised that a development such as Liverpool One would require people in senior positions to be on site, these participants noted that the vast majority of the employment opportunities created by Liverpool One would be those which are often subject to the minimum wage and tend to have a high turnover of staff. Participants questioned the benefit of this type of employment would actually bring to the city and whether or not the more senior positions would be given to local people.

What is also interesting to note with regards to the above quotation is the sense of belonging to the city. By describing the shops as "my shops" the participant shows how she feels a sense of ownership over the city. This was reflected throughout several of the other interviews, portraying a clear sense of what the participants felt the identity of the city should be and how the Liverpool One development affected this. As discussed in Chapter 1, Harvey (1990) argued that the ascetics and organisation of cities are imperative to the social practices which consequently take place within the city. The response of the participants to the change in terms of the organisation of Liverpool city centre and the fact that these shops moved to a development with is ascetically different to the rest of the city shows how for them, their personal social practices have been impacted upon by the development. This is also important to consider for the following data chapter which covers the

representations of the city as a whole and the people who use the space which are associated with the development.

Another point that these participants were critical about and which also links to the above discussion of Harvey, was the effect that these empty retail spaces had on Liverpool's overall image. They suggested that Liverpool One had created a contradiction in the city as it was supposed to help improve Liverpool's image (and many of these participants agreed that it had certainly improved the image of the particular area that it was situated in). However, it had had negative consequences as Liverpool's image was suffering in other parts of the city centre as a result of the shop closures that the participants believed were a consequence of the Liverpool One development.

> "All the shops shutting all the time. St Johns used to be thriving, I used to shop there all time it was dead cheap. Now it's empty, so many closed and in other parts too. I think it might have affected trade. To me, most of the shops in Liverpool One I think are too expensive, people need more of the cheaper shops, people get into so much debt coming to places like this. They make you want to buy. Before you had your St Johns for your cheap, you had your high street and then you had your designer for posh people. Now L1 has come along and for me it's more expensive than high street. If you're attracting people for money it's ok but you can't imagine students shopping here" (Participant 11)

Participants questioned opening two of the same stores in a city such as Liverpool and some questioned the sense of opening a development such as Liverpool One if much of it was made up of shops that the city already had. This contributed to them feeling that the development was very much separate to the rest of the city. Again, this has impacted on the social practices of the participants in an everyday sense because it changes the way they view, use and experience the spaces in the city. Some participants were also critical of the success of the development, pointing to a number of empty units during the walking interviews. This was also the subject of photographs taken by these participants:

Image 10 – Closed Shop Front   **Image 11 – "This Store is Closed"**

Again, the presence of empty units made these participants question who was benefiting from this development and how empty retail units may impact on jobs available locally.

The data discussed above also has other theoretical implications that relate to some of the literature discussed earlier in this thesis. A clear theme that can be observed through the participants' observations relates to what constitutes the physical boundaries of city centre spaces and why. Participants classed areas as being part of the city centre based on their level of use by the participant themselves and the participant's perceptions of the extent of other people's use. Furthermore, what the participants determined as use was generally measured in terms of economic activity (how often they themselves or others would visit shops). This can be linked to the discussion in Chapter 2 relating to the economic tensions that can exist within cities. Lefebvre (1976) discussed how these economic tensions exist within the production and consumption of urban space. This data reflects these tensions, as those who use urban spaces for commonplace purposes where defining the central boundaries based on their perception of consumption patterns rather than recognising official boundaries. In addition to this, and relating back to Jayne (2006) and the argument that the more contemporary approach to restructuring city spaces is centred on "new forms

of civic identity" (Jayne 2006, p198), the data also shows how these identities of space are often the subject of the consumption practices that go on within the space. Therefore, in order for these boundaries to change, change also has to occur in terms of the consumption practices associated with the space and those who use the space.

In contrast to those participants who felt that having shops in Liverpool One which were already elsewhere in the city, some participants asserted that they did not see this as being problematic. Some of the participants (albeit a minority) stated that they enjoyed the fact that these shops had also been incorporated into Liverpool One. These participants tended to suggest that they preferred the way in which Liverpool One was organised as it made their experiences in the space more enjoyable because of the sense of occasion associated with some of the spaces (which will be discussed further in the following chapter). The participants who were positive about the incorporation of these shops into Liverpool One suggested that this was because they enjoyed the experience of being within the development, and therefore it suited their needs to have these shops there. Therefore, the idea that using leisure space is a hedonistic practice influenced how people use and perceive these spaces. I would argue that the idea of Liverpool One facilitating this hedonistic practice was based on the cultural and symbolic capital of the space because it was what the space represented to the participants and the associated practices that made the space enjoyable to them. Some participants made reference to the overall experience of shopping, suggesting that it is something they like to take their time over and enjoy. They alluded to the fact that in their own experience, due to recent economic recessions, they now have fewer opportunities to go 'shopping for pleasure' and so when they do they like to take pleasure in the whole experience. They deemed that one of Liverpool One's advantages is

that it provides that desired experience. These participants linked much of this overall experience to the look and feel of Liverpool One and this will be discussed later with regard to the identities that these participants relate to in the city. However, what this data does demonstrate is the importance of these individual accounts of space because it shows how different experiences and interpretations can impact on the everyday uses of space.

In addition to the positioning of Liverpool's city centre being altered either by expanding the city centre or by changing its focus, the vast majority of the participants also observed that since the opening of Liverpool One there had been a change in their perception of the proximity of the Albert Dock to the city centre. This point can also be referred back to images 5 and 6. Several participants suggested that they believed they now visited the Albert Dock more since Liverpool One had opened, and commented that it now feels to be within closer proximity to the rest of the city centre. Participants who had stated that Liverpool One had created a shift in what is now considered to be the city centre suggested that, whilst it is not considered part of the city centre as such and remains on the periphery, the Albert Dock is now more accessible than it was pre-Liverpool One, they suggested that again this was to shift the wider public gaze towards that part of the city (i.e. the waterfront).

> "Liverpool One has made the docks more prominent, well the commercial bit of the docks. They are interesting with the use of the space it's quite mixed. Liverpool One seems to go well with the bars there. I could imagine people go there [Albert Dock] and then come here [Liverpool One] on their way to town[10] at night" (Participant 6)

> "It's like it [Liverpool One] has screwed that end of town [towards Bold Street] and benefitted the Docks[11]... I don't know why I guess it's careful planning. The

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[10] Locally in Liverpool 'town' is often used to refer to the city centre.
[11] Locally in Liverpool the term 'docks' generally refers to the area of The Albert Dock

Docks has been considered quite a happening place to go for a while, the bars and restaurants not the shops. So if Liverpool One connects to that it's like it's a part of it" (Participant 8)

"I would say the Albert Dock is definitely closer. I work in the Liver Building so it's like Albert Dock is on the right and Liverpool One is on the left but they're really close, just across the road. Whereas before the Albert Dock seemed disconnected, like quite a far walk from town" (Participant 9)

"Just to walk through makes it a lot better. Especially getting to the Docks. I remember thinking 'wow they are really close now' it's a much nicer walk to get there rather than going down James St which is the way I used to use to get there" (Participant 11)

Again, many participants made links between this and the image that they thought Liverpool One and Liverpool City Council were trying to present and, as discussed earlier, often these distinctions were based on consumption practices and thus the symbolic capital (closely linked to economic capital) of the space. One participant commented on the layout of the park in Liverpool One and stated that she believed it was done intentionally to position users of the space towards the Albert Dock. In addition to this, she also observed and commented that other parts of Liverpool One seemed to close off other sections of the city centre. Therefore, the physical boundaries of the city, in these participants' opinions also reflected what they considered to be the social boundaries linked to the cultural capital. Consequently, the consumption practices of Liverpool One correlate more with the area of the Albert Dock as opposed to other areas of Liverpool's city centre. As discussed in Chapter 1, Hubbard (1996) in his discussion of the "new cultural politics of place" (Hubbard, 1996 p1442) argues that because of the change in the role of cities, there has been a change in the focus and governance of spaces with the focus being on enhancing the economic prosperity of the city. As Hubbard suggests, this is not always done in accordance with the sentiments of the local population. This appears to be the case in this discussion of the

Liverpool One development. Once more, the implications of this will be discussed further with regard to how it can affect the creation of social boundaries in the city as well as how space can become symbolic of a particular image of lifestyle.

A final point to make about the participants concepts of physical boundaries associated with Liverpool One which was alluded to in the previous paragraph concerns the physical boundaries of the development itself. As discussed in Chapter 4, Liverpool One is a private development and monitors and governs its own space. Whilst on the walking interviews with participants, I asked them if they knew what the official boundaries of the development were. Over half of participants did not have an awareness of the official boundaries of the development; they recognised that you could get to Liverpool One by walking past the Costa Coffee building and through The Park, but were unsure of the other boundaries. Not all of the participants were aware that Liverpool One is a private development and therefore had no concept of where boundaries were between Liverpool One and the rest of the city centre. However, once it had been discussed that the development was privatised this became an important theme throughout all of the participants interviews. Other participants had more of an understanding with regards to where the boundaries were and pointed to the branded bollards and bins, as well as the change of paving stones as examples which displayed these boundaries. Again this can be linked to the work of Lefebvre and the difference in the ways spaces are perceived between those governing and creating spaces and those using them, because the majority of participants did not recognise these official boundaries. This was mainly due to the fact that prior to the development the space had not been privatised and therefore the idea of boundaries now being in place did not resonate with their past experiences.

As stated throughout this thesis, the primary focus of this thesis is to explore women's lived experiences of the city. The issues set out in this first section of this chapter are not necessarily gendered, however, as will be discussed in the subsequent sections of the data chapters which are more focused on gendered issues, this initial idea of the shift in physical boundaries is important to consider in relation to how social boundaries have been formed as well as how certain representations have become associated with the space.

8.2 Social Boundaries in Urban Space

In the context of this thesis, 'social boundaries' will refer to those boundaries which are unseen and which affect the ways that the participants perceive and experience space in terms of their social interactions with the space. Whist the physical boundaries previously discussed may largely be unseen (except where there is a physical representation) and in some cases are the result of a participants' own perception, they still refer to the physicality of space which is a concept that it much easier to determine. These boundaries relate to the notion of the socially constructed city, with these boundaries being the result of social processes (Burr, 2003). The participants were able to accurately describe where they felt these physical boundaries lay, both when they drew their cognitive maps and throughout the walking interviews. This section will discuss the social boundaries that the participants felt that they experienced and perceived in the space of Liverpool One and the wider city as a result of the development. The data discussed in this section draws on the themes introduced in the previous section and establishes some of the underlying reasons behind why participants felt that these boundaries existed.

8.2.1 Social boundaries and Social Capital

As discussed in the previous section, the notion of a particular image being represented was strongly associated with determining the physical boundaries of the city centre in terms of which spaces appeared amalgamated. Many of the participants also suggested that it was this concept of image that also contributed to creating some of the social boundaries they had experienced. Going back to the discussion of the Albert Dock, the vast majority of participants stated that they thought a specific (and often classed) image was important to the Albert Dock because of the nature of businesses located there which were perceived as being predominantly high-end and exclusive leisure spaces. These participants also felt that a similar image was equally important in Liverpool One throughout the whole development but especially in the Keys Court district together with some of the leisure spaces situated in the Chavasse Park area. Participants made an important distinction between the bars and restaurants situated on The Terrace to the ones in The Park[12] suggesting that those on The Terrace were more casual and family orientated as opposed to those in The Park which were similar to the establishments in the Albert Dock in terms of the image and lifestyle that they appeared to promote. The participants made the link between their perceived image of the Albert Dock and their perceived image of these parts of Liverpool One and made a further connection with the layout of The Park.

> "I feel like Liverpool One is trying to re-brand Liverpool. We have a new image now in the media and Liverpool One I think is the drive behind that. Maybe it's not the reason but it's a part of it. It's extreme; you don't see homeless people or anyone selling the Big Issue or anyone smoking. You see security everywhere. You don't see everyday people here like you do on the high street. It's very distinct and separate. That's the thing L1 isn't for the people of Liverpool it's to

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[12] The Terrace and The Park are distinctions made by Liverpool One.

attract people or businesses with money. You don't get the impression it's for the people from Toxteth or Kenny [Kensington]" (Participant 11).

Further examples of how the space was perceived by the participants as being associated with classed identity included shops which were or were not associated with Liverpool One:

"I'm going to take a photo of McDonalds, for me this is significant it's sort of a landmark of where Liverpool One starts. But it's on the edge isn't it, like they don't really want it to look a part of Liverpool One" (Participant 10)

The suggestions by the participants that Liverpool One appeared to be associated with some parts of the city compared to others links to the suggestions discussed in Chapter 2 that space has symbolic associations which can have classed connotations.

Allon (2013) argued that symbolic codes are often associated with areas within cities and that these codes will tend to relate to particular groups or images within society. This concept of symbolic codes can be related to the participants' responses to the idea of boundaries within urban space. Participants tended to relate these symbolic codes that they associated with these boundaries, based on their own interpretations and experiences. The examples cited above represent some of the symbolic codes that the participants associated with the space. This therefore demonstrates how and why it is important to explore individual accounts of urban space because understanding these symbolic codes that individuals attach to space are often dependent on their own distinct experiences. It is also interesting to note the importance of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) and its significance in an individual's choice to engage with particular spaces over others, as well as the symbolic associations that are made with these spaces based on this perceived cultural capital. In the case of the data discussed above, it is interesting to note how these participants made symbolic associations with areas that they felt represented the boundaries and that these

often had social capital significance in terms of what they felt Liverpool One was trying to associate itself with.

8.2.2 Boundaries and the 'Right' to Urban Space

A further social boundary identified by some of the younger participants was with regards to family spaces in Liverpool One and there was a distinct difference in terms of the experiences of those participants who had young children and those who didn't. The participants who had young children commented that they felt Liverpool One had made a considerable effort to make the development family friendly, giving examples such as facilities and its accessibility. The younger participants who had no children also commented on the family friendly nature of the development but their experiences in light of this were very different and reflected an element of exclusion. Several of the participants who did not have children said they felt excluded from some areas because they appeared to be family orientated and this was particularly referenced in terms of The Park. Participants recalled examples of when they had felt as though they had less right to space than others because they did not have any children. They felt like the spaces, such as The Park, were dominated by those who did have young children. Examples included one participant who recalled a day the previous summer when she had gone to the space during the day and felt uncomfortable spending time there because of the number of young children about and that she felt she lacked belonging in the space because of this. Another participant said that one day she had witnessed a group of teenage girls being confronted by a family with young children because they were engaging with a sports activity and the family raised concerns about their children's safety. The participant discussed how this made her feel uncomfortable and shocked as the group of girls in her opinion were not behaving in a way

that she considered out of order, and it seemed to her that the family felt they had more of a right to the space.

The idea that some people had more right to the space than others was also reflected in another theme in the data relating to social boundaries and identity. Whilst not all of the participants recognised all of the separate districts in Liverpool One, all of them did see the Keys Court district as being distinctly separate. The logos of the shops located in this district were the subject of many of the participant photographs; when asked why this was, the general response was because that area is one of the things that stands out the most about Liverpool One. There was a general consensus amongst the participants that the shops located in this area were associated with a certain image and cultural capital, as discussed in relation to Bourdieu (1986) in Chapter 2. The implications of this, however, varied greatly between the participants. Some participants were indifferent and suggested that to them it made little difference that the designer shops were clustered together. One comment remarked that actually the way in which Liverpool One segregates the different types of shops is helpful as it makes shopping simpler. A minority of the participants viewed this segregation as positive; these participants related it back to their overall experience of the space and implied that shopping in areas like the Keys Court district made the overall experience special as it had a sense of occasion, thus contributing to the overall symbolic and cultural capital of the space. One of these participants also remarked that it made her feel quite proud of the city because to her it symbolised a positive change in the overall perception of Liverpool as a city. The majority of the participants however were negative about this separation of the Keys Court district. Many commented and used expressions such as the space making them feel out of place and intimidated because of these shops and

what they represent to the participant in terms of their cultural capital. One participant recalled going into one of these shops and feeling very self-conscious of how she was dressed (this issue will also be discussed further in the following chapter). For these participants, a social boundary was created as they felt that they did not have the right to access these spaces because they did not conform to the image associated with these types of brands.

Similar feelings were expressed by participants (mainly those discussed above in relation to the Keys Court district) when they were asked about the night time economy in The Park district of Liverpool One. The majority of the participants had opinions about the spaces associated with the night time economy, although most of these participants had not fully engaged with it and therefore much of their discussions were based on their perceptions of the space and the way in which it is represented rather than first hand experiences. Others had first-hand experience and had strong opinions associated with its cultural capital. The majority of those who had not been to these bars and restaurants claimed that it was because they had little interest and many stated that they had already established the places they liked to go to socialise, and whilst they were not adverse to going somewhere new, they had quite fixed ideas about where in Liverpool they would be willing to go on a night out. The rest of these participants had other reasons for not going to these bars and restaurants which again fitted with the theme of social boundaries. They saw these places as having a strong association with a particular image that related to an exclusive cultural capital. These participants cited an example from the media; a Channel Four Programme aired in 2011 called 'Desperate Scousewives' which featured some of these establishments. These participants said that they felt these establishments gave a very undesirable view of

women from Liverpool. As a result they themselves would avoid going to these places, as they felt that they also had negative connotations which were either a direct result of the programme or which also reflected similar negative associations with stereotypes attached to people from Liverpool. The part of Liverpool One that was the most frequently cited in terms of this image and stereotype of women from Liverpool was the Hilton Hotel. This photograph was taken by a participant who felt that the brand represented a boundary in space because of the culture associated with it:

Image 12 – The Hilton

When the participants who had never been to the bar or nightclub in the hotel were asked why, the majority commented that it was because of these negative associations, as well as the association with the brand. When this was discussed further a number of the participants described who they would associate with this image, for example:

> "To be honest I think it's a bit fake, the people coming here and linking the idea of being at 'The Hilton'. It has no personality but people still flock to it. The TV shows like the one here and Made in Chelsea it gets tied up with that image which is carefully put together. Fake is the only way I could describe it" (Participant 18)

"It's a certain look and you have to have it to fit in here. The glamorous scouser. But I don't think anyone could possibly be like that twenty four seven" (Participant 2)

When participants were asked to expand upon this, they described what they felt was expected of the appearance of the women who went there but they also commented on the pressure that these women must feel under, to maintain such an appearance. They were asked if they thought men were under a similar pressure and there was a similar consensus that appearance also mattered a lot to men, but overriding that was their image of wealth (and the associated cultural capital) and again this will be explored further in relation to representations of women and men in the following chapter. Whilst the discourse around these images associated with appearance will be explored further in the subsequent section, it is important to recognise the way in which these women felt a social boundary had been created based on physical appearance; there are spaces in Liverpool One which these women felt were not accessible because of the choices they made about their appearance.

Those women who had been to the bars and restaurants in The Park reported mixed lived experiences which tended to depend on their own perceived identity and how they felt this resonated with the identity of the space and those others who were using the space. One participant had stayed in the Hilton but cited that it was for a special occasion and was highly unlikely to visit these places in a social context. Therefore, the use of this space was again associated with the sense of occasion but did not apply to their everyday lived experience. Similarly, another participant discussed how she had been to one of the other bars, again for a special occasion, and stated that the biggest issue she felt was the cost of drinks, and again said it was highly unlikely that she would go to any of those bars unless it was a special occasion. This relates to the symbolic capital of the space as well as economic

capital which affected the way through which the participant would engage with the space. Another two participants had been to several of the bars in The Park on more than one occasion although they did say that they were not the usual places that they went to on a night out. When I asked these participants about their experiences they were initially very positive, the main reason being that they felt a real sense of occasion when being at such places. However they also discussed feeling under a lot of pressure with regards to their appearance, with one commenting how she could never go to these types of places frequently because of the time in effort she would spend getting ready.

8.2.3 Culture and social boundaries; the example of Quiggins

Quiggins was cited throughout interviews and was frequently the subject of the participants' photographs, often with an emotive response from participants. As discussed in Chapter 3, Quiggins was an alternative shopping centre that became the subject of media attention when a compulsory purchase order was issued in order to make way for the Liverpool One development. Whilst the exterior of the building was kept, the use of the building was very different to what it was pre-Liverpool One.

To several of the participants, Quiggins had been an important part of their experience of the space and experience in the city previous to the Liverpool One development:

> "Quiggins is one of the places in Liverpool that meant a lot to me. I used to come here a lot when I was younger with my friends and some of them have moved away now but when they came back to visit that's where we would go to reminisce and catch up. I think if it was still here it would be as popular as it was and it would be that alternative place to go, it was somewhere different" (Participant 17)

> "The thing with Quiggins was it was a hidden gem, but if you knew about it, it was like being in a community and as far as culture goes it is what I think was an

important part of Liverpool's culture because it was a one off and full of characters. It's a real loss and even more so that this is what replaced it" (Participant 15)

The building that used to house Quiggins was the most photographed aspect of the Liverpool One development by participants; the following are two examples of photographs that were taken:

Image 13 – Quiggins   **Image 14 – Quiggins**

Participants photographed this building because of the importance that Quiggins had had in their previous experiences of the space and how this contradicted the use of the space now. In this sense, the example of Quiggins can be used to highlight conflict between the representations of space and spatial practices (as discussed by Lefebvre, 1974) because the representation of the space in terms of this building does not resonate with those who

instead related it to their former uses of the space. Thus, the representations of the space do not reflect the spatial practices.

Other participants, who may not have been regular visitors to Quiggins, recognised it as being an important part of the city's culture, which demonstrates how even those who did not have these emotional connections still recognised the more niche parts of the city:

> [Said whilst taking photograph of Quiggins] "I didn't go there loads, just a few times but to me this has significance. I thought it was a shame when they closed it. Even though I only went a few times it was always somewhere I recommended to people because it was that little bit different" (Participant 8)

Participants also made connections with this concept of culture, and Quiggins as being symbolic of a particular culture, and how this also reflected social boundaries. Quiggins was seen as representing a local culture within Liverpool that was displaced for not being cohesive with the new culture of the space. As discussed above, according to the participants and also the media that covered the closure of Quiggins (as discussed in Chapter 4) there was considerable focus on the type of culture that they felt Quiggins represented and reflected. Participants suggested that in their opinions, this culture did not resonate with the desired culture that Liverpool City Council and subsequently Grosvenor wanted to reflect. In this respect, it is important to note that these observations are based on the perceptions of the participants and that in fact there are many factors that would have contributed to the closure of Quiggins.

Furthermore, changes to the use of space and landscape within cities over time are a natural occurrence. However, in terms of the considerations of social boundaries, the perceptions that the participants had about this idea of culture and what type of culture was considered to be more advantageous for the area is important, because it shows how

these past experiences affected their current perceptions of the space now. Again, this reflects how spaces can be 'coded symbolically' (Allon, 2013 p253) and how those who use the space in an everyday setting may apply these codes in terms of culture; both the culture that they themselves feel is reflected through the space and the culture that they think those who govern and own the space wish to reflect. Furthermore, it is those that own and govern urban space that influence the type of culture that they want the space to represent, and that this can divert people away as well as encourage others to engage with the space (Minton, 2009; Zukin, 1995). This is also an example of the tensions that can exist between the representations of space and the representational spaces (Lefebvre, 1974).

8.3 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the physical and social boundaries that the research participants associated with spaces of Liverpool One and how they relate to other parts of Liverpool's city centre. These associations suggest that, in this case, much of the physical space had cultural capital significance. Whilst the term 'cultural capital' was not cited by participants, many of the conversations that were had in the interviews reflected the theme of the culture and identity of space and how this resonated with the participants own sense of identity as well as the symbolic identity and culture of the city of Liverpool. These ideas of culture and identity where ways through which people, as well as spaces, were able to gain distinction (Bourdieu, 2010b) and thus have been related to Bourdieu's definitions of cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). With regard to the physical boundaries, this has been in terms of making further associations with particular parts of the city which are connected to certain identities, linking in with the social boundaries that can also be experienced in the space.

In terms of the social boundaries, these were more complex to consider as they were based on more individual perceptions. These might not always be a realistic representation of boundaries that exist within space, but, as has been emphasised throughout this chapter, they are still important in the considerations of how people experience urban space because they can affect the decisions that individuals make with regards to their interactions in and with these spaces. Participants often discussed how social boundaries could lead to exclusion, based on the how the spaces were distinguished in terms of their cultural and symbolic capital, and whether this capital aligned with that of those trying to access such spaces. Social and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) were also a factor with economic power also allowing access to such spaces (although participants suggested that this was more of the case for men) and social status also having influence on the accessibility of spaces.

Some of the boundaries that have been discussed in this chapter do not necessarily relate to experiences that could be considered gender specific. However, these were raised as important issues by the participants and to exclude them from the analysis would have been inappropriate. This is especially true because, despite the boundaries not being directly related to gendered experiences, they were often an underlying factor in some of the more gendered experiences which were concerned with representations and urban space (and which will be explored in the following chapter). Indeed, the discussions in this chapter relating to the physical and social boundaries of the space provide much of the context for the themes that will be discussed in the following chapter with regards to the representations associated with the space.

What this chapter has demonstrated is the importance of individual accounts and perceptions of what they feel create these boundaries, as this can help to explain why some people feel more inclined to experience inclusion or exclusion in certain spaces. This will be further reflected upon in the following chapter which will explore many of the themes raised in this chapter with the focus being on the representations associated with the space of Liverpool One and the city as a whole, as well as the representations of those who are associated with particular spaces.

Chapter 9. Data – Representations in City Space

9. Introduction

Having considered both the physical and social boundaries in urban space as experienced by the participants, this chapter will discuss the representations that they themselves identified as being part of their experiences in the city. Many of these representations relate to the boundaries perceived and experienced by the participants as they often contribute towards what makes a person feel a boundary exists (whether seen or unseen). Accordingly, the data and the themes discussed in this chapter should not be viewed as separate to those discussed in the previous chapter; instead they should be seen as a means for further analysis with regards to how these boundaries have come to exist and why they may have such a bearing on our lived experiences of the city.

The term representation within this chapter will be used in reference to how the participants felt the space itself was represented, and how they thought those who used the space were represented. As discussed in Chapter 2, shared interpretations build "a shared culture of meanings" which further constructs our social world in terms of the representations presented and how these are interpreted (Hall, 2013 p4). Some of the representations discussed were gendered in nature and in particular themes around safety and representations of bodies emerged in the data. Other representations discussed were more to do with the identity that the participants felt were reflected (or in some cases not reflected) in the development. Whilst this theme was not always gendered around place identity to the extent that the discussion was, some gendered themes did develop in terms of more specific representations associated with women local to Liverpool, often established by the media.

9.1 Representations and Lived Experiences

The previous chapter pointed to several examples given by participants regarding perceived social boundaries relating to the Liverpool One development. This section will expand upon these examples in relation to how these boundaries are part of the representations of the space in terms of how the space is presented by those who have developed it and how this resonates with the lived experiences of those that use the space.

Several points in the previous chapter refer to how participants related certain spaces within Liverpool One and the activities that took place in these spaces as being an experience in themselves, and seen as more of a special occasion. This was often related back to the perceived symbolic capital of the space and how this reflected the cultural capital and subsequently the ways through which people could access and engage within the space. The participants who felt this way about the space generally stated that the way in which these spaces looked and what the image of these spaces represented was part of what made these spaces special to visit and contributed to their symbolic capital:

> "I feel it [Liverpool One] has lifted the image of shopping in Liverpool and actually Liverpool in general because I know I used to go to Manchester sometimes say like for a Christmas shop or a day out. Something special you know. I wouldn't do that now because everything's here, you can make a day of it and it looks so much nicer so I enjoy spending time here because it's a cool place now is Liverpool" (Participant 9)

> "It feels like something special and this comes through in the districts because some feel more special than others. Sometimes you go to it for a special treat, it's so attractive" (Participant 8)

Littlefield discussed how segregating the different parts of the development into districts was done partly to allow them to adopt their own feel and personality (2009 p67).

Participants took photographs that they felt reflected the identity of the different districts and discussed how this identity was reflected through the architecture:

"It's like these posh shops have the posh design outside and the more normal ones, you know the high-street ones, it looks fresher and funky around them"

Image 15 – Keys Court   **Image 16 – South John Street**

In the case of shops around Keys Court, this resonated with the participants' experiences, with several of them referring to it as the 'designer' part of the district, and this was reflected in the overall appearance of the space. Some participants also labelled it as separate to other districts on their cognitive maps even though they did not recognise the official layout of the districts.

This labelling contributed to the overall symbolic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) of the space and those who accessed it because it affected the way they viewed the space and what image (i.e. the designer image) they associated with it. However, as was discussed in Chapter 8 and as will also be discussed later in this chapter, not all of the participants viewed this segregation into districts as a positive move by the development, as it was seen as making the space inaccessible to some. This included gendered distinctions in that

women had to use different means to men in order to access some of the spaces of the development.

They discussed how the images that were attached to the different parts of the development also reflected wider societal images that were often associated with class and gender. Images of a celebrity cultural capital, which occurs through the emphasis on the exclusivity of the space, further contributed to the cultural and symbolic capital of the space. For example, one participant discussed her perception about how the members of staff who work in designer shops are trained to make customers feel special. She discussed the gendered nature of this practice, citing how she believes that members of staff are told that they should be very complimentary towards any female customers, especially with regards to style and appearance.

> "It really is different in those shops, I think it comes down to helping justify why people spend so much on these labels. I know people who have worked in them, I haven't myself, but they said how training is more about making people feel good rather than practical things that you need to know working in a shop. For example if it's obvious a lady has spent a long time on her hair you should comment on how lovely it is and I think that's true certainly based on my own experiences" (Participant 16)

Other participants also discussed how the members of staff in these shops appear to make a difference to their overall experience of shopping. Again, this reflected the notion of celebrity the overall experience of engaging in these types of space:

> "It was great, they gave me so much free stuff to try and told me to come back for a makeover when I had more time. I only bought one little thing. It made me think of how, you know famous people, they do those events and get goody bags. It was fun." (Participant 20)

Furthermore these perceptions and experiences appeared to be both gendered and classed. Participants discussed how this was an experience that they believed to be exclusive to

women, and in particular women who aligned with a particular cultural stereotype. This stereotype, according to the participants, was related to image and perceived social status that was in turn associated with the ways through which these spaces were represented. One participant took photographs of the mannequin displays in some of the shop windows and described how she felt these represented how women who would wish to access these types of spaces should look. Therefore, a particular style and taste was associated with women who used these spaces in the development. She went on to discuss how she felt these representations to be intimidating and how they implied exclusivity of these spaces. This affected her everyday lived experiences of the spaces because she also discussed how she would be likely to avoid such spaces because of these perceived representations. Other participants were highly critical of such stereotypes being presented through the identity of these shops and those people who were associated with them. This implies that the worth of the symbolic capital of such spaces to an individual depends of social judgement of taste (Bourdieu, 2010b).

Whilst the cultural representations of some of the designer spaces in Liverpool One did make some participants feel excluded, others commented how Liverpool One had actually made accessing these types of experiences easier, with one participant saying how the developments location in the city centre makes it feel less exclusive because it was part of the overall development. Another participant also commented that, as a student, she was unlikely to use such spaces; however she saw them as something to aspire to. Again, this was based on her perceived cultural capital of the space and how she felt it related to her own identity, as well as her available economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Furthermore, another participant discussed how her relationship with these types of spaces had changed

over time. Currently, this participant classed herself as a professional, and she considered how this label was important in defining her identity and the types of leisure spaces that she engaged with as part of her everyday lived experiences. She discussed how previously, when she was a student, she was more likely to engage with spaces that she felt represented the stereotypical lifestyle of a student. However, now that she felt her identity was more defined by her professional occupation (and thus her cultural and social capital have transcended as well as her economic capital) she was more likely to engage with such spaces. This participant was not negative about the way through which she felt these designer spaces where represented previously, but rather felt the need to engage with and use such spaces now that they were more in line with her new identity. Whist these perceptions of the spaces have not impacted negatively on these participants' lived experiences, their accounts of how they relate to a particular identity of the space and how they would only engage with it if appropriate to their own identity, further demonstrates how the cultural capital associated with spaces and their related behaviour affects the way people access and engage with space. It also has a classed element, with people assuming economic status as being an important contribution to this cultural capital, thus demonstrating the link between cultural and economic capital and social status.

The Hilton hotel was another space in the development that was seen as being associated with images of economic status. Participants discussed the exclusivity associated with the space and its association with celebrities and how this representation of the space affected their lived experiences of it:

> Participant 12: "I hate the side of The Hilton with those little carriages that you're supposed sit in. It looks cheap. It's for people to show off. In fact the whole Hilton is for people to show off in. I do quite like the Hilton being there

though because I think famous people might be in there, like if they're playing at the Echo, maybe that's where they stay. Again though, you do need a lot of money to stay there, or even to go there for a drink"

What makes you say that?

Participant 12: "It's just what is linked to it, certain people"

Like who?

Participant 12: "Just like the local celebrities, not world famous people but Liverpool famous."

As will be discussed later in this chapter, other participants felt that in order to access the space of The Hilton, a certain image had to be maintained for women, and this created exclusions for those who did have this cultural identity. This concept of certain shops and labels promoting what appears to be 'celebrity culture' is discussed by Cashmore (2014) who argues that the way in which they advertise "promotes an ethos of commodity hedonism" (2014 p183). Therefore, what feels like an intrinsic need to consume becomes amplified by the idea that through shopping in such places these consumption identities can be constructed because of the symbolic value of such products (Cashmore, 2014 p184). In terms of the data discussed above, this consumption appears to be not only symbolic in terms of the physical products that can be bought in such places, but also through the act of accessing and engaging with these spaces. Cashmore describes celebrities as being 'living embodiments' of culture "in which value is placed in novelty, change, excitement, and extravagance" (Cashmore, 2014 p185). The idea that the lived experience of shopping in these designer shops was exciting and extravagant certainly came through in the examples of the data, and also has relevance to when participants talked about engaging in some aspects of the night time economy in the development which will be discussed further in the subsequent sections of this chapter. Furthermore, this also shows how representations of space can be reflected through spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1974), when such

representations are aligned with a participants own sense of their cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

In contrast to those participants who enjoyed these parts of Liverpool One because of this image of the space being special, others felt alienated from these spaces because of this perception. Several participants commented that the staff (who, as discussed in the previous paragraph, made positive contributions to some participants' lived experiences) made them feel intimidated and unwelcome, as demonstrated by the following:

> Participant 4: "If I was younger coming here I would probably feel a bit paranoid about how I looked. I feel like some shops have expectations like they probably ask people to leave. I don't care now, not that I go to them, they're not my shops, but if I had to I wouldn't care"
>
> When you say you might have been paranoid about, in what way?
>
> Participant 4: "Well you know the people who work there, I mean do they only employ models? Look at those who work in those, I don't even know the names of them but those expensive ones, compare them to your typical student working a Saturday job in H and M. They all look so perfect, their make-up and that"
>
> What about the men who work there?
>
> Participant 4: "It's bad for them too, but I guess they have to look smart. It's not the same, women have to be attractive in the first place to get a job there I think, men can have more leeway".
>
> Why do you think that is?
>
> Participant 4: "Simple really, if you have a woman who looks that good it makes others feel like they have to match up. So if you go in for a skirt you feel you need to match it with make-up and new shoes and stuff. You feel like bad if it's like they're looking down on you for not being perfect. Well I don't feel bad, but I did when I was younger and I know people who do. It's like they would never come here with no make-up on. But men just dress smart. I'm sure there are pressures there too but I don't think they're as obvious."

A theme that therefore emerged from this data was that the participants felt that women needed to have a particular appearance and identity in order to work in particular shops. This was often related to the type of shop in question but it was suggested that the overall appearance of the development, and not just the shops, contributed to this perception. This reflects Skeggs' (2005) theory of how specific appearances can mirror associated cultural capital and how this is often gendered, with women having different and disproportionate expectations with regards to appearance compared to men.

The majority of the participants who viewed the spaces associated with designer labels negatively commented about the staff and suggested that they were made to feel like it was not their place to be in these shops. They suggested that these types of shops were associated with a certain lifestyle and that attitudes from staff when they had visited these shops had made them feel out of place and not of the style and image that is associated with these lifestyles. One of the participants said that she felt like staff followed her around on one occasion when she went into the shops and explained how it made her feel like they were expecting her to steal something. Whilst these examples might not have been the true intention of the staff described by the participants, what is important to take from this data is that the participants perceived that this was how they were being viewed by these staff and that it has implicated the ways in which they experience the spaces in question.

> Participant 15: "I don't think I've ever been to these shops. Oh, maybe that café that used to be here. But not like shopping. I just don't like it, I really can't stand places like this, you know, proper pretentious"
>
> What do you mean by pretentious?
>
> Participant 15: "Well it's clearly an 'us and them' thing isn't it with places like this. You know, these shops, they are for certain types of people"
>
> What types of people?

Participant 15: "I'm not sure really. Just not people like me"

What makes you say that?

Participant 15: "Just that I wouldn't wear any of this stuff even if I could afford it"

Who do you think would?

Participant 15: "Like those people you see who are all dressed up. At the end of the day I have two kids, I don't have the time to be worried about what I look like and what I wear. I'm sure it's nice for those women who do. It's just a different life to mine. I couldn't be bothered with it anyway"

Further discussions with this participant and others suggested that often they felt the idea that women should maintain a certain appearance stems from representations of the media, which can be related back to earlier discussions of media stereotypes affecting women's lived experiences (Griffin et al, 2004; McRobbie, 2004a; McRobbie, 2004b). As discussed in Chapter 4, people from Liverpool have themselves been the subject of much media stereotyping (Gilmore 2004; Boland 2008) and whilst many participants felt that this stereotyping had moved on from the those of the 1980's and 1990's, a new stereotype of the working class woman from Liverpool was emerging. This reflects theoretical discussion around how women are presented in the media, with those of a working class often being subjected to negative stereotypes (Skeggs 2005; Ross 2010; Tyler et al 2010; Allen et al 2014).

Other examples of stereotyping about women from Liverpool cited included those of younger women although some of the participants who had children also discussed pressures relating to the 'ideal types' in the media with regards to mothers and the pressure to be a parent but also maintain an ideal appearance. As one participant discussed, this could be reflected in the representation of the development:

> "I think places like this are fashionable and it is fashionable to bring your kids here [takes photograph of The Park]. However, you don't want to come into town looking a mess, especially to somewhere like here because of its image, so you have to make an effort" (Participant 17)

As discussed in Chapter 3 with reference to the 'new sexual contract' outlined by McRobbie (2009) suggests that in today's society women now have less limitations imposed upon them than previously, however this success is often based on maintaining a certain appearance and being able to adopt dual roles (McRobbie, 2009 p54). Women therefore have further pressures which can cause anxiety in trying to present the correct identity. This is reflected in the data discussed above as the participant comments on how she feels additional pressure in terms of appearance, in order to be able to access the space when she is also undertaking her role as a parent. Therefore, this demonstrates how urban space can reflect the existing tensions in society through how the space is represented and the implications with regards to how people should look and behave in order to successfully negotiate the space.

9.2 Representations of Exclusivity and Space

As the previous section has discussed, much of the associations between the way in which the space of Liverpool One was designed and the representations of some of the spaces and how the participants interpreted these representations has created social boundaries. In particular, the idea of space being represented as 'exclusive' was one of the foremost reasons for participants citing social boundaries in the space. This was in reference to the development as a whole, as well as more specific parts of the development. Namely The Hilton and Palm Sugar were discussed in relation to the night time economy, together with the shops in Keys Court.

These representations of exclusivity are not just restricted to activities associated with the night time economy but are also found in the ways through which shops are presented:

> "When the sales were on this shop here [Hollister] had bouncers on the door and queues to get it. It was like Harrods really. Or even a trendy bar" (Participant 5)

> "Liverpool One fits in with the WAGS. Their whole stereotype, they like expensive and designer clothes, so this is where you would go if you want to look like that. It's like this place was built for them, it should be that it should be for everyone not just if you have money. Was Liverpool One designed for people of Liverpool or for the WAGS and the wannabes?" (Participant 10)

Other examples of this have been cited earlier in this chapter in reference to how participants related a sense of occasion to certain spaces within the development. This can be connected to the previous discussions around the idea of parts of the development being represented as exclusive and associating itself with particular forms of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) through its representations of space (Lefebvre, 1974).

The idea that some spaces may not feel accessible to everyone was discussed in Chapter 3 with reference to the work of Bourdieu (1986). Bourdieu's (1986) notion of cultural capital is relevant here, as those participants who did not feel that they could comfortably access some of the spaces that were associated with designer labels felt this because of how they perceived their own identity and how this related to the identity of the space. This was often not directly associated with their perceived social class and instead depended on how they perceived their cultural capital, i.e. if they felt they had the physical appearance and sufficient knowledge of designer brands then they were able to actively use these spaces; if not then often these spaces were described as intimidating. Economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) was also seen as important by the participants in these discussions, as it was generally

viewed that, in order to possess the correct cultural capital and be able to access these spaces, they also had to have access to economic capital as well.

Similar reasons were given about why some participants avoided the 'exclusive' bars in The Park. The Hilton hotel was the subject of several participants' photographs (for example Image and when asked to expand upon why, many of them commented to how the hotel brand symbolised a glamorous and celebrity like lifestyle:

> Participant 4: "I don't like that The Hilton."
>
> How come?
>
> Participant 4: "I don't like the brand The Hilton. It's too posh. It doesn't fit in. Well it does with Liverpool One"
>
> What makes you think that?
>
> Participant 4: "It was on the awful scouse programme. They all went there. It was skinny girls with fake hair and boyfriends who cheat on them. Like that's what was shown to be Liverpool. And it focussed on The Hilton like that bar that you have to be on the list. Although I didn't like Hilton before then, well maybe I didn't think about it as much, but I would never have gone there. That made me angry though"
>
> "The Hilton it's not really for the people who live here. I mean, it's very expensive. Paris opened it didn't she, that says a lot I personally think, about what they want people to think because of her image and what people associate with her and people like her. 'IT' girls I think they're called?" (Participant 11)

These discussions demonstrate how, in the case of Participant Four, the media has provided a narrow and constructed image of Liverpool. Whilst this image may be different from the negative accounts of Liverpool as a deprived and troublesome city as discussed in Chapter 3, the participant still feels that these alternative stereotypes that focus on wealth are also damaging to Liverpool's reputation. Longhurst et al (2007) discuss the idea of a 'spectacle/performance paradigm' that is a manifestation of the impact that the media has

on modern day social and cultural life (Longhurst et al, 2007 p125). The role of the media has changed and the boundaries of what is represented through the media are becoming increasingly blurred, with performances of the everyday being created through pseudo-reality television. This was reflected in the participants' discussions of how the city of Liverpool and the local population were represented in an exaggerated and typecast manner which reflected local stereotypes in the Desperate Scousewives documentary.

These above comments also demonstrate how the notion of celebrity has become a benchmark for consumerism and appearance based on cultural capital, and that this is gendered in that within these circumstances women are often praised in terms of their appearance and their relationships with men (as discussed by Ross, 2010). Furthermore, Participant Fourteen commented how she has really wanted to visit the Hilton bar for a drink but had avoided these spaces because whenever she has walked past the main hotel she has seen door men holding doors open for people. This made her feel intimidated as inclusion into the space appears to be dependent on whether or not this person deems that you can have access. Additionally, the participant emphasised that the fact that it was a man who held this power over accessing the space added to this intimidation, and she discussed how she felt it was her femininity that would be judged. This can be linked back to earlier discussions in Chapter 3 with regards to how women may often have to use their femininity in order to access certain spaces (Waitt 2011; Griffin et al 2012). In the case study for this research, this seems to be more apparent when the spaces in question are also associated with a high level of economic capital and specific social capital and cultural capital.

The idea that access to spaces for women depends on appropriate femininities has been discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to the work of Skeggs (1997; 1999 & 2005), Griffin et al

(2012) and Waitt et al (2011). They have discussed how women may need to adopt particular femininities in their behaviour and appearance in order to access and negotiate certain spaces. Furthermore, Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital, which was discussed previously in relation to 'celebritising spaces', is also important here as participants place a stereotype on the space as they feel it is represented in a way to suggest that the space is only for people who have a certain cultural capital. In addition to this, relating back to Hall and Hubbard's theory of 'new cultural politics of place' (1994 p1442), the idea that the space was for people who were not local to the city was mentioned by several participants. When discussed further, several participants commented how access to these spaces tends to be based on financial capital for men and physical appearance for women:

> "I could never come somewhere like here if I was dressed how I am now. I would need a whole day to get ready. My boyfriend though, I know he goes to places like that, and he does wear nice clothes but it's not as important" (Participant 16)

> "Me and my friends did think about coming here for a fortieth birthday. We looked up some reviews though and I got the impression it was about how much you could spend and how you looked. If you look at the photographs the women all look stunning" (Participant 19)

> "My friend tried to get in here. He got knocked back but then they let loads of girls in who were gorgeous. I get the impression from my friends who go there that the guys are loaded, my friend was probably nicely dressed, he always is, but he doesn't look like he's rich" (Participant 17)

> "There's like a stereotype of people who come to clubs like that. Men have money and women look good. That's why I hate them because it's so bad both ways, to stereotype men and women like that. I know it's in other places in society too, but I think places like The Hilton represent it" (Participant 14)

> "With the bars, they seem like not the places I want to go. I don't go out drinking very often but I don't think I'd come here. It's too much about how you look, I don't look conventional I have very short hair and I don't wear dresses or skirts. I've never worn make-up. I just don't think I could go to them. The bars here,

there aren't many are there? Just a couple. But they remind me of the ones down the Albert Dock, or even that Newz bar. Like you know Coleen Rooney goes there and Stevie G's wife. They're not like Concert Square or you know the typical places people like me go" (Participant 10)

Further discussion in the interviews confirmed that these participants felt that the suggestion that women needed to look a certain way came from the way in which the space was represented. The women interviewed also perceived that men may also be excluded from these spaces if they could not signify wealth through their appearance and thus demonstrate their economic capital. It was interesting that, even though men were not interviewed for this research, the women who were also reinforced the pressure that men could experience if they did not hold the capital deemed appropriate for such spaces. The brand of 'The Hilton' played a significant part in this overall representation because of the connotations associated with it, however media representations and local perceptions of how people should negotiate such spaces were also important.

Previous research into women's engagement in the night time economy has suggested that women may feel under pressure to use their femininity in order to access certain spaces (Waitt et al, 2001; Griffin et al 2012). The data discussed above certainly supports this idea, as in order for women to successfully access and negotiate the spaces associated with the night club in The Hilton they had to adhere to a particular appearance. Additionally, the way through which women are able to access spaces such as this appears to be different to men, who have less emphasis placed on physical appearance but more placed on financial status. This relates back to Grosz's argument that the city is 'the site for the body's cultural saturation' (1998 p47) as the way in which some spaces are represented affects the way some people view the space and how they may behave in the space. Linking this to Young (1990), the differences in the experiences that women and men have in urban space and the

different ways which they may engage with space are based on the notions of how they should regulate their behaviour, which they can be exposed to from a young age.

9.3 Representations and Architecture

The way in which the physical space was represented also emerged as a theme throughout the interviews. The look and design of the space often contributed to the ways in which the participants believed the space was represented. Comparisons were made to what the participants considered to be the true representation of Liverpool elsewhere in the city and how this compared to the design of the spaces within Liverpool One. Furthermore, the physical appearance of the space often contributed to both the physical and social boundaries of the space, as discussed in Chapter 8. In terms of the physical boundaries, this was through the way the development separates itself from the rest of the city centre and for the social boundaries, the physical appearances contributed to how the social boundaries associated with the space were conceived by the participants.

As discussed in Chapter 8, the majority of the cognitive maps showed Liverpool One as separate to the city centre. Throughout the walking interviews this was discussed and many of the participants commented how the architecture was one of the fundamental ways in which the separation from the rest of the city centre was represented. This was also demonstrated through some of the photographs that the participants took, with several participants taking photographs to demonstrate where they thought the boundaries to be. For example Participant Nine took a photograph of the pavement in Keys Court, which she said was the main way she had noticed that Liverpool One separates itself from the city centre:

Image 17 – Pavement

Some participants commented on how the architecture of Liverpool One was seen as very modern, and this was not always in tone with other parts of the surrounding city centre. Whilst it was often recognised that this is a fundamental part of regeneration and that building materials are very different to what they once were, some participants expressed views which suggested that the architecture of Liverpool One did not complement other parts of the city and again this was reflected through the photographs that they took:

> "I wanted to include the Three Graces because they're what are iconic. The Mersey to me marks the centre. I don't quite see how Liverpool One fits in with it all" (Participant 6)

> "I think Liverpool One was needed, but I do wish it was integrated more. Like Jamie's Italian where they have used the existing building, possibly because it might have been listed? But that's great; I wish there had been more of that. It just doesn't blend with the rest of the city. Obviously can't make it like the Liver Building, but it stands out too much for me and not in a good way" (Participant 2)

Some participants also suggested reasons why they thought buildings in the development had been designed in specific ways:

> "When I'm in a grumpy old person mood I feel like they have kind of trendified [sic] the buildings you know? Making them modern and trendy and it's to appeal to certain people I think" (Participant 5)

"The amazing thing about Liverpool is the buildings. A lot of them have shop fronts but if you look up some of them are lovely, not all of them, but a lot of them are like old and red brick and nice. This [Liverpool One] is all plastic and glass and fake. And I think that's what they want is fake it's all about how it looks and not how it feels but the old Liverpool doesn't fit in...This whole area got gutted and everything had to be brand new and swanky. I don't think that's the way to go there's no history. I don't feel welcome around here it's not for me" (Participant 4)

"The designer shops like Dune and Coast look different to here [by Waterstones]. It looks more special, like more designer just the way that area looks" (Participant 9)

"The Liver Buildings, The Albert Dock, two cathedrals. They're symbols of Liverpool. Liverpool One is too commercial and doesn't fit. It's trying to be another city it's not. We have our own image. They thought we needed something more commercial, trendier. The shops doesn't represent Liverpool. I liked going to Quiggins and I like going down Bold Street to the little quirky shops. A lot of designer expensive shops in a small confinement doesn't represent Liverpool to me. It's more for the tourists and the people who like to shop there and can go there but it's all for face. It's there to look good and it's a show. It's not fully representative of the majority of people of Liverpool. It will get people in and get people talking about it and that's good but there should be more of a balance. Like less designer, even out with more quirky shops" (Participant 10)

This idea that the way an area looks physically was also discussed in relation to other parts of the city centre:

"Areas like the top of Bold Street and Hanover Street have always been seen to be student areas. They can get away with looking quite scruffy and it's ok" (Participant 5)

A further participant, who was very much against the inclusion of The Hilton in the development, said she thought it was taking attention away from the Hard Day's Night Hotel, a Beatles themed hotel located on North John Street, Liverpool. She discussed how she felt that Hard Day's Night also had a glamorous feel to it and therefore promoted a similar

cultural capital, but that it was more in tone with the city and the image of Liverpool and that The Hilton detracts from this image:

"Hard Day's Night has that glamour about it, but it's in reference to Liverpool. It fits. The Hilton takes away because it seems to all be about The Hilton and the club there" (Participant 18)

Quiggins was cited frequently throughout the interviews as an example of how the participants felt the space was not representative of Liverpool, but more in line with the overall vision of the development:

"I hate that, it looks all clean. It's because they're worried about what people think. It used to be a hub for people who liked interesting stuff. Now it's just about the image, like this designer image, not everyone is into that" (Participant 4)

"Liverpool One, the shops are like everywhere else. You could be anywhere else. That's why I was upset when they closed Quiggins, its unrecognisable now, that's it isn't it? [Stated whilst taking photograph] It was a shame as it was independents so it made it stand out. These other shops now are everywhere, they're not unique to Liverpool. It didn't just function as a shop, groups used to go into the café every week and meet. You can't do that in the new places. It was a comfortable and welcoming space, we used to have a reading group there and there were adverts for walking groups, it was for the community really. It's a shame that's lost" (Participant 6)

"Moving shops like Quiggins, it's like they're saying 'you don't fit in here anymore, you're too different. We'll just stick you down there out of the way. This building is for us and what makes us look good' It does affect the image" (Participant 10)

The data reflects the themes discussed by Minton relating to who the development benefits, and how it is not necessarily benefiting the sense of place for the local population (Minton, 2009 p198). Participants suggested that Quiggins had been displaced as it was not in line with the overall image that Liverpool One wanted to present. As discussed above even the exterior building now looked different and again this was suggested to be because of the

overall representation in association with Liverpool One. This physical appearance of the development therefore contributed to the wider social boundaries that the participants perceived. Whilst this initially is not gendered, it contributed to the representation of the space as being exclusive to certain social groups which as discussed earlier has gendered attributes in terms of how women access these spaces differently to men. The area which used to host Quiggins attracted the most emotive response from participants, with many of them relaying from Participant personal memories that they had of the space, as highlighted by this example:

> Participant 10: "Closing Quiggins upset me. I loved the café. It had a sense of community that Liverpool One doesn't have"
>
> Why do you think that's important?
>
> Participant 10: "Well, if you think about it, a lot of people don't have much money. You could meet and have a cheap tea and cake in the café in Quiggins and it was child friendly. I had a young child at the time and I was on my own with him so I needed places like that. So you could pass an afternoon there, and there would be other people to talk to, it was just sociable space. You can't do that in the places here now"
>
> How come?
>
> Participant 10: "They are too expensive for one thing, and small. You don't feel welcome to sit there for a long time, just quick in and out. It's the community, that feeling that you're welcome that's lost. Makes me sad really"

A sense of loss was felt because she did not possess the cultural and economic capital needed to access these spaces. This also demonstrates the tensions in urban space as discussed by Lefebvre (1974) in terms of the representations of space created by the developers and the spatial practice of those who wish to use the space. Furthermore, as highlighted through this example, this experience was also gendered as the sense of community discussed by the above participant was important to her at the time, being a

single mother with a young child. This highlights how issues of gender and class do intersect in relation to lived experiences of urban space as her sense of loss was both class and gender based. However, it is important to note that not all participants were as negative about the changes brought about by the development, with some suggesting that the development has benefitted the city overall:

> "I think it's good for the city. I think it's masked the recession a bit with the time it opened. And it could have gone either way really but through it looking like this it helps improve the city as a whole. People feel proud that we have it here" (Participant 5)

> "I know people were sad to see Quiggins go. But it happens everywhere, things change and it was for the best really. This is what we need to keep up with the times" (Participant 16)

As discussed by Lefebvre, contradictions exist in urban space particularly when there are differences in the spatial practice and the representational spaces (Lefebvre, 1974) which is highlighted through this example of Quiggins. The difference in opinion between participants discussed here highlights this and can also be related to 'spatial juxtapositions' (Amin, 2013 p205). Experiences within urban space are also intrinsically linked to individuals past experiences (Benjamin 2004). This is reflected in the data discussed here, as those who had limited memories of the space that was Quiggins had less emotional attachment and this contributed to their perception of the changes that occurred in the space.

Participants also felt that the design of the development was done in such a way that it brought your attention to other parts of the city centre whilst creating boundaries to others. This has been discussed in relation to the social boundaries in the space and how participants felt the design highlighted the developments connection with the cultural and

symbolic capital of the Albert Dock. Photographs were taken by participants that they felt showed connections with other iconic landmarks of the city centre:

Image 18 – The Radio City Tower   **Image 19 – The Liverpool Eye**

This was seen as an attempt by Liverpool One to align itself with the overall culture of the city of Liverpool through these glimpses of what the participants' considered iconic landmarks of the city. Participants were critical of this because, linking back to the closure of Quiggins, it suggested to them that only certain cultures within the city were being incorporated into the development and this was seen as being a reflection of the elitist view of those behind the representations of space (Lefebvre, 1974).

In comparison to the discussion of Quiggins, The Bluecoat Centre was also talked about by participants in terms of its associated image and cultural capital:

> "I'm glad The Bluecoat is still there. I was worried about it when I found out about Liverpool One because Liverpool needs a space like The Bluecoat. It's somewhere I have always gone and I would be sad if it went or changed.... I'm not sure if more people go there now though. If you knew it was there in the first place you go but it seems less prominent now that this [Liverpool One] is next to it" (Participant 7)

"The Bluecoat is one of the main places that means something to me and I did think Liverpool One would affect it but it hasn't. I know it's listed so they couldn't physically, but the feel of places can change and it's something special about the city and does a lot for up and coming artists. I think it really is standing the test of time" (Participant 2)

"The tragic thing for me is that people think Bluecoats is part of Liverpool One. I'm always saying 'no it's separate'. It is like a little haven amid all this madness although I don't go as much now because of all this around it, I'd go up by the unis. I do go for exhibitions still but for just relaxing I'd probably still avoid around here" (Participant 11)

"The Bluecoat doesn't seem to do as much, they've got the gallery. They did it up and I don't like it now, it's too clean cut and trying to be the Tate and it isn't the Tate it's the Bluecoat. But to fit in with here they probably had to do it up" (Participant 4)

Again as demonstrated by the above data, participants' responses to The Bluecoat Chambers were mixed. Some thought the development had affected it whilst others thought it remained the same. The following photographs were taken by participants because they felt the proximity of the Liverpool One Development to The Bluecoat Centre was a significant part of their perception of the space:

Image 20 – The Bluecoat Centre   **Image 21 – The Bluecoat Centre**

The participants who took these images placed a high cultural value on The Bluecoat and felt strongly that it appeared separated to the development and thought that these images represented that. The idea that it could be perceived as different seemed to be more justified because of its status as an arts space. Again, this reflects Bourdieu's notion of symbolic and cultural capital, as both The Bluecoat Chambers and Liverpool One where seen as having symbolic capital which may have conflicted with each other. The fact that, for some participants, The Bluecoat Chambers had not been as affected by Liverpool One as they may have feared yet Quiggins was relocated, shows how they placed a higher cultural value on The Bluecoat Chambers compared to Quiggins. For those who did feel The Bluecoat Chambers had been affected by the development this was again tied in to their own personal experiences of the space. Whilst these associations weren't gendered, they still demonstrate how an emotional attachment to spaces is important to individuals and that change to surrounding spaces and their overall representation can affect how a seemingly unrelated space is experienced.

9.4 Representations of Safety and Space

A further theme that emerged in the data relating to representations in the space was that of security and the symbolic nature of the representations of security and safety. Several of the participants discussed how they favoured Liverpool One over other areas of the city centre because it felt safer and more secure compared to some other parts of the city centre. When asked why this was, they pointed to the knowledge that they knew the area was under close surveillance, the physical presence of security and the fact that they considered it to have adequate lighting, which meant that it didn't feel secluded even during the night:

Participant 8: "It has changed the city centre; Liverpool One is attractive to look at. Even when they've done something up it still has an old fashioned façade. The buildings they don't use or the back of them they make it look like something is there. It makes the space feel cleaner and safer. Some areas that look a bit dodgy I avoid, but it's not like that here"

Why would you avoid some areas?

Participant 8: "You get told don't you, when you start university or going out drinking to bars and clubs, that you should avoid unlit places at night and walking alone, especially if you are female. It just stayed with me as I got older although I don't have a problem walking alone but I would avoid some places"

What is it that makes spaces like Liverpool One feel safe then?

Participant 8: "It's hard to describe. I guess it is instinct. Liverpool One doesn't feel empty even at night, I mean even if no one is there it doesn't feel deserted so I feel safer"

The distinction around safety and how it is women that are told to avoid certain areas at night demonstrates how socialisation goes on to affect the lived experiences of women in city spaces (Young, 1990; Massey and McDowell, 1992). This also links to discussions in Chapter 3 about media representations of crime and how women are often made fearful because of their potential to be a victim (Gill, 2007; Ross 2010).

Some participants also suggested that it was the whole atmosphere of the development that made them feel secure, commenting how the fact that the shops don't have large shutters gives the impression that "you don't have to worry about crime here" (Participant One). Several of the participants commented on using the car park in Liverpool One frequently, and when asked why, safety and security were both mentioned by all of these participants. One participant also said that if they were driving in to Liverpool at night then they would only park in Liverpool One because they felt it was safe:

"The car park is a big benefit. There are lots of spaces and it is light and secure so you feel safe using it even at night. You can get a loyalty card which is good

because it is quite expensive. In fact I don't think I would park anywhere else at night for that reason, it's the safest car park in town" (Participant 9)

The car park was a feature in several of the participants' photographs for this reason:

Image 22 – Liverpool One Car Park

Therefore, representations of safety are important considerations for women in terms of the urban spaces that they choose to engage with, consequently affecting their lived experiences in the city.

Having considered the positive connections that participants made about the image of security in Liverpool One, it is important to note that not all of the participants saw the CCTV and security presence as a good thing. Several commented that they didn't understand why the development needed its own security and that if they ever felt threatened or in danger then the police would be there first point of call and not a private security firm. Others saw the privatised security as a way of keeping those people who Liverpool One deemed as undesirable, away from the development. In addition to this, several participants stated that the security presence and the knowledge of the CCTV made them feel like they were being watched. This did not make them feel secure but uneasy and

as though they weren't perhaps as welcome in the space as the advertising and branding suggested:

> "I was quite surprised when I found out it was private space. It makes it quite segregated off, I think it's wrong. I think it's because they have an image to maintain and promote. Never heard the likes of it, now I think about it it's quite disturbing because you don't think. It's supposed to be free public space and it isn't, there's no walls but maybe there are invisible walls" (Participant 9)

> "There are some boundaries, like at night time. I don't think it's gated but the security and cameras make you feel that it's closed off. It's a visible security system so you know where you are when you see them. They don't make you feel safe though. I guess you are safe. But it feels more like they're keeping an eye on the place rather than being there for safety" (Participant 6)

As discussed in Chapter 4, 'place marketing' is often used in the governance of space to give the appearance of safety and security (Coleman and Sim, 2006 p106). This was recognised by some of the participants, although to others the presence of private security and the CCTV, especially around the car park and at night, did give them an additional sense of security. Furthermore, the idea of safety was reflected in the overall representation of the development as it was closely linked with the image of the development.

9.5 Conclusion

The data discussed in this chapter demonstrates how representations associated with the space and those who use it can affect lived everyday experiences. The data discussed in this chapter has demonstrated how these representations are often classed and gendered, with examples showing how the representations associated with certain spaces can be related to perceived local stereotypes.

A clear theme that has been evident throughout this chapter has been that the participants often seemed to feel that the stereotypes attached to local women were frequently

considered to be more negative than those associated with men, demonstrating a clear gender divide. This is not to say, however, that there are not negative stereotypes associated with men from Liverpool, indeed as discussed in Chapter 4 there have been many examples cited in other literature relating to the negative stereotypes associated with people from Liverpool. Nevertheless, the participants in this research felt that, in terms of the stereotypes associated with the spaces in Liverpool One, the ones associated with women had much more negative connotations than those associated with men.

These negative stereotypes seemed to be principally related to those spaces which were considered to be exclusive or associated with the idea of privilege and exclusivity. As the data discussed demonstrates, often women feel that the 'cultural capital' in these spaces depends on physical appearance above other factors for women, but that this is not always the case for men. However, as discussed in Chapter 8 and also highlighted in this chapter, other boundaries for certain groups of women are also associated with the representations of the space. However, several participants who recognised that these representations may impact on the ways in which some people access the space also commented how it did not affect themselves and that their decision whether or not to engage with the spaces in the development was based on their own judgement rather than because of the perceived effects of these representations.

A further theme highlighted in this chapter has related to how the representations of who the space is for, has ties with the physical appearance and design of the development. This was highlighted through the different districts of the development in terms of how the various designs were associated with the different types of shops located in the districts. Whilst the majority of the participants could not make the official distinctions between the

districts as set out by Liverpool One, they did notice the divide in terms of the different shops. This was further reflected through the physical appearance of the districts, with many participants making the distinction between the design of the Keys Court area compared to other parts of the development.

Whilst not all of the participants knew that the Liverpool One development was privatised space, the overall implications of this was still important in influencing the representations of the space. Participants who were aware of the privatization of the space had mixed opinions, with some citing how they felt it had benefitted the city and others feeling the representations associated with the space had created social boundaries (as discussed previously in Chapter 8). As discussed in Chapter 8, participants were asked which social class they associated themselves with. With this in mind participants were asked to reflect and whether or not they felt that urban spaces represented and reflected social class and how this could contribute to social boundaries. Often, when it was felt that urban spaces within the Liverpool One development did reflect social boundaries, it was related to the privatisation of the space. In general, those that had a more in-depth understanding about the implications of the privatization of the space tended to feel more negatively towards the development and often participants' wider views of urban space and consumerism in general were related to their perception of Liverpool One.

 Overall, from the data discussed in this chapter it can be concluded that representations associated with space do influence the ways in which people engage with and negotiate these spaces. In terms of gendered representations, these are often based on appearance, and also tend to intersect with class associations. Local representations are also important, as often stereotypes linked to the spaces tended to be based on stereotypes of the local

population. The privatisation of the spaces also contributed to these representations, particularly in terms of the gender and class representations, as this significantly contributed to the perception of who had the right to the space.

Chapter 10. Discussion of Data

10. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to draw together the themes from the previous three data chapters. As discussed previously, there have been clear themes that were elicited from the data, these themes have intersected with each other and thus need to be considered alongside each other in order to gain a more rounded understanding of the research participants 'experiences and perceptions of the representations and identity in urban space. This chapter will therefore consider all three data chapters and how they related to each other as well as how they can be linked back to the literature discussed at the beginning of this thesis relating to the overall urban experience, as well as the more specific experiences of women in urban space. This chapter will be organised around the research questions which encompassed the research aims and objectives that were set out in the introduction to this thesis.

The research questions for this thesis aimed to explore the lived experiences of women in the city, including the spatial practices that they engaged with and the representations (of urban spaces and those who use the space) that they perceived. It aimed to explore how women relate their use of urban space to their own identity and how this impacts on their lived experiences. The research questions considered how the participants interpreted the perceived cultural capital of the development and how they related this back to their own cultural capital. This notion was explored through the way these perceptions of cultural capital affected the way in which the research participants accessed and engaged with the different spaces within the development.

To recapitulate, the research questions for this thesis were:

- How do the participants experience and relate to urban leisure space, and how are these processes gendered?

- How do the participants relate their perceived cultural capital to urban spaces?

- Do the participants believe that social boundaries exist within urban space and how are these related to gender and social class?

The following sections of this chapter will address each of the research questions as well as any other themes that were not anticipated in the initial conception of this research but were prominent throughout the data collected and also related to the themes of the research questions.

10.1 How do the participants experience and relate to urban leisure space, and how are these processes gendered?

Many of the participants began their discussions relating to their general experiences of urban space and then followed up with discussions relating to the space of Liverpool One and other spaces in Liverpool. Initially these discussions did not explicitly include gendered experiences, although they often did relate to social class. However, as the walking interviews progressed the participants talked more about gendered experiences; it was only after their initial reflections on these experiences that the gendered themes emerged. This issue was identified in the discussion within the methodology section of this thesis, and is one of the main reasons why a mixed methods approach using the elicitation devices of cognitive mapping and photography were adopted, in order to help facilitate these considerations of every day lived experiences. These experiences mainly related to the

research participants' own first hand experiences as women, but several of the participants did also reflect on how they perceived men to experience the space.

The participants had different priorities for accessing urban leisure space such as the Liverpool One development. The majority did so for a number of reasons including practical uses, social occasions and for hedonistic purposes. A minority of the participants only used such spaces for practical reasons, not finding particular pleasure in using such spaces and preferring to socialise in more local, suburban spaces. Relating back to the previous discussion on social capital, this influenced heavily whether or not the participants did engage in social and/or hedonistic practices. This was because it tended to be the collective preference of the participants' social peer groups that determined this preference over the types of leisure space that the participants chose to engage with for the activities related to their social peer groups.

One example of gendered experience in urban leisure space that was identified by the participants related to safety and space and how representations of safety affected the way some of the participants used the space. These participants reflected on the warnings that are often given to women about being safe in the city at night and how these were very much seen to be gendered messages, with men not being encouraged to have the same concerns. The Liverpool One development was seen to be a safe environment because it was under CCTV surveillance and was well lit. Interestingly, as discussed in Chapter 9, the overall appearance of the space and how it was represented also added to these feelings of security for some of the participants who discussed how the way the development looks in terms of it being well kept, well-lit and shop fronts that are visible and not behind security shutters at night contributed the these representations of safety. Consequently, some

participants discussed how they may be more likely to engage with some of the night time economy spaces within the development as opposed to other areas of Liverpool's city centre if they knew there was a chance they may have to walk through these spaces alone at some point. This can be related back to earlier discussions around the mass media sensationalising women's fear of violence in public spaces. For example, Pain (2001) and Gill (2007) have argued that there are often disparities in reports and statistics citing violent crimes committed against women, with an over proportionate focus on crimes committed by strangers despite the fact that perpetrators of crimes against women are more likely to be known to the victim (Gill, 2007 p135). Mott and Roberts (2013) argue that this fear of violence felt by women can affect which spaces they then chose to engage with. Therefore, the participants' responses relating to their use of the space based on their perception of it being safe demonstrates how physical representations of space can impact on perceptions of safety and influence subsequent behaviours. This is a clear example of how the women who participated in the research relate to urban leisure space in terms of their representations of safety, and that this is a gendered process as it was based on media representations that are aimed at influencing women's behaviour.

A further example raised by participants relating gendered processes was reflected in the discussions of accessing spaces that they perceived as exclusive. In particular, some participants discussed how they felt that there was an emphasis on women requiring a certain physical appearance in order to access exclusive spaces in the development that were associated with the night time economy. This was as opposed to men, who the participants perceived did not have the same emphasis on physical appearance but rather required a certain financial status in order to access these spaces. This example can also be

used to reflect issues relating to the other research questions that are discussed below. The participants also reflected on their perception that in general there was more societal pressure to maintain a certain type of physical appearance. This was indicated in their discussions around visiting the Keys Court District of Liverpool One which houses its high end designer shops. They discussed how they felt they had to look a certain way if they wanted to go to these shops and that this was a pressure that they did not feel was as applicable to men. In particular the participants felt there was a focus on them having to display the correct femininity. This can be linked back to previous research and theory relating to the notion of 'ideal types' (Goffman 1976; Grosz 1994; Griffin 2004; McRobbie 2004a; McRobbie 2004b; Atkinson et al 2010).

The increased freedoms that women now have in urban space (Wilson 2001; Griffin et al 2012) creates a 'hypersexual femininity' (Griffin et al, 2012 p185) in terms of their appearance and behaviours in public spaces and this can challenge the more traditional ideal types that are often associated with women. Therefore, when in the public sphere women can now have to navigate more complex social processes because of the increasing tensions related to their feminine identity. This can include the spaces that they occupy, their consumption practices as well as their appearance (Waitt et al 2011; Griffin et al 2012; Atkinson et al 2012; Atkinson et al 2015; Ross et al 2015). Consequently, if the participant did not feel that they equated to this ideal type then they would be less likely to engage with these spaces. Also, if they did decide that they wanted to engage with these spaces then they would make a conscious decision to assume what they felt was the desired appearance. Therefore, it was unlikely that they would visit the spaces spontaneously. The participants' discussions around the exclusivity of some spaces in the development and

them feeling they needed to display attributes of an ideal type is a further way their everyday lived experiences was related to urban space, because it impacted on whether or not the participants accessed the space and how. In addition to this, there was evidence that these experiences were gendered, because the participants perceived that there was more of a focus on women having a certain physical appearance compared to men, who, according to the participants, had more emphasis on economic capital. Whilst this is not necessarily a true reflection of the situation because it based on perceptions rather than tangible evidence, it is still important in the wider considerations of women's experiences in urban space because these perceptions are having an influence on how women access such spaces and the pressures they feel under. It also alludes to the pressures that men may be experiencing when they associated with these spaces.

The issues concerning the way the research participants experience and relate to urban space were also discussed in relation to the cognitive maps and photograph elicitation. Through cognitive maps the participants were able to show how they perceived the space was divided into areas that they felt were exclusive and spaces that they felt were more accessible. The walking interviews then provided opportunities for the reasons behind this to be reflected upon. Also, many of the spaces that the participants thought to be exclusive were subjects of their photographs, for example, several participants took photographs of The Hilton Hotel, Palm Sugar (a bar situated in the development) as well as the signs for the shops situated in the Keys Court District. These participants suggested that the reason these places were of significance to them (hence why they took the photographs) was because they felt they symbolised a particular culture that was representative of the development.

This can be linked to the notion of cultural capital (as discussed by Bourdieu, 1986) and will also be reflected on in the next section which relates to this concept.

The participants' responses that reflected the way they relate and experience space were in contrast to the section of the ONE Community Annual Review 2012 which discusses community engagement. This part of the review suggests that one of the main aims of the development is to engage with the wider local community and cites several ways that it does this, including events aimed at increasing community engagement, creating training and employment opportunities for young people as well as promoting Liverpool's history through its tours of the Old Dock. Using Lefebvre's (1974) theory of the different elements of space, there is therefore conflict between the representations of space (as taken from the ONE Community Annual Review 2012) and the spatial practice (as cited through the participants' experiences). Therefore, it could be suggested that the representations associated with urban space can affect which groups in society feel they can comfortably access spaces, and the impact that representations can have on the perceptions of those who may use the space. This is further emphasised through the gendered nature of these experiences, as well as the fact that many of the perceptions and experiences also related to social class, with the idea that a middle class, as opposed to what was perceived as a working class femininity, was required in order to prescribe to the ideal type that the participants felt was required. It is therefore highly probable that other distinctions could be made between different groups within society and how they relate to and experience urban space. Consequently, this is something which should be taken into consideration with regards to the creation and governance of spaces and research into everyday lived

experiences, because of these differences and the disparities that they can cause for those who are included or excluded by these social boundaries.

During the discussion about the cognitive maps, the research participants would often relate to the past and present use of different areas of the city centre and how the use of these spaces may have changed. Often changes in the use of the spaces tended to be mentioned because those changes had occurred in the participants' own lives. For example, the area around both the universities were often cited as being one of the major areas of the city that the participants had used when they were younger. Also, this was one of the main areas of the city used by the participants who were students at the time of the data collection.

A further life event that appeared to create a gendered influence on the participants' use of the space within the city centre was having children. The participants who were mothers discussed how this changed the way they used city spaces in terms of the areas of the city that they would visit. Less of an emphasis was placed on engaging in the areas associated with the night time economy, and the idea of using leisure spaces for hedonistic purposes was less common than it had been before they had had children. Additionally, several of the participants who were in the older age group and whose children had now grown up, discussed how this had been the case for them but the situation had come a full circle and they could now enjoy urban leisure spaces in a more social way. The reason why these changes to the use of space are gendered is because the participants related them to their own femininity and how they felt these spaces were sites for activities that contributed to their feminine identity. For example, for those who were younger mothers, the urban leisure spaces were places where they went to shop for their children and maintain their

identity as a mother. For those who were not parents or were parents to older children, the spaces where they could go to socialise with peers and engage in activities such as shopping that also contributed to their feminine identity. The activities that were discussed in the ONE Community Annual Review 2012 often had a family focus in that they were aimed at engaging children with the space. These were cited as part of the Community Engagement Strategy. However, the fact that some women felt excluded from such activities and spaces where the activities were taking place contradicts this notion of community engagement, by suggesting that it is only specific communities that are made welcome to engage with such activities.

The idea that spaces can be linked to feminine identity was discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to the work of Skeggs (2005) Waitt (2011) and Griffin et al (2012). The night time economy, and its associated spaces, is often an environment where women are encouraged to display what is considered to be appropriate feminine behaviour, with these behaviours being different to those of men (Skeggs 1997; Griffin 2012). Furthermore, the context of the situation is important, with the type of venue and peer group present also determining what is appropriate femininity (Waitt 2011; Atkinson et al 2015; Ross et al 2015). This can also be applied to spaces outside of the night time economy, for example the gendered expectations of appropriate social practices which are often reinforced in childhood through to adulthood (Young 1991; Butler 1991; Skeggs 1997; Mills 2011). This relates to the participants' responses discussed above, because, according to them, engaging in these gendered appropriate behaviours were an important part of their identity and their everyday lived experiences. Furthermore, the fact that the participants attributed different spaces in Liverpool's city centre with these behaviours helps to reflect upon how the

participants did relate their experiences to urban leisure space (in this case in terms of the activities that they participated in within these spaces). It also demonstrates how these processes can be gendered because they reflect on the participants' femininity and how they perceive their identity to be reflected in these processes.

10.2 How do the participants relate their perceived cultural capital to urban spaces?

As discussed previously in the literature reviews, in terms of this thesis the term 'cultural capital' is to be understood in relation to Bourdieu's (1986) theory of capital. This theory departs from the more traditional notion that social class is defined purely on an economic basis and often relating to an individual's occupation and how leisure and consumerism have become defining features of individual and collective identities (Giddens 1991; Bauman 1998; Miles 2000). Bourdieu also moved away from the idea of economic means as being the singular definition of class and instead argued towards a more nuanced process that also encompassed social, cultural and symbolic factors (Bourdieu, 1986 p47) (for a definition of the different types of capital please refer to Chapter 1 – The Urban Experience). The notions of cultural and symbolic capital have been more relevant to this thesis because of what they refer to and the fact that they could also be applied to urban space as well as individuals. However, social and economic capital also had some influence in the participants' experiences. For example, in terms of social capital, the peer group of the participant had an influence over some of the spaces that the participant may have engaged with and felt comfortable engaging in. Economic capital was still an important attribute for the participants in determining which spaces they could access. These could therefore have

an influence over the desired cultural capital of the participant and what spaces they wanted to engage with, together with the overall symbolic capital of the spaces in question.

Overall, there was a strong sense that participants did relate their own cultural capital (often reflected by the participants understanding of the collective nature of social class) to urban spaces, although similarly to the discussions in the previous section this was often an unconscious process. Again, these discussions were drawn out and explored during the interviews, and the cognitive maps and photography proved to be useful elicitation devices for investigating these themes, with participants highlighting on their cognitive maps and taking photographs of what they considered to represent (or in some cases misrepresent) the culture of Liverpool. Whilst the participants did not use the term 'cultural capital' in their responses, they would often refer to their own identity and how it related to the social and cultural practices and activities that they were involved with, as well as the types of urban space that they liked to engage with, and how this fitted with their identity. The word 'culture' was often used (and this was evident through the analysis with QSR Nvivo) which shows how the notion of culture was important in the participants' consideration of the space and to the city of Liverpool. These responses can therefore be used as a reflection of Bourdieu's (1986) notion of cultural capital as discussed above and in Chapter 3.

A common theme that has been discussed in connection with the data related to the concept of 'commodity hedonism' as discussed by Cashmore (2014, p183). This refers to the symbolic value of consuming certain projects and their associations with particular lifestyles, which in turn creates and reflects identities based on consumerism. Participants had different ideas as to whether this process was positive or negative in terms of the consumption practices of Liverpool One, with some agreeing that the space does create a

hedonistic experience. Others were critical of this and felt that the type of consumerist identity, (again this often related to the spaces that were seen as exclusive), did not reflect what they felt was the cultural capital of the city of Liverpool. The participants who enjoyed using the spaces within the development saw the cultural capital of the space as a positive attribute to the wider cultural capital of the city. It was also seen as a reflection of their own cultural capital and therefore is evidence of how they would relate their own cultural capital to the space of the Liverpool One development and how they engaged with it. The participants who did not take pleasure in using the spaces within the Liverpool One development also related their own cultural capital to the space. However, in this case, because their cultural capital was not aligned with that of the space, they viewed the development critically.

A further link to the notion of cultural capital was reflected in the participants' discussion of the identity of Liverpool as a city and how the development allied with that. As stated earlier, the subject of several of the cognitive maps and photographs referred to what the participants felt represented or misrepresented Liverpool's culture. Many comparisons were made throughout the walking interviews between what they considered to be the culture of the Liverpool One development and the culture of other parts of the city. This has been discussed in Chapter 5 in relation to the physical layout of the space, with participants commenting on how the development appears to connect and open up to some parts of the city (i.e. the Albert Dock) whilst it obstructs the view of other parts of the city. This evidence can be used to suggest that, in terms of the participants' perceptions, the Liverpool One development is aligning itself with the cultural capital of certain other spaces in Liverpool, namely the area of the Albert Dock. The participants described how they felt the Albert

Dock has an elite and exclusive cultural capital and that this reflected some of the districts of Liverpool One (the Keys Court District, The Hilton Hotel and parts that were associated with the night time economy). This can be linked back to the earlier reference to Julier (2005) and his discussion of culture led regeneration. He discusses how culture led regeneration can create a lifestyle image that becomes commodified, with urban spaces reflecting and promoting representations and experiences that can be reproducing these images and thus promoting the associated behaviours of consumption. Therefore, through designing spaces based on cultural image (in this case the image of exclusivity), this becomes reflected in the overall cultural capital of the space which in turn contributes to the space's symbolic capital. This example can also be linked to Lefebvre's (1976) notion of 'representations of space' as the symbolic and cultural capital of the space are representations of how those behind the development, creation and governance of the space want it to be perceived. The ONE Community Annual Review 2012 discusses how the idea of there being a culture and experience to the space are important concepts in terms of the Community Engagement Strategy. Therefore, the developers behind Liverpool One are making a conscious effort to promote the experience of the space beyond that of the traditional notion of consumption, through creating a culture to the space which is also part of the overall experience of the space. As discussed within this chapter and the data chapters, this has not always been the case and the promotion of this culture by Liverpool One has led to some groups feeling excluded from the space because their own cultural capital is not in line with the cultural and symbolic capital of the development.

The participants who felt that these representations of the spaces within the Liverpool One development were in line with their own personal cultural capital (as well as their social

peer group's social capital) did not describe any boundaries to accessing and engaging with these parts of the development. However, those who felt there was a disparity between their own cultural capital and the cultural capital of the space did experience boundaries to accessing the space or chose not to engage with or access it, and would instead go to other spaces within the development or the city. Furthermore, some participants described a loss of community spaces that they felt had existed within Quiggins and the Quaker Meeting Centre that were bought through a compulsory purchase order and redeveloped as part of the Paradise Street Project. These participants felt that Quiggins and the Quaker Market Centre did not form part of the regeneration strategy because the nature of these buildings was not in line with the cultural image of Liverpool One. This therefore demonstrates how participants relate their own perceived cultural capital to the cultural capital of urban spaces and how this affects the spaces that they will use. Pile (2005) and Benjamin (2004) discussed how it is personal experiences that will influence subsequent experiences in urban spaces and because of the individual nature of this, we need to consider the various nuances of the city and the experiences and perceptions that individuals relate to it. In turn, this also impacts on their lived experiences because it helps to determine what spaces they will go to, and thus will have lived experiences in relation to these spaces. Again, this is in contrast to the ONE Community Annual Review 2012, which suggests that Liverpool One should be inclusive. This can be used to suggest that those behind the creation of spaces need to consider how individuals can have different cultural capitals and that this can mean that through creating spaces that may appeal to one group's cultural capital, whereas another group becomes alienated from the space.

A further way that cultural capital affected the way the research participants perceived and experienced the space related to the stereotypes of women from Liverpool as well as the media representations of women from Liverpool that were talked about during the walking interviews. As discussed in Chapter 3, people from Liverpool have been subject to adverse media stereotypes relating to crime and poverty (Jemphrey et al 2000; Gilmore 2004; Du Noyer 2007; Boland 2008; Belchem 2012). However, the recent regeneration in Liverpool has attempted to overcome these stereotypes through reflecting the culture and history of the city and improving the overall image of the city. Place promotion is key in attracting investment and tourism to cities (Boland, 2013) and this has been key in Liverpool's regeneration strategies (Kokosalakis 2006; Du Noyer 2007; Boland 2013; Jones 2013). Many of the participants discussed how they felt the Liverpool One development was part of the place promotion movement in Liverpool, although there were disparities regarding whether or not this has been done in line with Liverpool as a city's cultural capital. Several of the participants discussed how the cultural capital of the Liverpool One development promotes a culture that for them has created a stereotype that is especially associated with women from Liverpool. Therefore, whilst place promotion may be important in encouraging tourism and investment in areas that need regeneration because of the changes to the use of city space, this can also create further unwanted stereotypes of the local population.

The participants who discussed how regeneration such as the Liverpool One development is promoting a cultural capital that is in conflict with what they believe is the cultural capital of the city, as well as promoting a stereotype of people from Liverpool (and especially women), discussed how these stereotypes have been promoted through media representations of Liverpool and it's native female population. These participants discussed how

representations of women from Liverpool in television programmes have promoted stereotypes of women from Liverpool. The example that was cited by several participants was the reality television programme 'Desperate Scousewives' that was aired on E4 in 2012. It focused on several people from Liverpool. The television series is described by E4 as being a "series that follows a new generation of Liverpudlians, determined to show the UK just what they're all about" (Channel 4 website). The participants commented on how much of this series was filmed in the Liverpool One development and in their opinion the content of the series was reflecting what they felt was the cultural capital of the development. They also felt that the women who appeared in the television series were a stereotype of women from Liverpool. This was reflected in the social activities that took place in the series, the spaces that were used for filming and the physical appearance of the women.

These themes have been reflected in other parts of this chapter and throughout the data chapters in relation to the discussions around how the participants felt that in order to access some of the spaces in Liverpool One that were associated with the image of exclusivity, women needed to maintain a particular appearance. When considering this, some participants did cite the women from Desperate Scousewives as an example of the physical appearance that they thought was expected in order to be able to access these spaces. They also discussed the image that was presented in the television series of the spaces in Liverpool (including Liverpool One) and the people who used them. As covered in Chapter 3, the media often presents women in a biased way, over emphasising issues regarding their appearance and their relationships with men (Skeggs 1997; McRobbie 2004a; Ross 2010). Furthermore, these presentations of women are also often classed, with the media frequently subjecting working class women to judgement and ridicule for not

possessing the cultural knowledge and displaying its associated behaviours (Skeggs 1997; McRobbie 2004a). The participants deliberated about how the fear of feeling judged was one of the reasons why they may have avoided using some spaces within the development, and within urban space in general, if they perceived it to be outside of what they considered to be their cultural capital. They also talked about how these stereotypes of women from Liverpool that resulted from such media representations like the Desperate Scousewives programme contributed to the cultural capital of the space. This is therefore a further example of how the participants may relate their perceived cultural capital to urban spaces, and if they do not feel they are aligned then they will be less inclined to use the space.

10.3   Do the participants believe that social boundaries exist within urban space and how are these related to gender and social class?

There was a strong sense of the participants feeling that social boundaries do exist within urban space and that they are very much related to the intersections between social class and gender. Participants cited examples from both their wider experiences within urban space as well as examples that were specific to the Liverpool One development. Discussions relating to this research question were often centred on the idea of exclusions existing within spaces and the need to have a particular cultural or social capital in order to be able to access certain spaces. These were often related back to economic factors and reflected the participants' perceived class boundaries. The participants also discussed the anxiety they would sometimes feel when accessing such spaces.

The cognitive maps proved to be an excellent elicitation device for drawing out the distinctions in the social boundaries that the participants had perceived and/or experienced.

The vast majority of the cognitive maps that were produced by the research participants expanded beyond the Liverpool One development and included both past and present representations of the city of Liverpool. During the discussion of the cognitive maps the participants often made distinctions between the different areas within Liverpool's city centre and what groups they would expect to use these spaces. Key distinctions included the Albert Dock and waterfront, Church Street and Lord Street, the Georgian Quarter and the surrounding area including the University of Liverpool and Liverpool John Moores University campuses, the area around London Road and St John's Market/Queen Square as well as the Liverpool One development. General labels were attached by the research participants to these different areas of space; for example the area around the universities was seen as a student area, the Albert Dock was seen as a popular tourist area as well as a fashionable part of the night time economy and both London Road and St Johns Market were seen as undesirable areas of the city centre and were often associated with working class stereotypes. Interestingly, the area around London Road was seen as dated and was often associated with past experiences. Many of the participants discussed how the areas associated with shopping (such as Liverpool One, St Johns Market, London Road and Church Street) were linked to economic capital and therefore had a social class distinction about which groups in society were most likely to use them. The other areas such as the university campuses and the Albert Dock where more associated with cultural capital. Liverpool One was seen as being very much related to the Albert Dock because of the similarities of the perceived cultural and symbolic capital of both spaces. Interestingly, the ONE Community Annual Review 2012 makes the link to the Martine history that is also associated with the Albert Dock through its educational use of the Old Dock. The review does not make any other reference to the space of the Albert Dock. These distinctions between the different

areas were key in determining why the participants felt there were social boundaries in urban space. Some participants also discussed how the impact of a development like Liverpool One and its associated symbolic capital of wealth has meant that they (and others according to their perceptions) have been displaced from part of the city centre because they feel they do not have the means to access such spaces.

Participants also discussed how social boundaries in urban spaces can also be gendered as well as classed. This issue links back to the earlier discussion of exclusivity and urban space and how there are different pressures for women compared to men in terms of how they access these spaces. If the participants felt that they were unable to possess the correct cultural or social capital then it was unlikely that they would engage with these exclusive spaces. Furthermore, whilst some participants did have these attributes, their economic capital would also prevent them. Again, this did reflect a gendered process, because, as discussed previously, the participants believed that for women to access these spaces they needed to have a certain physical appearance, as opposed to men who needed financial status. However, the women commented on how, in order to maintain the physical appearance required to access such spaces and to make negotiating them easier, they also required a certain level of economic capital. Therefore, if they were unable to have this then they also faced these social boundaries in accessing the space.

There was a strong feeling from several of the participants that the Liverpool One development appeared to have be designed more for those from outside of the city. Gender did not come up as a direct distinction in relation to this theme, however the theme is still important to consider because it links to the notions of ownership of space as well as its identity and it also had an impact on why some of the participants chose not to use the

space. Furthermore, as discussed previously in the chapter, the activities that take place in leisure spaces such as Liverpool One can be important places where femininity is displayed, and therefore feeling displaced from such spaces can indirectly have a gendered impact because of the importance of these spaces to some women. As discussed in Chapter 7, promoting the ethos of community was key to the values of the ONE Community Strategy of the Liverpool One development. However, as has been mentioned earlier in the thesis within Chapter 1, often when regeneration is undertaken it is done in order to encourage new groups of people to use and invest in the space. Through regeneration creating a 'sense of space' based on the emphasis of certain cultural aspects of the space, the groups who initially occupied the space can become displaced (Zukin 1995; Fleming 2004; Allon 2013). Therefore, whilst regeneration can make a significant contribution in improving an area economically, it can also contribute to social boundaries in space through making the space less accessible to some groups in society, whilst simultaneously making it more desirable to others. The problem with this is however that the groups that are often displaced from urban space will increasingly find themselves displaced from other urban spaces, especially with many city centre areas becoming gentrified (Zukin 1995; Allon 2013). Therefore despite many regeneration efforts being made in order to improve areas of cities and those who live there, paradoxically these regeneration policies may lead to other groups experiencing further challenges.

10.4 Conclusion

This chapter has summarised the data and critical review that were presented in the previous chapters. It has also made links with the existing academic literature that was discussed at the beginning of the thesis. These are important considerations to make in

order to determine where this thesis sits in terms of the broader academic debate surrounding the contentions about everyday lived experiences and how it can contribute to this debate. It is clear from the data discussed here that urban space plays an important role in our everyday lived experiences, and that changes to urban space in terms of its physical layout and symbolic representations can change the way people perceive and use it. The data that was collected for this thesis has demonstrated how certain social groups within society can find the existence of social boundaries within certain urban spaces. These social boundaries can often occur because of the social/peer group's associated cultural capital as well as the perceived cultural and symbolic capital of the space. It also demonstrated how these boundaries can also be classed and gendered, with those of a working class and women facing further restrictions on the ways that they can access and engage with urban spaces. For example, physical appearance was seen by several of the participants as a crucial way for women to be able to successfully access and engage with certain spaces within the Liverpool One development. These were the spaces that they perceived as being exclusive, and it was having what was considered the 'right' physical appearance that granted access to these spaces.

The social boundaries that the participants perceived were often unseen, although physical aspects of the space, such as the appearance of the space and how it connected to other parts of the city as opposed to others, contributed to the participants' perceptions of boundaries. This differed from the standpoint of Liverpool One, as the ONE Community Annual Review 2012 stated that the development was intended to be integrated into the physical layout of the city as well as the local culture. Therefore, it is important that

individual everyday accounts are reflected upon when considering boundaries within urban space because they may provide an alternative view to the official policies of spaces.

The way through which urban space is represented and the way those who use the space are represented was also an important theme in the data and this was similarly linked to the creation and perception of social boundaries. The representations of the space linked to the symbolic capital of the space and therefore influenced who felt they could access (again linking to the perception of social boundaries) and engage with these spaces. The representations of the space also affected behaviour within the space, for example some participants discussed how they were happy to go to the development at night when they were alone because they felt that it appeared safer than other parts of the city. The representations of the space were an important part of the ONE Community Annual Review 2012 which was eager to appear representative of Liverpool as a city's culture as well as appearing conscientious to community and environmental issues. As has been discussed, this was reflected in some participants' responses as opposed to others and again this could be attributed to differing and conflicting cultural capital.

The final part of this thesis will offer an overall conclusion of the research, including a summary of the findings from the data and how they have related to existing academic literature. It will also reflect on the research methods that were used, the issues and problems that were encountered using these methods and positive aspects of using them. Additionally, it will consider the implications of this research and how it could be developed in future research projects.

Chapter 11. Reflection and Conclusion

11. Introduction

This thesis has explored women's lived experiences and perceptions of representations of the Liverpool One development spaces since the area they occupy was regenerated. It has discussed how local women have perceived there to be physical and social boundaries in the space, with the latter also reflecting the wider social boundaries experienced within urban space in general. Furthermore, it has also considered how representations associated with urban spaces and those who use urban spaces affect the overall image of the space, as well as how users of the space access and negotiate it. The data collected from the research for this thesis can be used to reflect upon the role that urban space has in influencing everyday lived experiences, and that this affect is personal in that it depends on an individual's own perceptions and experiences together with their associated cultural capital.

A mixed methods approach was adopted using walking interviews, alongside photography and cognitive maps which acted as elicitation devices to explore the lived experiences of twenty women who were either from Liverpool or had lived in Liverpool for over ten years. These women were recruited through local interest groups and through flyers in public buildings such as libraries. The interviews took place within the Liverpool One development. This was considered to be a suitable site as a case study for this research because its recent regeneration and privatisation meant that it would provide good discussion and comparison between the before and after that participants would be able to link to the cultural and symbolic capital of the space. The interviews were participant led in that the participants were given basic themes and discussion points to cover but that it was up to them what issues they chose to focus on. This was further emphasised though the use of photograph

elicitation, where it was left entirely to the participants as to what they chose to take photographs of. Participants were also given the opportunity to elaborate on why the subject of their photograph was significant to them. The interviews were transcribed and then thematically coded using QSR Nvivo. A basic coding strategy was also applied to the photographs and cognitive maps in order to identify general themes that could then be expanded upon in the qualitative analysis and linked back to the data collected from the walking interviews. This thesis has discussed the data under the two broad themes of the physical and social boundaries of urban space and the representations that existed within and around the space. Sub themes were also identified under each of these overarching themes that related to perceived boundaries in urban space, exclusivity and space, architecture and safety and space. Furthermore, in order to provide a comparison to the participant's perceived cultural and symbolic capital, a review of Liverpool One's ONE Community Annual Review 2012 was undertaken. This allowed an insight into their own perceived cultural and symbolic capital as it discussed the work they do in order to present a particular image to the wider community.

This final section of the thesis will reflect on the research and sampling methods adopted for this project in terms of how they affected the type of data collected and the limitations of using such methods. It will also consider implications based on the data collected as well as the subsequent themes identified through the data analysis, and how this could be used to develop future research projects.

11.1 Reflections on Data

Common themes were identified through the data analysis of the interview transcripts, cognitive maps and the photographs that were taken by the participants. The coding tools

were applied to the data in order to identify these themes. The coding tools were designed with the research questions and objectives in mind, and also reflected the themes discussed in both the literature review chapters and the case study chapter. However, an open approach was adopted to the development of the themes for the interviews and the coding tool in order to adapt to the participants' responses. These themes where then grouped into topics and discussed across different chapters; however there where overlaps between each of these themes and as such they should be considered in relation to one another as opposed to separate. In order to consider the cultural and symbolic capital that Liverpool One wanted to portray, a critical review of their ONE Community Annual Review 2012 was also carried out and considered alongside the participants responses.

The data collected from the walking interviews, cognitive maps and photographs has been discussed within the data chapters in this thesis; 'Physical and Social Boundaries in Urban Space' and 'Representations in City Space'. These chapters have discussed separate themes, however, much of the data can be applied across these themes and therefore the chapters should be considered in relation to one another as opposed to separately. Much of the data discussed within these two chapters referred mostly to the participants' own speculations about the space as well as their own perceptions and experiences that they related to the space in addition to their perceptions and experiences within wider urban space.

The data demonstrated how certain social groups within society can face social boundaries within urban space and that these boundaries were often due to the group's cultural capital as well as the perceived cultural and symbolic capital of the space. It also demonstrated how these boundaries are often classed and gendered, with working class people and women often facing further restrictions on the ways that they can access and engage with urban

spaces. In relation to the Liverpool One development, these boundaries were often unseen, although physical attributes of the space, such as the appearance of the space and how it connected to some parts of the city as opposed to others, contributed to the participant's perceptions of boundaries. This differed from the standpoint of Liverpool One, as the ONE Community Annual Review 2012 stated that the development was intended to be integrated into the physical layout of the city as well as the local culture. This therefore demonstrates why individual accounts are important to consider as they may provide an alternative view to the official policies of spaces.

The way urban space is represented and the way those who use the space are represented was also an important theme in the data and this was similarly linked to the creation and perception of the social boundaries discussed above. The representations of the space linked to the symbolic capital of the space and therefore influenced who felt they could access and engage with these spaces. Furthermore, the representations of the space also affected behaviour within the space, for example some participants discussed how they were happy to go to the development at night when they were alone because they felt that it appeared safer than other parts of the city. The representations of the space was an important part of the ONE Community Annual Review 2012, which was eager to appear representative of Liverpool as a city's culture as well as appearing conscientious to community and environmental issues. As has been discussed, this was reflected in some participant's responses as opposed to others and again this could be attributed to differing and conflicting cultural capital.

The intersection between class and gender was a clear theme throughout the data. This was regardless of the background of the participants; however, the class element was more

important in terms of their perceived identity and how this fitted in with notions of cultural and symbolic capital. Traditional ways of defining social class appeared to be of little significance to the participants who overwhelmingly tended to identify more with social and cultural practices that they felt aligned with their own identity. This in turn reflected how they associated with the sense of place in terms of Liverpool One and in many cases created contradictions between their own perception and that which would traditionally be associated with social class. One example which highlights this was the discussion of the night time economy spaces within the development. These spaces were generally considered to be exclusive because of the financial and ascetic requirements needed in order to access them. However, several of the participants chose not to access or engage with these spaces because they felt their cultural capital did not reflect these spaces even if they had the economic capital to access them. These experiences were also highly gendered, with the participants identifying that men would potentially have different requirements in order to access the spaces.

There are limitations that can be applied to the data collected for this thesis with relation to gender distinctions. By making gender distinctions between men and women significantly limits discussion around interpretivist discourses of gender that move beyond these binary distinctions. Hall (2013) discusses how using binary opposites in our understanding of representations can help us to capture the extremes of people's experiences. However, he also states that by using binary opposites (such as masculine and feminine as this thesis has done) can also be too reductionist and would not allow for subtle distinctions to be made within these extremes (Hall, 2013 p225). As this was an exploratory piece of research, it was felt that the binary distinction of male and female could be justified, and that it would be of interest in the future to explore more nuanced distinctions of gender.

11.2 Reflections on Research Methods

Overall, the research methodology adopted for this research was successful in exploring the participants' lived experiences of urban space, using the Liverpool One development as a case study within which these experiences could be framed. By using a mixed methods approach, participants were given different ways to articulate their experiences. Additionally, the cognitive maps and photographs both acted as elicitation devices within the walking interviews, thus giving the data collected a depth that would not have been possible with a more traditional qualitative interview. Many of the participants commented on how they enjoyed the structure of the research methods and that the combination of the methods helped them to recall their experiences. I would suggest that without the use of the cognitive maps and photography it would have been difficult to elicit responses to some of the research questions and themes because of their subjective nature.

Having reflected on the research methods used, a number of limitations have become apparent. Firstly, the participant led nature of the interviews meant that there was a lack of consistency between some of the interviews. For example there were parts of the development that some participants did not walk to, and others spent significantly more time discussing certain aspects of the development than others. Whilst this was to be expected, since the main purpose of using the participant led interviews was to allow them to freely discuss their own personal lived experiences, it caused some difficulties in applying the coding tool to the interview transcripts. Therefore, the coding done through QSR Nvivo was used as a guide to the main themes but the analysis went beyond these codes.

A further limitation related to the sample used for this research. As has been discussed throughout this thesis, the sample consisted of women aged over 18 years who were from

Liverpool or who had lived in Liverpool for over 10 years. Throughout the analysis it became apparent that the women who took part in the research felt that men's lived experiences of the space were also affected through the cultural, social, economic and symbolic capital of the space, although there were different implications for men because of this. For example the discussion relating to the idea that women would need to use appearance, whereas men would use economic influence to access spaces that were considered to be exclusive. Also, the way the participants were recruited meant that certain groups of women may have been less likely to come in contact with the recruitment emails and therefore did not have the opportunity to take part in the research (such as ethnic minority or LGBT groups). It is likely that their groups would have had very different associated cultural capitals and therefore different lived experiences of the spaces within the development. Furthermore, whilst it was necessary to restrict participation to those who had a history with Liverpool and the development, it would have also been interesting to have discussed lived experiences of those who were new to the city, to compare their perceptions of the cultural capital of the space. Despite these limitations of the sample, the data collected provided rich and in-depth data relating to twenty individual case studies.

A further limitation can be applied to the use of the Liverpool One development as an area within which the participants' lived experiences were framed. Throughout the interviews the participants discussed experiences that were relative to the themes of this research but did not relate to the spaces of the Liverpool One development. Whilst these discussions have been used within the analysis and they are still relevant to the research questions set out in the introduction, it would have been interesting to further explore these discussions through walking interviews in these areas too.

11.3 Reflections on my own Experiences and Perceptions

As discussed in the methodology section of this thesis throughout the research, I had to be careful that I did not let my own perspectives of the research topic influence the way through which I conducted the interviews and how I engaged with the participants. However, it was inevitable that I did have my own thoughts and opinions about the Liverpool One development and the city of Liverpool as whole as well as the stereotypes that surround those from Liverpool. This is a matter discussed by Becker (1967) in terms of whether or not social researchers should be neutral in their approach to their research and if it is ever possible not to 'take sides' (Becker, 1967 p239) when researching something that has relevance to the society that they live in. Becker argues that due to the politically engaged nature of the social sciences, it would be very difficult to conduct such research without having an opinion of our own. As a woman from Liverpool I did have my own ideas about the effects of the development in terms of its influence on the identity of Liverpool and how local people may engage with the space. Furthermore, because of my background in sociological theory and urban sociology, I have a knowledge and understanding about the implications of regeneration and privatisation of urban space, as well as theories that discuss how people may relate to and experience urban space. Much of this knowledge was gained during my masters degree which specialised in urban sociology and regeneration, and which I undertook during the final phases of the development of Liverpool One and the early stages of the development opening.

 In order to overcome the potential research bias but also allow myself to reflect on my own perceptions of the space, I kept a research journal throughout the data collection period. This allowed me to consider my own opinions and how they were related to the research

and through expressing them in this way I felt more able to remain neutral and objective during the interviews. Before I started the data collection with the research participants I also drew my own cognitive map and went to the development to take photographs. Not only did this help me to plan for the practicalities of the research but it also acted as an elicitation device for myself and helped me to understand my own interpretations of the space. I would argue that for researchers who are undertaking a piece of research that has personal relevance to them that this is a helpful way to approach and reflect on their opinions and helps to keep them detached when engaging with research participants, without discounting them altogether.

I reflected upon my entries in the journal during my write up of the data collected from the research participants. I found that they had identified many of the themes that I also had, in particular with regards to the images attached to specific spaces within the development and the associated social and cultural capital of those that were associated with these spaces. A further connection that I observed between my own reflections and the participants' responses was the associations that the Liverpool One development appeared to be making with certain parts of the city centre. When I carried out my initial walk around the development, before I commenced the interviews, I took photographs of how I felt the development did this, and several of the participants did likewise, without me mentioning my own ideas. However, as previously discussed chapter I had also read literature about regeneration and some of this was specific to the Liverpool One development so it is possible that this may have influenced my opinion of this issue.

It was also interesting to consider how my opinions differed to those of my participants in relation to the changes that the Liverpool One development had brought about. Whilst I

agreed that parts of the development appeared to promote exclusivity, I had not experienced the levels of anxiety engaging with these spaces that some of the participants had. This may be a consequence of us having different cultural capitals and placing different levels of emphasis on engaging with such spaces. I was also interested in the accounts of participants who stated that they had not always felt welcome in the development. Whilst I am aware of the positive aspects of the development I am also critical of the way it is privately policed, however I have personally never had any negative experiences as a result of this. Furthermore, the discussion of safety in such spaces was a thought that had not occurred to me and I found it interesting that some participants discussed feeling safer in the development, especially at night. Once again this highlights why it is important to consider individual accounts of space, as people's own lived experiences can have implications for their subsequent perceptions, experiences and the representations they find in urban space.

The research that has been carried out for this thesis falls under the broad subject of urban sociology, and it also has relevance within the cognate disciplines of cultural sociology and human geography as we as having wider sociological implications. This is evident within the wide range of literature that is cited in Chapters 2 and 3 and is also reflected through the combination of research methods used which are multi-disciplinary. The consideration of multi-disciplinary literature and theoretical frameworks alongside the research methods used allow for the exploration of women's experiences and perceptions of representation and identity in urban space and illuminate why this is an important topic to consider.

11.4 Implications from the Research

The data collected for this thesis has demonstrated how important urban space is in our everyday lived experiences. This included the design of the space, the associated cultural capital of the space and the associated representations of the space and those who use the space; all of which affect the ways through which people use and negotiate spaces. This can therefore be used to suggest that urban designers, architects and those responsible for urban policy should always bear in mind the impact that the physical appearance and identity associated with urban spaces can impact on the everyday lived experiences of the spaces in question.

The themes discussed within this thesis also have implications for potential future research projects. Firstly, as discussed with regards to the limitations of this research, it would be of interest to explore the lived experiences of more specific groups of women (such as particular ethnic groups or LGBT groups) as well as make further classed distinctions that could be further intersected with gender. This is suggested as being a potential future interest because throughout this research it became apparent that the participants' personal histories were so important in their lived experiences of urban space. This included the way they physically experienced the city as well as the way they interpreted the representations associated with the space itself and those who used the space. It would also be of interest to compare the lived experiences of men to those of women to see if the perceived cultural capital impacts on them in the same way, and if not, what these differences are and why. It would also be useful to compare the lived experiences of those in Liverpool to other cities to investigate similar themes.

This thesis makes original contributions to the wider debates of women's experiences of the city landscape in a number of ways. Firstly, as has been discussed, the combination of Lefebvre's notions of representations of space and spatial practise alongside Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of cultural and symbolic capital and feminist interpretations of these concepts has provided a unique framework within which women's experiences and perceptions of representation and identity of the city can be explored. This framework has enabled the research to explore how an individual's perceived cultural capital impacts on their own spatial practise. This, alongside their interpretation of the representations of space and the cultural and symbolic capital that they attached to the space, affect their choice to access it, how they access it and how they then use the space. The discussion with participants about how these perceptions and interpretations of representation can be influenced by class and gender further emphasises the nuances in our experiences and perceptions of representation and identity in urban space.

The thesis also provides an original case study through the use of Liverpool One as a site for the research, as well as the research methods and sample used. Liverpool One is an unusual development because of the large amount of city centre space that has changed from public to private ownership. This shift in ownership and the use of the space also created changes in the way it was represented and its associated cultural and symbolic capital, so it therefore provided a unique opportunity to explore the impact of these changes to local women's lived experiences and perceptions of the space. As discussed in Chapter 5, the combination of research methods to explore experiences and perceptions of urban space is also novel, in particular because the use of photograph elicitation and cognitive maps are methods that are usually used to explore more excluded groups. As the sample for this research consisted of predominantly British middle class women, the research methods adopted provided an

original account of their experiences and perceptions of representation and identity in urban space. The use of this sample also renders some insightful reflections on exclusions within urban space and the impact of the intersection of class and gender on these exclusions. Whilst Chapter 3 does discuss the differences in lived experiences that women have within cities compared to men, the sample that was recruited for this research is not generally associated with experiencing social boundaries in urban spaces such as Liverpool One. However, the data did show that through the associations that they made between their own identity and how it related to cultural capital and the cultural and symbolic capital of the space, that exclusions were experienced. These exclusions and experiences of social boundaries were related to the participants' perceptions of the representation of the space and the representations of those who they associated with the space rather than their perceptions of traditional notions of social class. This research is therefore able to make a contribution to debates around social boundaries and exclusions within urban spaces and the importance of the intersection of class and gender when considering these debates. It would be of interest to carry out research to further explore the impact of the cultural and symbolic capital of urban space and the representations that become associated with spaces through these forms of capital on other groups which are not generally associated with social exclusions.

In addition to original use of sociological theory and research methods, this thesis also has the potential to make new contributions to urban policy debates. As discussed in Chapter 2, often those commissioning developments will have their own vision of the aesthetics of the space as well as the image and identity they wish it to represent. The research carried out for this thesis demonstrates how the identity that is reflected through the symbolic and cultural capital of urban spaces can conflict with the identity of those who the developers

intend to use that space. This in turn can create social boundaries within spaces whose representations of space have a strong affiliation with a particular cultural and symbolic capital. The research carried out for this thesis has also highlighted the importance of local identities and how regeneration can lead to the displacement of groups who may have previously used the space and how changes to the representations of space can conflict with spatial practise. This is something that should be considered by urban policy makers when considering the commissioning of new urban spaces.

11.5 Conclusion

The issues explored within this thesis, including the reflections on existing academic literature discussed in the preliminary chapters together with the discussion of the primary data collected, has demonstrated how important urban space is in everyday lived experiences. The research carried out for this thesis has provided an account of twenty women from Liverpool and how the changes to the space that is now the Liverpool One development has affected their lived experiences when they use the space and the surrounding areas in the city centre. It has also provided an account of how they perceive their own cultural capital and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and how these can influence the way they may or may not access and use urban space. Social capital and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) were also important in influencing these perceptions. The data collected can also be used as evidence to show the implications of radical regeneration and privatisation of space and the affects that these can have on the way the local population engage with such spaces.

This research can be used to contribute to considerations and debates around every day lived experiences within urban space and more specifically to women's lived experiences.

This research can be used to argue that the representations of space (as discussed by Lefebvre, 1974) may not always be in accordance with the tangible use of the space by those who use it in an everyday setting. In addition to this, this research also adds to discussions around Bourdieu's (1986) theory of capital, suggesting that the perceived cultural and symbolic capital of urban space can affect the way people access and use it. This is because people who believe that they have cultural capital that aligns with that of the space feel more able to access it and more comfortable using it. Those who don't may choose to not access the space, feel excluded or may feel anxiety when they do use it. This is emphasised by what other spaces and identities people feel the space is being associated with and the implications of these associations. Therefore, the actual image of space is not fixed, and instead depends on how individuals and social peer groups perceive and interpret the image (i.e. symbolic capital) associated with the space.

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Appendix 1. Maps of Liverpool and Liverpool One

Map of Liverpool
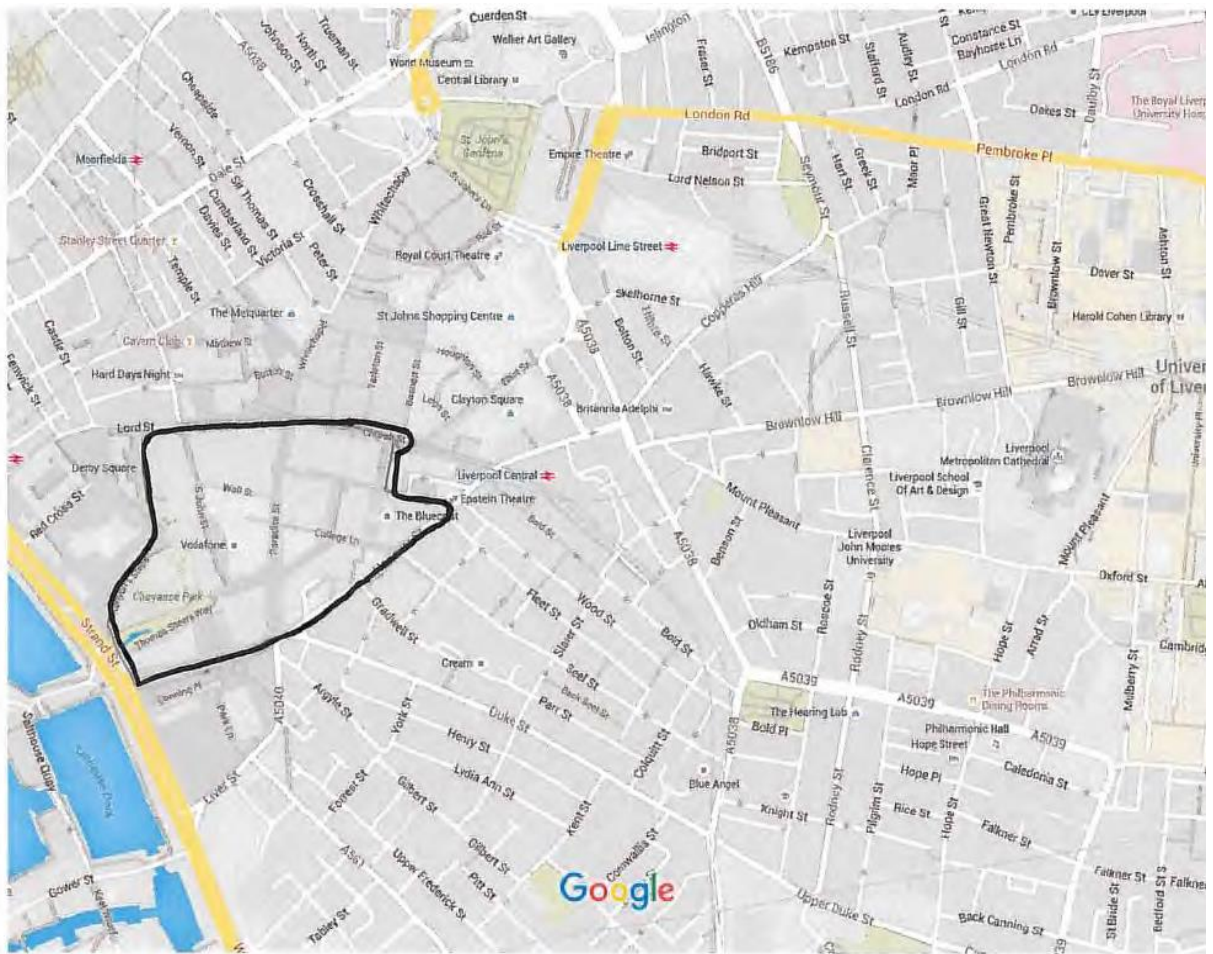
_____ Outline of the Liverpool One Development

Map of Liverpool One

Appendix 2. Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

CONSENT FORM

Title: Women, Perception, Experience and Urban Space
Researcher: Kimberley Ross
Supervisors: Dr Paul Jones and Dr Roy Coleman

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated October 2011 for the above study. I have had to opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these questions answered satisfactorily.

☐

2. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without my rights being affected.

☐

3. I understand that under The Data Protection Act I can request access to the information that I have provided and I can also request the destruction of that information if I wish.

☐

4. I agree to take part in the above study and for my interview to be filmed/audio recorded.

☐

---   ----------------   ---
Participant Name   Date   Signature

---   ----------------   ---
Name of person taking consent   Date   Signature

---   ----------------   ---
Researcher   Date   Signature

If you have any questions please contact Kimberley Ross (kross@liv.ac.uk. 0151 794 2543)

October 2011

Appendix 3. Participant Information Sheet

UNIVERSITY OF
LIVERPOOL

Participant Information Sheet

'Women, Perception, Experience and Urban Space' Kimberley Ross, Dr Paul Jones and Dr Roy Coleman.

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Before you decide whether you participate it is important to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and feel free to ask if you would like more information or if there is anything you do not understand. I would like to stress that you do not have to accept this invitation and should only agree take part if you want to.

The purpose of this study is to investigate women's 'everyday' perceptions and experiences of urban space. Previous work which as investigated women and their experiences of urban space has tended to focus on issues surrounding sexuality and fear if crime. It is hoped that this research will address the under-researched topic of women's everyday perceptions and experiences. The case study for this research is the Liverpool One development.

Women over the age of 18 years are being recruited for this research. To take part you need to be from Liverpool or have lived in Liverpool for the last 10 years. You have been invited because you fit the criteria. Participation is voluntary and you will be free to withdraw at any time.

This research is being carried out by Kimberley May Ross who is a post-graduate researcher in the Department of Sociology and Social Policy and it will form the basis of her doctoral thesis. The supervisory team consists of Dr Paul Jones and Dr Roy Coleman who are also based in the Department of Sociology and Social Policy.

If you agree to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form to confirm that you have understood what the research involved. You will then be asked to sketch a map of Liverpool's city centre this will be followed by a discussion about the map which will be audio recorded. Following this you will be invited to take part in a walking interview around Liverpool One and you will be provided with a camera so that you can take photographs of anything that is significant. The route that you take in the walking interview will be dictated by you. There will be a list of topics that I would like to cover in the interview and the interviews will be recorded using a video camera so that full transcripts can be made. Only the researcher will have access to this and it will not be used for any purpose other than transcription. All information will be kept confidential and when the results are published you will be assigned a pseudonym.

There are no perceived risks or disadvantages involved in you taking part in this research. However it should be noted that as part of this research takes place in the Liverpool One development, the

environment is outside of the researcher's control. If you experience anything that makes you feel uncomfortable then you should make this known to the researcher immediately.

It is hoped that you will enjoy taking part in this research and the information that you provide will be used to inform academic debate in the area of women and urban space.

If you are unhappy or if there is a problem, please feel free to let the researcher know by contacting Kimberley Ross (kross@liv.ac.uk) and I will try to help. If you remain unhappy or have a complaint then you should contact the Research Governance Officer (ethics@liv.ac.uk, 0151 794 8290). When contacting the Research Governance Officer please provide details pf the name or description of the study (so that it can be identified), the researcher(s) involved and the details of the complain that you wish to make.

All information collected will be kept confidential and only researchers involved in this project will have access to t. Any computer files will be password protected and hard data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet. The data collected may be cited in the final thesis and in future publications, however it will be anonymous and no quotations that may identify you will be used. If you wish to see the final thesis or any other publications then please let the researcher know.

I would like to reiterate that your participation is voluntary and you will be free to withdraw at any time.

If you have any questions then please do not hesitate to contact Kimberley Ross (kross@liv.ac.uk. 0151 794 2543).

October 2011

Appendix 4. Participant Biographies

Participant	Biographical Information
1	24 years old, White British, from local area, single, no children, works in retail.
2	30 years old, White British, lived in Liverpool for over 10 years (moved for university), in a relationship, no children, works in education.
3	56 years old, White British, from local area, married, 2 children (both > 15 years), retired.
4	25 years old, White British, from local area, single, no children, support worker.
5	51 years old, White British, from local area, married, 4 children (3>15 years and 1<15 years), works in education.
6	28 years old, White British, lived in Liverpool for over 10 years (moved for university), single, no children, works in a museum.
7	45 years old, Chinese/British, lived in Liverpool for over 10 years (moved for work), single, no children, administrator.
8	32 years old, White British, lived in Liverpool for over 10 years (moved for university), in a relationship, no children, works in housing.
9	50 years old, White British, from local area, married, 1 child (>15 years), works in pension administration.
10	33 years old, White British, from local area, single, 1 child (<15 years), unemployed.
11	42 years old, White British, from local area, in a relationship, no children, works in voluntary sector.
12	28 years old, White British, lived in Liverpool for over 10 years (moved for university), single, no children, student.
13	19 years old, Mixed Race, from local area, single, no children, student.
14	21 years old, White British, from local area, in a relationship, no children, works in retail.
15	35 years old, White British, from local area, single, 2 children (both <15 years), unemployed.
16	28 years old, Irish, lived in Liverpool for over 10 years (moved for university), in a relationship, no children, nurse.
17	23 years old, White British, from local area, in a relationship, 1 child (<15 years), works in service industry.
18	44 years old, White British, from local area, married, 2 children (1<15 years and 1>15 years), self-employed photographer.
19	39 years old, White British, from local area, married, no children, hairdresser.
20	21 years old, White British, from local area, single, no children, student.

Appendix 5. List of Conference Presentations and Publications

Conference Presentations

November 2014 'Women's lived experience of representations and identity in urban space: A case study of Liverpool, UK to European Sociological Association Urban Sociology Research Network Mid-Term Conference – Public spaces and private lives in the contemporary city, Lisbon, Portugal.

April 2014 'Women's Experiences and Representations in Urban Space After Regeneration – A Case Study of Liverpool, UK' to North-West Gender Research Network Workshop, Liverpool, UK.

October 2014 'Local perceptions of cities post regeneration: A case study of Liverpool, UK and Liverpool One' to The Idea of the Creative City – The Urban Policy Debate, Cracow University of Economics, Poland.

July 2013 'Social Boundaries in Urban Space after Regeneration: A case study of Liverpool and Liverpool One' to Symposium for Cities, Encounters, Subjectivity, Space, University of East London, UK.

June 2013 'The use of visual research methods when researching urban space' presented to Creative Intentions Symposium, University of Manchester, UK.

September 2012: 'Researching the Visual; Perception, Memory and Experience in Urban Space' presented to Gender and Visual Representations Conference, University of Winchester, UK.

June 2011: 'Researching Perception: The Link Between Literature and Methodology' (poster presentation) presented to Salford Annual Postgraduate Conference, University of Salford, UK.

Publications

Ross-Houle K, Atkinson A and Sumnall H 'The symbolic value of alcohol: The importance of alcohol consumption, drinking practices and drinking spaces in classed and gendered identity construction' in Thurnell-Read T (forthcoming December 2015) *Drinking Dilemmas: Space, Culture and Identity.* London: Routledge.