Narrating Urban Regeneration in Liverpool: An Analysis of Decision-Makers' Discourses of Waterfront Redevelopment and European Capital of Culture 2008

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Abstract

Since the early 1980s, central government's guidance for urban regeneration in the UK has emphasised the importance of transforming a city's image. This requirement to re-image the city has been presented as a means for cities to compete against each other for business and tourism investment. These policy discourses have been evident since the 1980s throughout successive government administrations, and has continued to be a relevant policy issue in present times. This focus on re-imaging the city remains an important attribute, as evident in the rise of significance being given to such terminology as image-promotion, place-marketing, place-making and place branding.

A key aspect of this increasing focus on re-imaging the city has been the promotion of specific attributes of a city being employed to 'sell' place. Within such civic boosterism, the meaning of a place has been constructed, maintained and mobilised through image enhancement by decision-makers involved in urban regeneration. The thesis assesses the ways in which stakeholders' narratives (as examples of local-level understandings of regeneration) reflect central government policy recommendations and intervention.

This thesis examines how decision-makers have intentionally attempted to construct, maintain and mobilise representations of the city and, in the process, give meaning to urban regeneration. Taking the city of Liverpool as its case study, and through the use of frame analysis, it examines how representations of the city have been employed by decision-makers involved in specific urban regeneration initiatives. The research reveals that particular characteristics of Liverpool have been privileged over others in the attempts taken to re-image the city. The thesis argues that there is a disparity between such representations and the lived experience of Liverpool as a space. A key aspect of this divergence between rhetoric and reality concerns the 'top-down' imposition of 'universal templates' for urban regeneration.

The thesis demonstrates how policy discourses that focus on re-imaging the city for urban regeneration have become prevalent, and argues that attention is diverted from concerns about local issues. The findings raise important questions about who benefits from urban regeneration, and the current effectiveness of large scale projects. The thesis offers new insights into how urban regeneration is understood at a local level, and the process through which specific discourses have remained dominant.

Contents

Glossary

DCMS	Department of Culture, Media, and Sport
EC	European Commission
ECoC	European Capital of Culture
ECoC08	European Capital of Culture 2008
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
EU	European Union
IGF	International Garden Festival
LA	Local Authority
LARC	Liverpool Arts Regeneration Consortium
LCC	Liverpool City Council
MCC	Merseyside County Council
MDC	Merseyside Development Corporation
MTF	Merseyside Task Force
NWDA	Northwest Development Agency
n.d.	No date [i.e. for publication]
n.p.	No page [i.e. for publication]
NML	National Museums Liverpool
NWDA	NorthWest Development Agency
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
TMP	The Mersey Partnership
UDC	Urban Development Corporation
WHS	World Heritage Site

Introduction

In his paper 'From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance from Late Capitalism' (1989), David Harvey charts a transformation in the relationship between urban politics and capital. Suggesting the emergence of a rise in entrepreneurial state forms, Harvey argues that via public-private partnerships, which have proliferated in European and North American cities since the 1980s, local authorities seek to attract 'mobile capital' to post-industrial cities in part by *re-imaging the city*.

What has come to be known as 'urban regeneration' represents the paradigmatic expression of the political construction of place meanings in service of attracting investment of various forms to cities, and these issues provide the backdrop for this thesis.

More specifically, the aim of this research is to reveal how certain narratives of place have been mobilised in the context of urban regeneration in one city, Liverpool (UK), in two different historical periods. Focusing on the narratives of political decision-makers, attention is directed towards the role that representations of place have relative to wider regeneration strategies. Through this exploration, the research seeks to understand what specific characteristics of culture become prominent in the place-marketing projects led by public-private partnerships and other policy actors involved in narrating and framing a specific understanding of place, and to interrogate how they seek to ensure that their narratives connect with the general aims of attracting mobile capital and urban transformation in the process. As a result, the basis for this thesis not only attempts to develop earlier arguments made concerning urban regeneration, but also focuses on another consideration: how local decision-makers appropriate an understanding of urban regeneration.

Another, secondary aim of this thesis is to recognise how local decision-makers involved in urban regeneration contend with national and international expectations of how a city should be presented and what should be on offer to gain investment, as well as satisfying the requirements of local partners. Accordingly, this thesis investigates the narratives of key decision-makers at a local level in urban regeneration, and how they negotiate, national and international demands, whilst at the same time being relevant to the specific problems of a city. Attempting to understand the narratives of key decision-makers involved in urban regeneration at a local level will reveal how the local operates and competes in a global market. Addressing how key policy actors understand urban regeneration as locally-meaningful requires analysing the interpretations they give to a wide range of urban 'problems' and consideration of how they represent the needs of the local inhabitants (both within the confines of central government urban policy but also within the wider context of global expectations). This approach will advance arguments currently made within the literature concerning the homogeneity of place promotion schemes (see for example Holcomb, 1994; Gieryn, 2000 and Martinez 2007).

Taking the Conservative victory in 1979 as a starting point, the aim of the thesis is to understand how the transformation in urban regeneration recognised by Harvey (1989) has developed in a particular way at a local level. Further examination of contemporary issues in how urban regeneration is interpreted and practiced at a local level will be possible through an analysis of more recent narratives. Of great consideration for a more recent understanding of urban regeneration is how the need to work in partnership has manifested itself (see Bristow 2005), and been integrated to how urban regeneration is discussed. Therefore, there are established notions around urban regeneration that have informed and shaped the development of the research question (Harvey 1989; Bristow 2005; Holcomb 1994; Gieryn 2000 and Martinez 2007 – as discussed above). Such literature will be discussed in much more detail in the literature review, suffice here to say that this earlier research has informed the topic focus of this

thesis and has also laid the foundation for the research methods utilised (discussed in detail in Chapter Three).

The research question, methods and an overview of the analysis

In the course of addressing the central question of how Liverpool has been represented in local regeneration discourse, supplementary questions include:

1. Who have been the institutional actors framing regeneration policy and discourse in the periods under consideration?
2. Why did institutional actors focus on certain elements of Liverpool?
3. What specific characteristics of Liverpool's social and urban fabric have been prominent in regeneration discourse in the two periods under analysis (1984 and 2008)?

In order to examine the overall urban regeneration discourses I have adopted a case study setting. The city chosen from which to analyse urban regeneration narratives of key decision-makers has been *Liverpool.* Regarded as a 'second city of the Empire' (Belchem 2007) in the nineteenth century, Liverpool is now an area which due to various social, political, economic and cultural problems, has been the object of every urban regeneration scheme offered by central government since the 1960s (Couch 2003). These problems have escalated since the 1960s due to transformations in international trading (Gilman and Burn 1982), with further issues around poverty and racial tensions becoming apparent in the early 1980s in the form of the Toxteth riots (of 1981, with further riots in 1985).

Both case studies applied to this thesis are large-scale initiatives that contained much promise for the regeneration of Liverpool. The first case study is the Waterfront Redevelopment of 1984, which involved the International Garden Festival and the opening of the first stage of the Albert Dock as a residential and leisure development. Management and organisation of this initiative was with the Merseyside Development Corporation, one of the first Urban Development Corporations set up in 1980 by the newly elected Conservative government. Through this case study, the

role of central government at a local level can be observed, as can the specific understanding of urban regeneration that was presented at a national level to local decision-makers and to the public in general. The second case study is the European Capital of Culture status bestowed on Liverpool for 2008. Ever since the bid was awarded in 2003 to Liverpool City Council (via the newly formed 'Liverpool Culture Company'), the main justification presented for acquiring European Capital of Culture status was in relation to the opportunities it would bring to regenerate Liverpool (Jones and Wilks-Heeg, 2004). Thus, the two case studies concern large-scale projects which have been supported and justified for their role in regenerating Liverpool and, more specifically (and as will be discussed in more detail in Chapters Three and Four), they were also proposed as a means of *transforming Liverpool's negative image* and consequently resulting in additional business and tourism investment.

To understand how these images of Liverpool are constructed, maintained and mobilised in policy discourse, a range of documentary and interview data was gathered in order to ensure access to the local construction of meaning relative to regeneration could be understood, and that varying political priorities could be considered. Chapter Three gives detailed information on sampling strategies, including why particular policy actors/organisations and documents were chosen for analysis.

Frame analysis is employed to understand how certain discourses around urban regeneration have cohered. The frame analysis deployed in the main data chapters (Chapters Five, Six and Seven) involves identifying what Snow and Benford (1988) term 'core framing tasks', namely 'diagnostic', 'prognostic' and 'motivational' framing to be found in those types of campaigns that aim to secure agreement and engagement from the public. Although the aim of this thesis is not to ascertain the reception of regeneration discourses in the public – rather I am concerned to analyse the organisation of argumentation for particular types of urban intervention – I am interested in how particular tropes and coherences on regeneration are

produced and disseminated, and how generally shared visions are articulated by different partners.

Of great significance for the diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing analysis is also the historical context of the city and how urban regeneration is understood as a part of this, which is why the history of Liverpool is given in Chapter Two. Chapter Two gives background on why there is a need to regenerate the city and how local and national organisations have been involved in this. For the specific points of history that this thesis examines, each organisation involved in the Waterfront Redevelopment and ECoC08 case study are discussed in Chapter Three and Four and their position within a broader (not only the local) urban regeneration context are explained as well as giving information on the organisations aims and objectives.

Beginning my analysis, Chapter Five considers how *diagnostic framing* relates to the data gathered from both case studies. Urban regeneration narratives offered by those interviewed and observed in the documents are analysed to understand how the need to regenerate Liverpool is diagnosed in the years around both 1984 and 2008, including how the proper objects and outcomes of intervention are decided upon and represented. Chapter Six then reflects on *prognostic framing*, and demonstrates how a strong idea that there is a solution to the 'problem' of regeneration has been organised. Subsequently, Chapter Seven reveals how *motivational framing* is achieved, as attempts are made to gain consensus on how the solutions presented are the most appropriate for managing the 'problem of the urban'. In this sense, these three data chapters, draw upon Snow and Benford's (1988) three core framing tasks, but do so in a manner that specifically deals with narratives of urban regeneration. Data analysed from the organisations represents the ways in which urban regeneration in general is framed in relation to the use of *large-scale programmes*.

Some of the chapters have already been mentioned when explaining how the research will be carried out, but here, a chronological outline of the thesis is

given. Chapter One, which considers the meaning of urban regeneration as stated in the literature, is in three parts. The first section discusses the literature regarding urban regeneration policy, whilst the second section considers specific academic debates regarding the impact of urban regeneration, particularly arguments concerning *commodification* of the urban. The final section situates this thesis, detailing where currently there is a gap in the literature (concerning how decision-makers demonstrate their role in representing the city). Chapter Two presents the recent history of urban regeneration in Liverpool, recounting the political-economic trajectories of the city, including, earlier attempts to regenerate the city. This chapter provides the background for the case studies, and helps to explain why certain narratives of urban regeneration gained credibility and resonance in particular conditions of action. Chapter Three describes the methods utilised for this research, giving detail on what empirical data was collected, and how it was analysed. In Chapter Four, more detail on the data is given, as I discuss which documents and interviewees narratives will be analysed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Therefore, Chapter Four presents the narratives given in both case studies, but also gives information on the frames that are recognised as diagnosing the problems of the urban, suggested solutions, and aiming to attain support for the chosen initiatives.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven respectively entail analysis of the means in which diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing is narrated around urban regeneration. The chapters investigate how certain understandings of urban regeneration have become prevalent, and how re-imaging the city has become central in this. These chapters also examine how central government's advice to regenerate is employed, to ensure support for certain initiatives and how particular characteristics are manipulated to encourage involvement. Chapter Eight reviews the arguments made in the literature (discussed in Chapter One) and relates them to the findings presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Through exploring the case studies, how the findings lend support or deviate from certain arguments in the literature is revealed. This linkage with the literature augments some of the issues

discussed by other academics with an approach highlighting specific understandings of urban regeneration and of 're-imaging the city' at the local level. Chapter Eight is followed by the thesis conclusion, which draws together the key findings of the research, acknowledges its limitations, and offers ideas on further areas for research that have become apparent from undertaking this thesis.

Chapter One – The meaning of urban regeneration

Introduction

This chapter seeks to explore key aspects of the research outlined in the previous chapter, by engaging with relevant literature concerning the commodification of space in urban regeneration. Whilst a variety of literature will be discussed here, a recurring author is David Harvey, whose work (1973, 1978, 1985, 1987, 1989, 1990 and 1993) has been the foundation of my interest in exploring urban regeneration from a critical perspective. Overall, Harvey's work stems from Marxism, premised on recognition of the need for the capitalist class to accumulate profit and the role of processes of urbanisation in accentuating class struggle. In his 1993 work, 'From Space to Place and back again: Reflections on the condition of postmodernity', he describes how place is a social construct and questions what social processes construct it. In this context, Harvey discusses the political economy of place, namely constructions of the city under capitalism, and the importance of selling images in order to attract investment. He highlights how place construction is based on how capitalism produces space through competition between places; he argues this is the reason why entrepreneurs attempt to shape certain activities in places, moreover explaining that "[o]ld places have to be devalued, destroyed and redeveloped while new places are created" (p. 7). Therefore, how these 'entrepreneurs' 'devalue', 'destroy' and 'redevelop' places need to be understood through hearing the narratives they (and other decision-makers) provide relating to urban regeneration – and by examining how 'place' is constructed, maintained and mobilised within these narratives.

The chapter begins by locating theoretical discussions around the commodification of space and the city, in a practical, historical, context – that is, by considering some of the recent political developments concerning urban regeneration initiatives in the UK. Drawing on a selection of policy documents, and highlighting relevant policies from 1979 onwards, this section briefly outlines policy milestones and how they relate to urban

regeneration. The shift in urban regeneration towards what Harvey describes as 'entrepreneurialism' is reflected upon in terms of how it is recognised in the literature. Importantly, the discussion here identifies a number of themes concerning 'commodication' and 'image' in regeneration policy which are explored in more depth in subsequent sections. These themes are: 'homogenisation and competiveness'; 'role of power'; marginalisation of local identity'; 'utilisation of notions of community'; 'culture and regeneration'; and 'a 'universal template''. The chapter concludes by explaining how the research intends to contribute towards this body of literature, in particular the notion of *how* place is constructed for urban regeneration.

Structural economic change and the city in the 1970s

In order to fully comprehend how urban regeneration policy has developed, there is a need to also understand its economic background as this relates to deindustrialisation of UK cities in the 1970s. To this end, this section will discuss the structural economic changes occurring at this time and their impact on 'the city'. By the 1970s, UK cities had numerous problems relating to deindustrialisation, with some attempts taken at a local level to manage change (as will be explained in detail later in this section and with a specific consideration to Liverpool in Chapter Two). The main issues discussed here concern the influence of the recession and structural economic changes at an environmental, economical, social and local planning level.

In the years following the Second World War, the development of new urban areas on the periphery of cities for factories and for housing the working population brought with it other problems. As new towns were built further away from the city, and with the city's inhabitants and industry moving out from the centre, the requirement to ensure the provision of transportation and other facilities and services nonetheless remained with the local authority. From an environmental perspective, with investment in factories, docks and other industrial buildings (in the centre and on the outskirts) diminishing over time, their closure could be noted as a 'blot' on the landscape. To visit cities

in the late 1970s was to observe the discouraging sight of derelict warehouses, factories and other industrial buildings.

From an economic perspective, unemployment within the centre of cities was already evident by the 1970s; however, factories on the periphery of a city were also closing, resulting in further joblessness. Early attempts taken to move towards a service sector failed to absorb the job losses resulting from heavy industry and then from manufacturing (Rowthorn and Wells 1987). One impact of this had been people emigrating from certain cities in an attempt to find work, even though, during the 1950s and 1960s, new employment opportunities were becoming available on city outskirts. This emigration from cities had already impacted on the coordination of planning and civic services; but a greater issue became the aforementioned rise in unemployment, which not only meant that the inhabitants were moving away from city centres, but that by the 1970s, due to the decline of industry, they were also leaving the new towns. Related to this move of industry to the periphery of the city, the re-building of homes was also happening in such parts. In relation to London specifically, Savitch (1988) explains how the building of public housing can have 'enormous consequence' as "[o]nce built, it can have an impact upon the class status of an area, on its density and on its physical development" (p. 180).

From a local planning perspective, control of the city was also being transformed in this era, an era when planning strategies were presented by central government at the same time as local authorities were attempting to improve economic efficiency, social prospects and employment opportunities in the city. As a part of this central government control in planning, what can be noted is a shift in the role of city planning. Savitch (1988) describes how historically the industrial city was free to develop as the industrialists wished, whereas a post-industrial city requires private sector investment, but also policy leadership, as "policy direction would have to replace laissez faire" (p. 285). Indeed, it is argued that one of the main reasons for this is that the need to create a different built environment for a post-industrial city is

complex, particularly in the intent to entice private developers' investment. The requirement of city planners to gain private investment in deindustrialised cities is an important element of this thesis, and will be discussed in much more detail throughout, specifically as it incorporates the 'new' understanding of urban regeneration discussed by Harvey (1989), the focus of the next section.

Urban regeneration policy

This thesis focuses on two specific eras of regeneration: 1979 to the mid 1980s, and mid 2000s to 2009. Within the literature, as explained, Harvey (1989) explains that 1979 was the beginning of a new style of urban regeneration. Other academics have also highlighted this (for example, see Hall 1988 and 1990, Lawless 1991, Parkinson 1989, Roberts 1990 and Robinson 1994), recognising a shift in approach which according to Couch (2003), has emphasised 'property-led' strategies focused on symbolically transforming the city's image and identity. Hubbard (1998) describes this new approach to urban regeneration as pursuing a form of right wing entrepreneurialism that supports neo-liberalism, and the promotion of enterprise and 'hope' in the private sector. Hubbard argues that this links into the demands of the global market and, in doing so, helps to influence the identity of the city being presented. It is not only the identity of the city which is controlled however; Hambleton (1991: 7) explains how from 1979 "the Conservative government passed over 50 acts of parliament which erode or regulate the powers of local authorities".

This control by the Conservative government has been analysed by Robinson and Shaw (1994), in relation to the introduction of a competitive element to urban regeneration put forward from the 1980s until the 1990s. They argue from their findings that there is a dominance in urban policy of this era on focusing upon visual effect, particularly the tangible impact of the built environment. From the early 1980s, it can be demonstrated that within urban regeneration, architecture became linked with giving a new representation to the city and new commercial opportunities being made

available. This ascription of significance to the built environment can be recognised in the S136 Local Government Planning and Land Act 1980, whose aim was to bring "land and buildings into effective use". It is in this Act that the Urban Development Corporations are established, and as Object 1 and 2 clearly state:

> 1. The object of an urban development corporation shall be to secure the regeneration of its area.

> 2. The object is to be achieved in particular by the following means (or by such of them as seem to the corporation to be appropriate in the case of its area), namely, by bringing land and buildings into effective use, encouraging the development of existing and new industry and commerce, creating an attractive environment and ensuring that housing and social facilities are available to encourage people to live and work in the area (http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1980/65/enacted).

Similarly, such an emphasis on the potential representation of the future can be noted in the *Report on the London Docklands Development Corporation (Area and Constitution) Order 1980*:

> The boroughs tend to look too much to the past and too exclusively to the aspirations of the existing population and too little to the possibility of regenerating docklands by the introduction of new types of industry and new types of housing (The Select Committee of the House of Lords 1980 point 6.4 p. 11).

This focus on a new representation of place through land development contrasts with austere visions of the industrial cities of the past, and seems to have become the key to central government policy in the course of place marketing.

Regarding the time between the first era that the research focuses on (1979-1985), and the second (2003-2009), there is one initiative believed to be significant by numerous academics, and that is City Challenge.[1] By the 1990s, with the formation of City Challenge, this focus on the representation of place became ever more prevalent, given the conviction that the alteration of how a city is represented would sequentially result in gaining business and tourism investment. Although City Challenge involved local community groups in regeneration initiatives, Hambleton (1991) argues that they had little, if any, involvement in the initial stage of place promotion. Rather, he

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[1] City Challenge was set up by the Conservative government in 1990 and involved local authorities in regeneration as facilitators in partnership with communities and the private sector (Robinson and Shaw 1994).

maintains, the private sector directed and commanded the style of promotion. Hastings' (1996) research on the role of partnership in central government initiatives (namely, City Challenge, alongside the Single Regeneration Budget) found that there was not enough commonality to bind the partners together. Hastings concludes the analysis by explaining that economic intentions have been privileged within these initiatives, although cities were expected to work in partnership with community, voluntary and other organisations, for successful urban regeneration. This lack of commonality between partners is an aspect worth noting in relation to this thesis, and how numerous stakeholders are involved (Ellerton 2011) in attempting to re-image the city for successful regeneration, particularly as 'frames' are ways, I argue, in which consensus is built and articulated.

What can be noted by the late 1990s/early 2000s onwards (and certainly by the beginning of the second era of the research focus) is a change in how impacts of regeneration initiatives are discussed locally and nationally, towards what Smith and Fox (2007) have termed the 'softer' side of regeneration; importantly, this includes a concern, or apparent concern, for the social needs of the inhabitants. Such an approach is evident in how urban regeneration is discussed locally, in bidding documents and in central government policy; for example, in the Communities and Local Government 2008 document, *Guidance on building a local sense of belonging* the combination of personal history, characteristics, and perceptions that bring about interaction with other people and place are recognised as important for identity formation and a 'sense of belonging'. There is, however, a remaining focus on the transformation of how a city is represented through redeveloping the built environment. This argument that transforming the representation of place is for 'a common good' is evident within policy documents. The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) (2004) report, *Making it happen: Urban renaissance and prosperity in our Core Cities – A Tale of Eight Cities*, explains how a 'Comprehensive Performance Assessment' framework will be used by all eight cities involved to "help them deliver the quality services that our communities demand" (p. 8). The

language applied here is very much one of concern for the built environment and its inhabitants. This is something that is also recognised in the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) (2004) document *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration,* which states that "[r]egeneration is defined as the positive transformation of a place – whether residential, commercial or open space – that has previously displayed symptoms of physical, social and/or economic decline" (n.p. point 1). Alongside this focus on transforming place are policies setting out how heritage can be utilised for an understanding of the existing community, and also to create new communities, particularly through incorporating arts and culture.

A focus on the built environment is portrayed as desirable through the notion of 'place' and argued for through the perception that it entails social and economic regeneration. For example, the *World Class Places* document explains how "[t]his is the great argument for investing in quality of place: good places have multiple environmental, social and economic benefits" (Communities and Local Government 2009b: 3). Similarly the built environment (albeit specifically historical architecture) becomes associated with social requirements in the Price Waterhouse Coopers (2007) policy advisory report, *The Costs and Benefits of UK World Heritage Site* [(WHS)] *Status.* In this document, a linkage is made between heritage, community involvement and urban regeneration. They argue that at a community level, social benefits from WHS can only occur for the local community if they feel that they share an interest with the site; 'successful' regeneration is understood in terms of the benefits of social interaction, such as fostering community identity, and building a community's organisational capacity and involvement in volunteering.

As can be recognised here, the function of heritage and culture (discussed earlier) seems to have come to the forefront by the second era on which the thesis focuses (mid to late 2000s). This inclusion of the arts and culture in the making of 'place' can also be recognised in other approaches to urban regeneration that emphasise neither the 'community' aspect generally nor a

'sense of belonging' specifically. For example, in the Urban Task Force (2005) report, *Towards a Strong Urban Renaissance*, culture is regarded as beneficial for the assumed opportunity it provides in enticing young professionals and, thus, for 'new communities to flourish'. In central government policy literature, 'distinctiveness' is located within a cultural approach to urban regeneration. The aforementioned DCMS document (2004) seeks to incorporate within the urban regeneration vision a move towards involving culture, describing how "[s]pecifically commissioned pieces of art can contribute to local distinctiveness and help to create a sense of place" (point 3.15). The economic value of place through redeveloping the built environment incorporates the need to acknowledge culture. It is the 'new attributes' that develops meaning to the city, as "a policy of developing distinctive local strengths and specialisations both enhances the potential gains to areas, and promote a more efficient spatial distribution of economic activity" (*Communities and Local Government* 2008b: 15).

Harvey's (1989) work considers how cities attempt to regenerate in a neo-liberal manner. What can be recognised from analysing advice given from central government for urban regeneration is how discussion around urban regeneration transpires in a 'neo-liberal manner' is not explored in detail. Advice on following successful examples of urban regeneration which focus on the built environment and culture can be recognised in a variety of policies, and from a range of government departments. The language employed in such policies however, is that of recognising a shared identity; as discussed, a 'sense of belonging' can be a significant component in the understanding of place, but the advice given on how this should be carried out locally fits into an overall model of 'good practice'. In the DCMS (2004) report, numerous examples are given of such 'good practice'; however, the importance is stressed of:

> **Recognising that one model does not fit all:** Communities are unique and there is no guarantee that what works in one setting will work in another. The demographics of the community (race, age, social status) must be taken into account along with environmental, regional and historical factors (emphasis in original, point 4.14).

Here, the report touches upon an understanding of urban regeneration as constructing a shared identity for the inhabitants. A sense of belonging, it is explained, can occur through local history, architecture (and other 'geographical features'), and events and shared culture (including sport) initiatives, with a strong linkage made between a sense of belonging and civic pride. Here urban regeneration is recognised as important for bringing people together as a community. However, the report later returns to advising following the course of popular 'models' of successful regeneration, where it refers to

> the increasing popularity of the European Capital of Culture programme which saw Glasgow, for example, enhance its status as a tourist destination from a low baseline to one of the most visited cities in the UK after its year as Capital of Culture in 1990 (point 1.2).

(The 'Glasgow model' is here given as a first of its kind, and will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, given its significance in urban regeneration). In a similar manner, the Arts Council England (2007) report, *Arts and Regeneration: creating vibrant communities*, explains how the arts can shape communities, and suggests that there is a need for risk-taking in order for art-led regeneration to be successful, with books and tool-kits available for 'copying' projects and for assistance in distinguishing examples of good practice. The case studies employed as examples of 'good practice' for regeneration schemes focus on the language of 'risk taking', with it explained at the beginning how "[s]uccessful art often involves an element of risk" (p. 3). The examples given include a combination of community participatory art projects, art workshops, business development space and the displaying of the 'Another Place' (Antony Gormley) statues in Crosby (previously displayed in Germany, Norway and Belgium).

In this sense, these various policy documents provide advice on how urban regeneration could potentially be a success, by concentrating on an approach that will deal with a social, cultural and economic transformation of the city. Not only does this point reiterate the comments made earlier regarding the importance of the built environment and culture for social and economic regeneration success, but it also reflects the belief that a 'sense of

place' can be created as a result of abiding by certain 'lessons'. It is such a 'creation of the city' which will be discussed in the next section, as the city, according to the literature, is commodified due to the approaches taken at urban regeneration.

The commodification of space

Commodification of space has been closely linked within the literature to government funding of large scale projects. According to Bianchini *et. al.* (1992), such projects act as a catalyst for the transformation of cities into centres for consumption. Brake and Harrop (1994) describe place as a location with specific characteristics that holds an emotional value, and they differentiate between the identity of a place (what it is like internally) and the image of a place (how it is perceived externally). In recognition of the distinction between image and identity, they examine the difference in how both are understood in promotional material. This research compared the promotional material of industrial and post-industrial towns finding that "... in the selling of places, there has to be a distortion of reality or of identity" (p. 95). Such a distortion obscures the meaning and separation between space and place, as illustrated by Lefebvre (1991a) who describes how, within capitalism, representations of space manipulate representational spaces due to the process of it commodifying. He argues that as space becomes a commodity, it entails a system of representation which separates parts of space and, in the process of making it distinctive, transforms the original portrayal of place. Such commodification of space diminishes the opportunity for a historical shared meaning, and for any emotional value, of 'place'.

Homogenisation and competitiveness

Homogeneity in how cities are represented in urban regeneration initiatives is recognised in much of the literature. Harvey recognises that in attracting investors and transforming the city "much more than physical investment is involved. The city has to appear as innovative, exciting, and creative in the realms of life-style, high culture, and fashion..." (1985: 216). What Harvey describes here is the need 'to appear', rather than actually *be* innovative –

that how the city is represented at least seems exciting, whilst the reality may contradict this. Mommaas (2004) argues that as all cities are now involved in appearing innovative through flagship projects, competition has now moved to a shift in policy towards creating spaces for cultural production. In a similar manner, Duncan (1993) terms this consistency in the characteristics applied in 'place making' as the 'homogenisation of difference', as it allows for images of place to be easily appropriated. Whilst the importance of place distinctiveness in urban regeneration initiatives can thus be recognised, the result of this, argues Harvey, is that it creates a 'serial monotony' as all cities aspire to become identi-kit places with the same 'ambience' and ambitions. According to Martinez (2007: 2455), it is not only the representations of place that are identical; the language used to sell the city is equally so, as "[i]t would be strange to find any metropolis which would be proud of being 'lethargic', 'insular' or 'intolerant'". The reason for such homogenisation is explained by Behrman and Rondinelli (1992) as being a product of globalisation as cities are pressurised into developing cultures that appeal on a global level.

As the earlier section on urban regeneration and policy argued, the intention of urban regeneration policies since the 1990s has been to incorporate a 'human approach' through evoking a sense of belonging or appealing to culture. Representations of place are established as having a key role in urban regeneration, through emphasising attributes of competitiveness. By concentrating on being competitive for urban regeneration by commodifying the city, it transforms how place is represented, and became a means for local authorities (LAs) to obtain central government funding.

Harvey (1993) argues that 'power of place' is a fetishism which lacks any incorporation of why and by what means people, as social beings, invest in places. In this sense, rather than focusing on social processes, those involved in constructing place are well aware that they are in competition with other places for capital, and therefore aim to differentiate themselves through the process of selling 'place'. As such, a construction of representations of

the city occurs, based on capitalist norms – the main concern being to provide a 'positive' business environment and to attract consumers. The process of attracting consumers is explained by Harvey as occurring by stakeholders investing in what he terms 'consumption spectacles', selling images of places, defining cultural and symbolic capital, and reviving vernacular traditions associated with history. Elsewhere, Harvey (1990) explains that the images employed to represent the city incorporate much more than promotional material, as they also incorporate a controlled and organised sense of the 'spectacular' to create consciousness. Ironically, the actual result of this construction of place 'distinctiveness' for a competitive edge can be seen as constituting "[a] world of individuality and freedom on the surface [which] conceals a world of conformity and coercion underneath" (1978: 102).

These distinctive signs and images are also discussed by Baudrillard (1983), who considers how the post-industrial world is portrayed through circulating images and texts, as the code of marketing signs subsumes the distinction between objects and their representations. Calvino (1997) recognises this within an urban context, arguing that the city can be identified as a cliché, constantly repeating signs, so that it its existence remains prominent, with the image of the city not based in reality. Accordingly, it is not the 'reality of the city' that has any significant role in its representation in urban regeneration initiatives. Rather, Calvino argues that to understand the city, there is a need to understand the image given. The very distinctiveness to which policy aspires is, therefore, apparently lost precisely due to an emphasis on the wholesale construction of an intentional representation of the city, as opposed to its lived experience (Leach 2005). In this context, policy that advises on representation of place, in anticipation of economic urban regeneration, is analysed in this thesis (being the basis for the selection of documents and choice of interviewees), with a view to exploring how certain characteristics are employed, how the city can be understood, and where the focus of urban regeneration is positioned.

The nature in which representations of the city are presented is also discussed by Hall (1990). He perceives a focus on symbolic transformation as a reconstruction of the city as theatre, based on nothing more than image and attractions. Harvey (1987) terms this representation of a city's image as the 'spaces of representation', when symbolism is employed in order to generate new meanings for spatial practices, but at the same time manages to separate the rhetoric of the symbolism, as it detracts from the reality found in the contemporary city. According to Castells (2004) this focus on image will continue; within the new global economy of the information city, while governments cannot control globalisation, they must all participate in demonstrating their competitiveness. Therefore, whilst the competition is global, how a focus on representation is presented, and by whom, occurs on a local level (indeed the reason why local decision-makers were selected for interviews, and documents written at a local level analysed). Therefore, for image enhancement to have a role in the competitive framework of cities, 'distinctiveness' and 'uniqueness' are conceptualised, and become acknowledged characteristics.

With attention on the local level, Cohen (1982) discusses the influence of external partners instead of the involvement of local communities, recognising that the power inherent in these external bodies marginalises certain groups, undermining a sense of shared culture as a certain representation of place becomes imperative. In a similar vein, Lefebvre (1991a) describes this domination of space by bureaucratic groups and terms this 'abstract space'. Capitalism, he argues, attempts to 'concretise' such 'abstract space' through commodifying it; space becomes homogenised when it is produced as part of a process of rendering differences acceptable. Therefore, as 'abstract space' is homogenised, the 'distinctiveness' required in a competitive, entrepreneurial city becomes recognised through 'acceptable' components. Moreover, he explains how it is these physical 'components' in space that seem to be employed to transform the image of the city, and that these also act as an attribute for a competitive advantage. Therefore, it is this 'abstract space' which overall describes a spatial setting

for 'space', void of a human approach. It can thus be recognised how local particularities are eliminated in favour of commoditisation, neglectful of the place of everyday life. In opposition to this 'abstract space', Lefebvre discusses 'representational spaces', which he describes as space which is as it is directly lived, that includes complex symbolism linked to social and artistic life. For this reason, it has been local partners/decision-makers that influence the approach taken at urban regeneration that have been analysed in this thesis, rather than the opinions of local communities.

The meanings of 'place', and the role of power

It has already been stated that one of the reasons for homogenisation in how cities are presented in urban regeneration initiatives is due to the role of external organisations. The power which these organisations hold in promoting particular ('shallow') representations of the city is recognised in much of the literature. The contradiction between how inhabitants understand their city and how the city is presented within the competitive discourse of urban regeneration builds on the need to understand the nature of representation. Lefebvre (1991a) explains how 'social space' has the ability to establish meaning, and that it can also produce society as people construct physical and social spaces. The social relations rooted in space are described by Lefebvre as a social construction, built on values and meanings, and as a result, social space effects spatial practices and perceptions. Building upon what Lefebvre describes as 'social space', Castells (2004: 146) describes space as "the material support of time-sharing social practices". The theory around this is supplemented with an investigation on the 'space of flows'. Lefebvre (1991a) argues that the meaning of space can only be considered through the experience of everyday life in the city. In this vein, Castells describes the space of flows as the material organisation of time, which involves sharing social practices; it is these flows that shape how *place* is understood. From this perspective, Castells argues that place is the predominant space for everyday life experience. Therefore, the significance of the everyday in space (according to Lefebvre) and 'place' (according to Castells (2004)) needs to be

acknowledged, as 'place' becomes representational of space. (Similarly Tuan (1977 and 1979) indicates that space is freedom, whilst place offers security, with the concept of time implicated in transforming space to place, as space attains definition and meaning.)

The meanings given to place in order to 'sell the city', however, differs greatly in urban regeneration initiatives. Jenkins (2005: 26) argues that identity is manipulated in order to benefit certain social groups, and explains how new images presented for future investment can cause tension as "traditional identities and/or identities adhered to by social groups are excluded from the coalition". Given the fact that a wide range of stakeholders are involved in urban regeneration (*ibid.*), the different perspectives on the city's representation also need to be recognised and, thus, how certain characteristics dominate in re-imaging the city. A key concern in this respect is the power differentiation between the respective stakeholders in the process of how certain characteristics become celebrated. Jones and Wilks-Heeg (2004) discuss the partial incorporation of 'locality' and culture in Liverpool's bid for ECoC08, arguing that there is a dichotomy between the bid's account that ECoC08 will be an opportunity for the city's cultural identity to be discovered, and the attempts made to re-create it whilst appropriating the city's history into this re-creation. McCarthy (2005) argues that, by being competitive, LAs fail to engage with the city's historical and cultural identity, as the responsibility for promoting business and tourism investment often falls with external, specialist marketing organisations. The reasoning for such outsourcing is explained by McCarthy as being due to a lack of expertise at a local level. (As Chapter Three indicates in more detail, the methodology of this thesis will include the narratives given by external specialist organisations). In the representations chosen by specialist organisations, Gibson (2005) notes that it is a focus on land which is given, due to the needs of developers being held above others in how the city is promoted.

Marginalisation of local identity

With recognition of the role of power in how representations of the city are constructed, maintained and mobilised for urban regeneration, it has also been indicated in the previous section that the city's inhabitants' understandings and relationships with place are not represented within the 'competitive' attributes of distinctiveness and uniqueness. This section develops this argument, and discusses how the literature has noted the marginalisation of local identity when the city is commodified.

According to Harvey (1990), local constructions of how the city is understood gives 'place' distinctive and unique feeling and meaning. He also explains that "[p]laces, like space and time, are social constructs and have to be read and understood as such" (p. 25). This brings forward recognition that as 'place' is also socially constructed at a local and community level, a city is shaped by broader social, economic and political relations and conditions. Policy development which constructs place and attempts to form a new identity also challenges Doreen Massey's (1993) notion of a 'Progressive Sense of Place'. In this notion (put forward by Massey), it is argued that places are determined through multiple, interconnecting, social, political and economic relations, which emerge as numerous spatialities. Massey contends that places are, thus, the result of specific arrangements of power, which are experienced and understood in different ways. It therefore follows that the narratives of individuals from key institutions involved in urban regeneration, and their representation in both an interview context and in policy documents (see Chapter Three), may help to demonstrate which specific characteristics of a city's representation become prominent and why.

As noted in the urban regeneration and policy section of this chapter, within policy documents since the 2000s, the notion presented is that identity (especially a new identity) can be created through urban regeneration initiatives. In contrast to this, and from a theoretical perspective, however, Rose (1995) identifies three ways in which emotions about place are interconnected with identity formation:

i.   Identifying with a place – belonging;

ii. Identifying against a place – contrast with the other;

iii. Not identifying with a place – sense of place being irrelevant to
       identity.

The personal identification with a space here demonstrates the affects of
place on an inhabitant. By personifying the procedure of identity formation,
focusing on certain characteristics of a place becomes the means of
differentiation from other spaces. Such differentiation is also what makes the
identity formed local, and have a greater meaning to that which stakeholders'
present as a representation that they can impose on a place. In recognition
of this, Hannigan (1998: 195) argues that an inauthentic construction of place
can have significant implications: "… Fantasy city development is
problematic because it transfers the meaning of a place from its original and
genuine version to a commercial construction which tells a different story".
Boland (2010) discusses the politicisation, manipulation and sanitisation of
Liverpool's culture in order to construct a re-branding of the city through the
built environment. This 'commercial construction' of how a city is
represented is what this thesis aspires to understand, and the approach
taken by decision-makers to project certain characteristics of the city. Such
representations of the city have an aspirational role insofar as they seek to
demonstrate how the city will be perceived in the future. It is this
preconception concerning the desirability of acquiring 'new' inhabitants that
underpins policy development, rather than either a focus upon a current
sense of belonging (which, as has been noted, Rose (1995) recognises as
important for inhabitants), or as discussed earlier, the 'new'/potential
inhabitants that may not identify with a place.

As a means of combining a construction of a city's representation for urban
regeneration, whilst also recognising the identities of place, Bennett and
Savani (2003), Reese (2002), and Loftman and Nevin (1996) all discuss how
public amenities that are in the control of LAs should become the basis for
the promotion of a city in urban regeneration. They argue that connecting
local knowledge to place-making would provide a more distinctive

representation of the city. Specifically, Bennett and Savani argue that the understanding of place promoted for urban regeneration lacks consultation with inhabitants, decision-makers apparently preferring instead to learn about how to carry out place promotion from competing cities (which returns us to the discussions of 'the meaning of place and the role of power' and 'homogenisation and competitiveness' sections). Healey (2005), meanwhile, recognises the strong position LAs could have in promoting the city in urban regeneration, due to their understanding of place and their role in improving amenities, such as schools, leisure and shopping. Holcomb (1994) also makes this point and argues that the marketing of cities is universally similar due to a lack of sufficiently sophisticated marketing knowledge by those public administrators of LAs who market cities. This abides by what Harvey (1989: 7) recognises as being 'public-private partnerships' driving urban entrepreneurialism, which differs from "rationally planned and coordinated development". Whilst these authors recognise the difficulty for certain stakeholders in directing a strong representation of place for urban regeneration, they do not explore how similar characteristics (across different cities) are constructed by decision-makers through the representations offered of the city. In contrast, the approach taken in this thesis is to consider how the 'national' enters into the 'local' in decision-makers' narratives (albeit in the case of one particular city).

Aspects of commodification

Utilisation of notions of community: history and heritage

Through discussing how marginalisation of local identity is understood within the literature in the last section, what became noted was the concept that identity is something that can be created through urban regeneration. What can also be recognised in the literature, however, is how aspects of identity are *exploited and utilised* for urban regeneration. Harvey (1990) explains the way in which an understanding of a city by LAs is based on the process by which 'qualities of place' are highlighted. He explains the process of abstracting space, and how the "active production of places with special qualities becomes an important stake in spatial competition between

localities, cities, regions, and nations" (p. 295). As all this focus on competition is a part of the entrepreneurial role of corporatist forms of governance, cities seek to "forge a distinctive image and to create an atmosphere of place and tradition that will act as a lure to both capital and people 'of the right sort' (i.e. wealthy and influential)" (*ibid*.). Such development can be detected as LAs need to develop a cultural sense of purpose and direction, and therefore attempt to create a sense of community and quality of life that would be attractive to workers of international companies. As a consequence of this, Behrman and Rondinelli (1992) argue that as images of the city become homogenised, a city's culture needs to be continually adapting in order for it to remain competitive – that, therefore, in such instances a sense of community is fostered, with the intention of demonstrating distinctiveness.

In order to demonstrate distinctiveness when community is recognised as something that can be included in the creation of a new place, it tends to involve the heritage narrative being employed to understand a community's history. Bridger (1996) examines how heritage narratives are used as a rhetoric that influence the direction of public discourse, and argues that selective representations of the past drive the demands, sentiments and interests of the present. Kenny (1999) also agrees that history is used to understand people and their communities, as the historical built environment bears a collective reference to people's memory. With reference to the idea of decision-makers' frantic attempts at place construction based on capitalist norms, Harvey (1993) argues that how place is socially constructed is by highlighting specific qualities. It is explained that the main priorities of capitalist norms are an ability to provide a good business environment and to attract consumers by investing in consumption spectacles. More specifically, this entails 'selling' images of the city, defining cultural and symbolic capital, and reviving vernacular traditions that characterise historical images. Similarly, Bramwell and Rawding (1996) argue that the symbolic images chosen for place-making are actually the same characteristics as those used to exhibit local distinctiveness. Their research findings demonstrate that in

de-industrialised cities such characteristics are usually based on heritage and culture.

Apart from heritage (including historic architecture) and culture, the construction, maintenance and mobilisation of a city in urban regeneration narratives attempts to evoke affection and pride in response to the 'attractive environment' which is being created. Cox and Mair (1988) explain how an attempt is made to garner civic pride, as:

> the local community is presented as a caring community, a producer of brave men, of great men and women, of ideas and inventions. This image suggests, and is intended to suggest that the local community is worth defending and safeguarding (p. 314).

Philo and Kearns (1993) recognise this argument, and state that places are 'sold', not only for economic regeneration but also through 'socialisation', a process by which local people (especially the poor) become convinced that regeneration is best for their community and for their own good. If and how such a focus on community, and on citizen pride, is managed within initiatives will thus be an aspect of this thesis.

Culture and regeneration

Culture has already been discussed in relation to how it is employed as a means of incorporating a community perspective; and, as discussed within the literature, it is historical cultural characteristics that are utilised in selling the city. This section advances this understanding of culture, and focuses on how culture and its meaning is commodified to produce 'successful' urban regeneration. Evans (2001) explains how planning of cultural policy, regarded as important to cities at a time of globalisation, gives an opportunity for image transformation "to qualify as *cultural capital*" (p. 3: emphasis added) by using new cultural industries to re-image cities.

This notion is based around the ideas of Richard Florida (amongst others), and concords with the belief that a cultural, dynamic place is necessary if cities are to be economically prosperous, and thus for regeneration to be deemed a success. Hence, culture provides a key piece of this jigsaw,

encouraging young, talented individuals to remain in the city (Florida 2004). The dynamism found in urban regeneration serves, from this point of view to attract young professionals and compel businesses to invest by ensuring that cities compete through highlighting their cultural facilities. As Florida (2004) puts it, 'lifestyle choice' and 'quality of life demands' that "embraces the culture of the Creative Age" (p. 225) providing a 'quality of place' which is based on the built and natural environment, diversity of people and vibrancy, through "active, exciting, creative endeavours" (p. 232), with the intention of ensuring that young people will reside in cities and that businesses will invest there. Evans (2001), however, seems to question the likely success of attempting to create a cultural exciting place as a regeneration strategy. He suggests that cities have cultural orientations that are separate to the demographics of that place, and are based on different characteristics. For this reason, he believes that manipulation of a city's character will fail and drive out any creativity in that city. Findings from Campbell's (2011) research on the affect of ECoC08 on the creative industries in Liverpool suggests that their role was predominantly around improving the image of the city, rather than around gaining the city new creative and employment opportunities.

This focus on image enhancement can also be noted in Wiener's (1980) findings, although the research is on an earlier period of history (the 1970s), and rather than recognise the new 'cultural industries', it is instead the high (or established) arts that are employed to demonstrate distinctiveness:

> We have found that stimulating interest in a specific location requires
> well-known elements - an internationally famous symphony orchestra,
> opera company, jazz group, museum, or historic site. Maintaining
> interest and establishing a sense of distinct identity requires the variety
> and vitality inherent in experimental groups, crafts, folklife centres,
> university centres and libraries (p. 3).

Whether it is the 'high/established art' discussed by Wiener, or the more recent focus on the 'cultural industries' discussed by Evans (2001), what they are both associated with is what Zukin (1998) defines as the 'Symbolic Economy'. This 'Symbolic Economy' is based on cultural symbols of art, food, fashion, music and so on, and the spaces in which they are created and consumed such as offices, housing, restaurants, museums and the

streets. As each city demonstrates its distinctiveness through such cultural symbols, new places of consumption are created. Although these places may be homogenous in style, Zukin argues that difference can be understood through the local, social relations of place.

A 'universal template'

This focus on culture in urban regeneration leads us into the final section of the discussion: 'A universal template'. Here, the tension between local identity and good practice is considered, and will build on the related discussion in the 'urban regeneration policy' section. In the last section on 'culture and regeneration', the approach advised by Florida (2004), concerning how cities can regenerate is effectively a guide to be followed; arguably it removes, dilutes or complicates a sense of distinctiveness in how the city is represented. There is, therefore, a need to examine in more detail the role of decision-makers in conceptualising urban regeneration and controlling representations of the city. Such an understanding will gain insight into if and how said decision-makers are incorporating a 'universal template' in their local and personal awareness of place.

The expectation that following a universal template in urban regeneration can be a success seems to date back to the 1980s. For example, Hambleton (1991) describes how the Conservative government in the early 1980s was "heavily influenced by American models and ideas" (p. 6), and Theokas (2004) illustrates the process, from the 1980s, from which the already popular garden festivals of the Continent were adopted for image enhancement in the UK. Much has been written on the significant role of the symbolic (Zukin 1998; see earlier), and the manner in which urban regeneration seems to follow a certain style, not least in light of central government policy recommending how urban regeneration should be achieved. In 1988, the Confederation of British Industry document 'Initiatives Beyond Charity' advised that every city should have a flagship project to slow down inner city decline (Bianchini *et. al.* 1992), as this would symbolically reveal a city being transformed.

This holding up of other cities as models of good practice which have initiated a symbolic transformation of the city's image returns us to concerns of the 'homogenisation and competitiveness' section. For example Brake and Harrop (1994), in their study comparing how industrial and non-industrial towns are marketed, explain that as regeneration initiatives for industrial (or post-industrial) towns followed a model established in the US, the uniqueness of a locality does not appear to be incorporated in the ways in which a place is promoted. A more recent example of a universal template is what has become known as the 'Glasgow model'. The 'regeneration' of Glasgow through the designation of European City of Culture in 1990 offered a new means of utilising the title, as a method for promoting a positive image of a post-industrial city. This transformed representation was based on culture, which adheres to the characterisation of being culture-led regeneration (Evans 2005). Mooney (2004) argues, however, that the "'Glasgow model' for urban regeneration is essentially sustaining a myth, as opposed to celebrating a reality" (p. 328).

Although the literature may not be in agreement on the effectiveness of the 'Glasgow model', there is, however, agreement on the fact that it has become deemed a 'model' to be imitated by others. This 'Glasgow model' incorporated cultural policy as its main implement for transforming the 'old' image of Glasgow, which could be contrasted with a 'new' image of Glasgow, built on the 'vibrancy' of a fashionable, post-industrial city. This approach guided the urban regeneration attempts of the city, by following a strategy that incorporated place marketing and cultural projects in order to seek business and tourism investment. In an evaluation of the cultural impacts of Glasgow 1990, Garcia (2005) includes an assessment of the improved image of the city, explaining, through the utilisation of media analysis, how Glasgow became perceived a 'success story' in press coverage. She argues that the success through positive media coverage began the process of Glasgow being labelled as a 'role model' in policy and planning publications. The formula, based on the City of Culture title, was later followed by other cities,

and entailed promoting cultural assets and aspiring to the longer term legacy of transforming the city's image. In this equation, a transformed representation of place leads to a rise in tourism, and therefore the title of European Capital of Culture (ECoC, and formerly known as 'City of Culture') becomes associated with 'success':

> After almost 20 years, the ECOC programme could be seen as a mature initiative and a source of lessons to guide urban regeneration. The existence of internationally recognised 'success-stories' such as Glasgow has enhanced the prestige of the programme and generated growing expectations in cities aspiring to improve their image and boost their tourist economy (Garcia 2005: 863).

Academics have recognised how, more recently, another specific style of urban regeneration has become prominent on a wider scale and have termed this the 'Barcelona model'. Marshall (2000), in his work on urban planning and governance, asks if there is actually a 'Barcelona model', discovering that the overall technique is based on the built environment being designed to a high standard. Architects direct the initiative, as an 'expert' led regeneration solution; only once the plans are agreed, are they presented for public input, and there is therefore a lack of community engagement in the image based initiative. The argument Marshall makes is that due to the diversity of local governance styles, ambitions to reproduce what happened in Barcelona are likely to be fruitless. Whilst this thesis does not disagree with this argument, it does, however, look to raise the question as to whether it is solely 'local governance' that impacts on how a model for regeneration will be successful. Beriatos and Gospidini (2004) agree with Marshall's understanding of the model. They also draw attention to the fact that design-led planning through such a model focuses on "big international events [being] used by large cities as a catalyst to overcome their spatial disadvantages" (p. 192), and recognise the 'usefulness' of events in serving as a medium for achieving a transformation of space. This 'usefulness' of large scale events is also briefly mentioned by Marshall (2000), but in relation to how it limits any real community participation due to the tight timeframe which usually exists around such events. These two reasons given for the linkage between events and renovation to the built environment again move us towards an understanding of urban regeneration which focuses on re-designing the spatial landscape and creating a new 'vibrant' image.

What can be noted from both the Glasgow and Barcelona 'model' is the role of large scale events in the efforts made to re-image the city. With both events moreover, the importance of up-grading the built environment is apparent: for Glasgow, this related to the cultural infrastructure of the city (the title of the large scale event was 'European City of *Culture*'). In Barcelona, meanwhile, the infrastructural change to the city not only related to the city's sport premises (as expected due to the Olympics), but also the overall urban planning design of the city.

This following of a model has become a principle discourse of urban regeneration practice (see Peck (2002) for more on how 'fast-policy' transfer occurs from a national to a local level). Cox and O'Brien (2012) consider the rise of the 'Liverpool model' following ECoC08 as it was released nationally into the UK City of Culture[2]. They explain that the specificness of the 'perceived success' regarding local political, cultural and investment issues has been overlooked when attempting to replicate the event. Such ideas of following a universal template conceptualises urban regeneration as something that can create a new city, based on a new symbolic representation. The role of locality in urban regeneration initiatives appears to have been almost entirely erased in favour of a model that promotes the large scale and which is image based.

Situating the research

Whilst this chapter has demonstrated how there is already recognition of how representations offered for regeneration are homogenous and 'competitive' in style (within the discourse of being 'competitive', the actual 'unique selling image' employed is arguably the same everywhere), how cities are actually represented, and what characteristics are employed as symbolic images,

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[2] 'City of Culture' was a title initiated by DCMS in 2009 as an opportunity for different cities to hold the status for a year, with the opportunity of having events (such as those usually held in London – for example the Turner Prize alongside others) taking place in the city. The purpose of the title is to inspire regeneration 'success', in the vein of ECoC08 (Cox and O'Brien 2012). The first city to hold the title is Derry-Londonderry in 2013, and every four years a city in the UK will be awarded the title.

needs to be understood. By clarifying how certain representations become significant in the re-imaging of a city, and the manner in which decision-makers either work together or separately on this, would help to better understand how such a homogenous style in choosing representations of the city becomes accepted. As the literature demonstrates, there seems to be a disparity between such representation and the reality and lived experience of a city, and therefore I am keen to explore the ways in which decision-makers narratives deal with urban regeneration at a local level, whilst at the same time being required to follow policy recommendations and intervention from national government.

I have discussed how several academics have recognised the role of power in the choice of specific representations of place being utilised for urban regeneration, and how they have argued that this can be associated with a marginalisation of local identity. My own research will examine how local decision-makers regard their role in urban regeneration, their knowledge of place and how this is integrated with central government's advice. This will contribute to work carried out on how culture is utilised for urban regeneration and how notions of community are exploited. Such an understanding on the role of local decision-makers' in global competition will suggest further questions on the involvement of institutional actors in framing urban regeneration. This issue is of great significance as it also links in to how my research attempts to understand the role of locality in urban regeneration initiatives, particularly as 'the local' appears to have been almost entirely erased in favour of a model that promotes the large scale and the image-based.

Summary

This chapter has discussed how the literature has explored how urban regeneration is understood. It has explained how my interest in this area of critical research has developed from Harvey's work and his recognition that place is socially constructed under capitalism. As some of the literature demonstrates, there is recognition of the requirement that cities must be in direct competition against each other, and on a global level, which

necessitates that particular 'commercialised', or commodified, constructions of place become ever more prevalent in urban regeneration. As I have argued in the last section ('situating the research'), there is a need to understand the 'who', 'how' and 'why' of place construction, commodification, and representations of the city. In order to understand *who* is involved in place construction and to do so in a concrete manner, there is a need to specifically examine this at a local level. Likewise, to ascertain *how* and *why* place is constructed in specific ways, there is a need to base the research in a definite location. To this end, I have chosen to use Liverpool as the overall case study. The next chapter will explain some of the history regarding Liverpool and urban regeneration, and how other academics have written about this particular city.

Chapter Two – The Liverpool Way: A recent history of Urban Regeneration in Liverpool

Introduction

Chapter One described the literature that has discussed how cities are represented, and provided background on central government's urban regeneration policies from 1979 to 2008. In this sense, the role of central government in guiding the approach taken by local authorities (LAs) to regenerate has been acknowledged, particularly through their advice on how cities can appear 'distinctive', and thus be regarded as competitive. This chapter builds on previous discussion, giving historical background on how one local authority has been involved in regeneration. The local authority is Liverpool, the city from which both case studies come from. In advance of discussing Liverpool's regeneration strategies, a brief historical account of the city's rise (and subsequent problems) will be provided. Such background knowledge will be useful for contextualising the case studies, and will also support arguments on how the city has been represented for urban regeneration. After examining the wider political and historical context of the city, this chapter will discuss the factors that have been mobilized in presenting the need for urban regeneration, with a particular emphasis on how the past is represented within contemporary regeneration narratives. Overall, the chapter argues that Liverpool's history has a central role in how regeneration is understood locally, and in the approach taken to regenerate.

As argued in Chapter One, since the 1980s the concept of image promotion has become a focus of large scale urban regeneration initiatives in the UK. Central government policies accepted the 'success' stories of transforming the image of the city that had been formulated in the US (see for example: Hambleton 1991, Brake and Harrop 1994 and Loftman and Nevin 1995), and translated the significance of image for successful urban regeneration to local and regional levels of government. This emphasis on transforming how the city is represented can be seen in Liverpool, where a variety of initiatives have been enacted in an attempt to address a range of urban problems associated with unemployment, poverty and other related social issues,

whilst at the same time (since the 1980s) aiming to secure capital investment and surplus value from land. Chapter One discussed the importance of understanding how representations of the city have been presented as an organising 'master' concept in urban regeneration narratives. Building on this discussion, this chapter argues that the conception of the city is central to urban regeneration narratives, with a particular emphasis on the role of history in both constructing a vision of a dynamic, forward-looking and 'different' city, and that in emphasising certain elements of heritage for a distinctive effect. What can also be recognised is how such narratives succeed in de-emphasising certain other, less attractive characteristics.

This chapter provides an overview of the major policies relating to urban regeneration that have contributed to attempts to transform or promote Liverpool's image, with a particular focus on how such policies have represented specific histories of the city. Specifically, the chapter has two main aims: first, to contextualise the case studies by giving greater detail to the broader issues associated with urban regeneration; second, to establish the ways in which characteristics of the city have been represented and constructed in 'official' narratives of urban regeneration. How such narratives position the concept of locality and place, relative to local and central government will also be considered. Therefore, to explore how and why representations of the city have received such significance within local, regional and central government policy, the background to Liverpool's portrayal needs to be examined.

The chapter comprises four parts, which give a general description of Liverpool's socio-economic development, with particular emphasis on the city's rise to prominence as part of an eighteenth century 'Mode of Colonial Production' (Wilks-Heeg, 2003). The first section 'The Making of Liverpool' is in chronological order, from the twelfth century, to the nineteenth century. It historicises the development of the city and as such provides the background to the subsequent analysis of the narratives of more recent urban regeneration initiatives. In the second section, the significance of Liverpool's

international maritime trade foreshadows analysis of the mobilization of this history in more contemporary regeneration discourses. The third section examines what Wilks-Heeg (2003) terms Liverpool's status as a 'pariah city', with the aim here to introduce discussion of Liverpool's persistent social problems, so as to better appreciate the tension between the past and the future in contemporary regeneration narratives. The final section chronologically addresses recent attempts at revitalising Liverpool, elaborating on dominant approaches adopted by organisations involved in the regeneration of the city.

The Making of Liverpool

The narratives of urban regeneration are contingent on a re-enhancement of the city's status. For this reason, engagement with the recent and more distinct histories of the city is a useful way into an analysis of contemporary regeneration discourses. Liverpool's royal charter, granted in 1207, provided political and economic autonomy to the merchants then trading in the city; the interrelationships between political and economic institutions saw trading links being formed on an international level for economic growth. Belchem (2000) describes how by the nineteenth century such autonomy led to claims of Liverpool's distinctiveness from, and superiority over other, comparable UK cities at an early stage, with the 'gentleman' of Liverpool reportedly feeling superior to the 'industrial workers' of Manchester. Other historical references consider how 'apart' Liverpool felt from the UK, declaring how much closer the city was to New York (see Belchem 2000). As demonstrated in the subsequent analysis, the 'apartness' of Liverpool has been incorporated into regeneration narratives. Rose (1995) suggests that identifying with a place is contingent on distinction from 'the other', a notion that is useful when assessing the initiatives to revitalise Liverpool, which attempt to both demonstrate the uniqueness of the city, and to revalorize aspects of the city's past, whilst at the same time discarding others.

Following the national movement for the abolition of slavery in 1787, public opinion towards Liverpool changed. Wilson (1999) argues that from this

moment onwards, inhabitants of the city felt isolated and cultural identity became a means of challenging such a sentiment. For this reason he explains that, in 1796 the poet and historian William Roscoe, wrote a biography of Lorenzo de Medici, in which the similarity between Florence and Liverpool was highlighted (particularly as related to commerce and culture). During this period, Liverpool became known as 'the Florence of the North', a representation encouraged by Roscoe and other business and political leaders. This attempted a repositioning of the intentional representation of Liverpool – from a port heavily involved in slavery, to a 'high cultural' city as reflected in the architecture of the cultural institutions of this period, for example the grandeur of the Picton Room and the Walker Gallery. The idea of 'high' culture has historically been an important aspect in these attempts to create distinction, with attempts to foster civic pride through the arts in Liverpool, not only designed to give a sense of attachment (see Belchem 2000), but also to reflect Liverpool as a sophisticated city. Certainly, Liverpool's cultural institutions were flourishing by the nineteenth century: the Philharmonic Hall was built in 1849 (rebuilt in 1933 due to a fire); the central library in 1852; St. George's Hall in 1854; William Brown library in 1860; the Walker Art Gallery opened in 1877; and the Picton Reading Room in 1879.

The eighteenth century saw 'world class' status bestowed on places where the products of cultural excellence were assembled. What has now been designated Liverpool's 'Museum Quarter' was designed primarily in a neo-classical style, encompassing the aforementioned central library, St. George's Hall, William Brown library, Walker Art Gallery and the Picton Reading Room. These civic buildings were all situated along Lime Street. As Lime Street Railway Station had opened to the public in 1836, setting up the cultural institutions opposite gave a symbolic illustration "of the cultural eminence of a great seaport" (Sudbury and Forrester 1996: 69) to those arriving by rail.

In Liverpool, building grand, symbolic architecture to accommodate high culture was only part of the picture however, as the grandeur of the new

material and symbolic construction was in direct contrast to the deprivation many of the city's population was living in. The extreme poverty and hardship found in the city – due in large part to a lack of stable employment, gives the city three social-led significant 'firsts': the new council of 1835 initiated programmes of education, sanitation and health through William Rathbone, (Liberal Councillor for Liverpool in 1835, becoming Mayor of Liverpool in 1837), and Liverpool was also the first British city to appoint a medical officer of health (in 1847) and one of the first cities to build council housing (St. Martin's Cottages in 1869) (Lane 1997 and Middleton 1991). Liverpool City Council, amongst other stakeholders has (as becomes evident in the analysis chapters of Five, Six and Seven) employed this 'caring' attribute surrounding social policy into a means of marketing Liverpool positively in promotional material.

In the hope of bringing an awareness of attachment and civic pride in the inhabitants, there has been an attempt to convey a sense of belonging, incorporating the various migrants which made up the city's residential population. Early migration in Liverpool was driven by the Irish (with many more migrating to Liverpool as they were fleeing the potato famine in the mid nineteenth century), Scottish and Welsh seeking work. Trade links with the new world brought additional migration, and by the early nineteenth century Norwegian, Chinese and Indian seafarers had also settled in the city (the first Chinatown in the UK was established in Liverpool). Linked with this international migration is the 'commercial' portrayal of the city with intentionally assumed global titles. Lane (1997) and Belchem (2000) explain how Liverpool was known as the 'Second City' (to London) of the Empire. According to Lane (1997: 101), from the early days of migration, Liverpool was perceived by outsiders as a 'City of Chaos' with spontaneous, disorderly eruptions. Therefore, Lane argues, riots and anarchy were blamed on the disruptive behaviour of the sailors and the aggressive character of the inhabitants, purportedly originating from their Celtic temperament (ibid.). In another linkage with an international past, Taaffe and Mulhearn (1988)

describe how Liverpool was known as the 'Marseilles of England' by 1900, due to the wave of immigrants settling in the City.

The docks, important for the city's economic activity and the gateway for migration, were also the site of much architectural development and innovation. Having one of the most economically significant docklands in the UK, Liverpool had to appear to have symbolically, magnificent architecture that would demonstrate the city's splendour. In 1907 the Mersey Docks and Harbour Building was built, and in 1911 when the Royal Liver Building was completed, it made the port "the western gateway to the world" (Lane 1997: 1). Along the Pier Head, another 'grand' edifice was erected: the Cunard Building (1913). By the 1990s, these buildings were being discussed as 'the three graces', with this term certainly in use by the establishment of Liverpool Vision in 1999 deliberating the construction of the 'fourth grace'. The original 'three graces' of Greek Mythology were goddesses that contain characteristics of loveliness: gracefulness, beauty and amusement. Such connection with mythology became a means of providing the city with a strong link to the past, as could also be established with the mythical 'liver birds', found on top of the Royal Liver Building. The mythical connection between architecture and the development of new organisations is reflected within the built environment, and advances the expression of Liverpool's grand identity. Wilks-Heeg (2003: 42) explains how "[a]s is typical of cities with global articulations, the desire to mark Liverpool's standing in the world economy came to be reflected in the built environment, most evidently in the redevelopment of the pier head". Specifying this linkage between myth making and new architecture has also been noted in other cities. Schorske (1978) in describing the construction of Vienna's buildings of high culture in this era (the 1900s) describes the enthusiasm for myth making in such development. It is explained that in order for the architecture of this period to be recognised, how Loos (amongst other architects), attempted to incorporate myths into developing a new symbolic meaning to Vienna.

This section has described Liverpool's development as a city, its role as a maritime gateway, and, in this context, the issue of cultural enhancement in the high arts. What can also be noted from this section however, is how such progress did not happen in isolation. The advancement of Liverpool was very much connected to slavery, an issue that, as discussed, the leaders of the city had attempted to distance it from. Also, whilst the city was prospering economically, extreme poverty could also be found, hence the need for such social welfare policies to be initiated. The following section specifically contends with the problems faced by the city, from the 1930s onwards.

The Demise of Liverpool

This section explains some of the background to how and why narratives of urban regeneration have symbolically and materially concentrated upon the waterfront. Wilks-Heeg (2003) explains that although the economic and historical significance of the docks was already in decline by 1930, a handbook on Liverpool continued to stress the importance of commerce to the city. It is illustrated in the handbook how crucial Liverpool continued to be in trading with the colonies. Meegan (2003) explains how the 1930s and 1940s was a period in which central government policies were enticing economic activity away from the North towards the South East. Although Wilks-Heeg (2003) recognises the role of the Board of Trade Inquiry in understanding the need for stronger economic support in Merseyside, overall the inquiry focused on the North East and Wales. For Liverpool, however, what can be noted is that, in continuing to emphasise Liverpool's role in trade (although this was actually in decline), the inquiry arguably required a strong representation of the city upon which to focus. By promoting an out of date representation externally however, it also demonstrates the continuing difficulty for cities that are attempting to adjust to a new economic function, and the challenges they face in portraying a strong representation at a time of uncertainty.

By continually returning to the city's glorious past, organisations involved with Liverpool's prospects had a very limited approach to seeking new investment. Their retrospective focus had a vast impact on the opportunities available for the inhabitants and can be identified through a dramatic fall in employment and capital investment opportunities. In 1936, the city council began to move away from focusing on the city centre. Through the Liverpool Corporation Act of that year, the council could buy land on the periphery of the city (Meegan 2003). It approved the opening of two manufacturing factories on the periphery: in Speke and Fazakerley, to create employment opportunities. However, "male unemployment remained high" (Wilks-Heeg 2003: 48), and by 1945 the area was predominantly involved in the food manufacturing and distributive trade (Parkinson 1990). Such trade, however, was susceptible to centralisation as it was taken over by national and multinational corporations (*ibid:* 243). In this sense, although attempts were made in the post Second World War period to diversify the economy, employment opportunities remained low.

By the 1950s families that had previously been regarded as 'local aristocracy' (primarily due to their involvement in commerce) had largely left the city (Lane 1997). Parkinson (1990: 241) suggests that the city lacks an entrepreneurial tradition due to the lack of middle class inward migration, observing that "[t]here has been consistent emigration and little immigration to produce dynamic new social groups". He describes how there is no entrepreneurial history to the city, as the economy has always been based on bigger corporations. For Parkinson, this reliance on bigger, national corporations, also accounts for such a small middle class population in the city. This is illustrated through the dominance of semi-skilled and blue collar service work, resulting in a lack of opportunities for workers to move into manufacturing, white collar service/employment. Lane (1997) describes how none of the large, prosperous families were originally from Liverpool, in a similar manner to other port cities, they moved there, made their money, then left. It could be implied that by leaving the city, no entrepreneurial drive was developed by those with money and connections.

As the UK's economy moved towards the European Community (EC) in the 1950s, this impacted on Liverpool's trade relationship with the US and other countries (Wilks-Heeg 2003). Gilman and Burn's (1982) in-depth analysis of Liverpool's docklands describes how from the 1960s onwards, a change in international trading links had impacted heavily on Liverpool. This transformation could be recognised in the considerable reduction in the amount of space needed for dockland activity, and in the declining number of workers employed in the docklands. For the spatial, physical change in the docklands, the change in means of handling products in bulk towards container shipping impacted on the physical size and facilities required in a port. Liverpool attempted to remain involved in the change in technology by developing a new dockland complex in Seaforth and Garston that could operate container berths as it was based in deep water. These new docklands both employed fewer staff and led to the old warehouses and docklands in the centre of Liverpool becoming derelict. In addition to this move towards container shipping, another important aspect concerns the European Union (EU). Gilman and Burn describe how "ships serving Continental Europe tend to have one French, one Dutch, one German and one UK port in their basic itinerary" (1982: 29), and explain how for the UK, that port would be close to London. Liverpool's port declined to sixth place of Britain's ports, due to its location being 'on the wrong side' for European trade (Meegan 1990), with most maritime trading since the creation of the EU processed through Rotterdam (Lorente 2002). Therefore, the move towards container shipping, and Liverpool's declining role as a port, instigated further unemployment in the city. As early as the 1930s, unemployment was 1.5 times the national average, and by the 1940s, it was 2.5 times the national average (Parkinson 1985).

In an attempt to contend with such unemployment, regional policy in 1951 and in the 1960s funded the relocation of industry (Meegan 2003), and such relocation funds did manage to entice some multinational companies, as can

be noted with the growth of the car industry in this period (Parkinson 1990). However, in this period (1960-1967), regional economic development policies were impacting to an extent on employment, as the growth in manufacturing found in Liverpool was in direct contrast to other parts of the UK (Couch 2003). Wilks-Heeg (2003: 48-49) explains how "... the Labour government's regional policies resulted in a number of international companies locating and expanding operations in and around Liverpool, including Dunlop, Ford, Lucas Engineering and Kodak". Relocation funds, however, were only being given by central government (until 1976) through the development agency to green field sites in Merseyside, and not to the central areas of the city (and this would continue to be the case until 1976; see Couch 2003). In their urban renewal programme Liverpool City Council seemed to be in agreement with central government, believing that in order to meet the demands of industry and the service sector and bring further employment opportunities, that there had to be a move out of the city centre (*ibid.*).

With this move away from the centre of the city, a key recognition in local regeneration policies was the issue of transport. This awareness of the role of transport (particularly railways) in ensuring that the new industrial sites and housing on the periphery of the city could be accessed also recognised the social impact of such services (Couch 2003). This was at the same time as at a central government level the Beeching report of closing local railway services was materialising (*ibid.*). Although an improved local transport initiative was presented in the 1960s, the plan of linking Lime Street (the city's mainline railway station) with Merseyrail was only completed in the 1970s. In the 1965 Liverpool Interim Planning Policy Statement, local transport was not only recognised as being a key component for the well-being of the city's inhabitants, but also for a high-quality urban environment (later, in 1968 this was also specified in the Town and Country Planning Act), and this was considered in relation to how it would impact on attracting new investment. Such an environment was considered possible through slum clearance, road investment, heritage conservation, and "schools and other social facilities" (*ibid.*: 50). One of the 'other social facilities' which began to

receive attention in this era (with the Liverpool City Centre Plan of 1965) was that of retail amenities. Such investment can be noted with the planning of the shopping precincts: St. John's Centre, Cavern Walks, Central Station and Clayton Square (*ibid.*). Another means of attempting to gain business investment to the city in this era was that of building new offices, specifially around the Old Hall Street area (near Moorfields railway station) (Couch 2003).

Not only was attaining business investment recognised as important, but by 1968, as a response to perceived social problems, central government led the 'Urban Programme' initiative (known as 'Urban Aid'). This programme focused on the needs of communities giving small scale subsidies to "nursery schools, advice centres, community centres and language classes for immigrants" (Gibson and Langstaff 1982, cited in Couch 2003: 74). As the City Council had already recognised which areas were 'extremely deprived' through the Social Malaise Study, funding was allocated to these areas; Couch explains that, by 1974, over 50 projects had been completed or were near completion. (Another poverty reduction initiative happening simultaneously in Liverpool was carried out by a charity; in 1969 to 1972, Shelter administered a Neighbourhood Action Project in Granby, which attempted to understand the overall problems found in deprived communities.)

Linked to such community-led initiatives is a rise in the 1970s of what Bianchini (1993: 2) claims to have been "the development of cultural policies as a valuable tool in diversifying the local economic base and achieving greater social cohesion". In Liverpool, however, the role of culture in such a regeneration vision seems to have been minimal during this period, as explained by Parkinson and Bianchini (1993: 157):

> [b]y focusing attention and resources on working class residential areas on the periphery of the city, these priorities [local taxation and housing] prevented the question of the potential role of the city centre getting on the political agenda. This had a crucial impact on the debate about the contribution cultural policy could make to Liverpool's economic future since the bulk of local cultural facilities and activities are concentrated in the city centre.

Examples could be found on the periphery, however, of using local festivals in an attempt to connect communities. For example, in Speke, by the late 1970s a community action forum (which included a representative from local churches, voluntary groups, the police and the factories in the area) recognised how unemployment had the potential to endanger troubled local relationships, and thus they initiated a festival in which local communities could celebrate their identity (Meegan 1990).

A focus on the social (as well as the economic) remained both at a local, regional and central level (central here referring to the Conservative central government of 1972). Locally, policies were put in place to encourage economic development, which entailed the "joint County and District Economic Development Committee, a Merseyside Economic Forum and a County Economic Development Office" (Couch 2003:19-20); and socially the 'Merseyside Innovation Centre' was founded to support employment and training programmes. Regionally, the 'Merseyside Structure Plan' illustrated the importance that planners were involved with both social and economic conditions, described as 'the total approach' (Couch 2003). Nationally, the 1972 Inner Area Studies programmes in Liverpool were being planned, and here, community based solutions were suggested following an analysis of 'the problems'. Over £600,000 was supplied to local projects, such as the Edge Hill (North Liverpool) study on education, housing, employment, training, built environment, local council services and the relationship between the local council and the communities. In later years (by 1978) such recommendations became the outline of the (by then) Labour central government's Inner Areas Act. This involved an attempt to gain a closer working relationship and collaboration between central and local government on transforming economic opportunities in the city (Meegan 2003).

Parkinson (1990) argues that the 1960s and 1970s were a time of central government funding being given to cities, that ended in the 1980s. As Chapter One has discussed, the 1980s have been noted as the era in which

local authorities (LAs) were expected to behave entrepreneurially. This representation of an 'anti-entrepreneurial city' was common in many parts of the UK mass media from the early 1980s onwards (Brake and Harrop 1994). This media focus was sustained by overall negative coverage of cities more generally. In 1981 urban riots took place in London (Brixton), Liverpool (Toxteth), Leeds (Chapeltown) and other cities. These riots partly resulted from racial tension due to the police's stop and search policies in the black community and were also driven by wider social problems relating to urban poverty at the time (Frost and Phillips 2011). Along with the lack of employment and a fall in population, a further obstacle to Liverpool's economic development in the 1980s was the local political situation. The local political situation in the 1980s was borne out of the national political situation since the Conservative party came to power in 1979. Dawson and Parkinson (1991: 44) explain how "In the Government's mind its single-minded approach assumes an entrepreneurial ability that contrasts with the alleged inflexibility and bureaucratic ethos of local authority". In an attempt to transform such a 'bureaucratic ethos', central government policies imposed economic restructuring on local authorities (LAs). Liverpool became a city which directly confronted these political and economic changes, with the Liverpool Labour slogan in 1981 being "No cuts in jobs and services and no rent and rate rises to compensate for Tory cuts" (quoted in Parkinson 1985: 31). This and other political confrontations with central government impacted heavily on the representation of Liverpool nationally with national media referring to Merseyside as a 'basket case' (see for example *The Observer* 1990). In his discussion of attempts to transform a city's negative image, Avraham (2000: 366) argues that "[t]he problem is that if crime news is the focus of a place's media image, there is a tendency not to cover social – economic developments or other positive events within the place". Specifically for Liverpool such coverage of the city's problems were based on the situation within the City Council, as Meegan (1990: 98) clarifies: "Media coverage of the City Council focused on political divisions between the council and inner city groups and the deterioration in the council's relationship with its own trade unions". Such exposure was unlikely to entice private investment to the city, for example the *Daily Mirror* in October 1982

stated that Liverpool was "A showcase of everything that has gone wrong..." (quoted in Lane 1997 p. xiii).

As Chapter Five will go on to demonstrate, central government's involvement in the urban regeneration of Liverpool was heavily influenced by the local council's conduct. Parkinson (1990) identifies three historic periods of political economic strategies in Liverpool between 1973 and 1990:

i) 1973-1983 – None of the three political parties could achieve overall support for a majority on the council, therefore no coherent response to economic decline.

ii) 1983-1987 – Rise of powerful Labour majority with major public spending on working class needs (housing and education) as the way to regenerate the city's economy.

iii) 1987- present day – Liverpool begins to follow the strategic and political choices already taken on by other Left wing cities a decade earlier (e.g. Glasgow and Sheffield) of also developing potential in "retail, leisure, tourism and commercial" (p. 252) investment.

These three periods of strategy are reflected in the work of the local government, and have implications for urban regeneration (as discussed in Chapter Five, Six and Seven). However, there is also a need to comprehend the significant role of central government in these political-economic configurations; as well as to incorporate an analysis of the rise in partnerships, with particular reference to the establishment of the Urban Regeneration Companies in 1999. These issues are therefore addressed in the following section.

Attempts to 'revitalise' Liverpool

This section examines the perceived problems in Liverpool in more detail, and describes how local and central government have attempted to revive Liverpool's social and economic circumstances. The timeline given on the next page (Figure One) gives an account of the main urban regeneration initiatives, whose aims vary, ranging from diversification of the local economy

Local

1914	1936	1965	1970	1972
Liverpool Organisations	Liverpool Corporation Act	Liverpool Interim Planning Policy Liverpool City Centre Plan	Speke Community Action Forum	County and District Economic Development Committee

Regional

1927	1951	1960	1972
Promotion of Liverpool	Regional government funding	Regional government funding Regional Economic Policies	Merseyside Economic Forum County Economic Development Office Merseyside Structure Plan

Central

1930	1968	1972
Board of Trade Inquiry	Town and Country Planning Act Urban Programme Initiative (Urban Aid)	Shelter Neighbourhood Action Project Inner Area Studies Programmes

European

1975 Onwards

Local

1983	1991	1999	2003	2008
Militant Labour Housing Renewal	Music City	Liverpool Vision Bid for WHS	Liverpool Culture Company	LARC

Regional

1981	1998
Merseyside Development Corporation	Merseyside Music Department

Central

1978	1991	1998
Inner Areas Act	City Challenge	Urban Task Force

European

1975	1994	2000
European Regional Development Fund	Objective One funding	Objective One funding

Figure 1: Timeline on main urban regeneration initiatives from 1914 to 2010

in general to the creation of Everton Park as a specific scheme. The emergence of some of these strategies were local, others led by central government.

The period from and inclusive of, the 1950s up until the early 1970s witnessed the relocation of the manufacturing industry to the outskirts of Liverpool. Following the end of the Second World War, the economic development plans put forward by the Liverpool Corporation Act (1936) could finally come to fruition (Meegan 2003). These development plans entailed Liverpool City Council (LCC) buying land on the outskirts of the city, and ensuring that it was appropriate for industrial use. Meegan (2003: 56) explains how "[i[n the six years after the war, for example, regional policy helped to steer to Liverpool some two-thirds of the employment generated by relocating industry (about 24,000 jobs)". Such employment opportunities remained available throughout the 1960s; by the 1970s, however, with changes in production from a Fordist to a post-Fordist system; they had largely disappeared.

The manner in which policy is made and applied in relation to the regeneration of Liverpool in the 1980s has been discussed in detail by numerous academics (see for example: Bianchini *et. al.* 1992, Couch 2003, and Dawson and Parkinson 1991). From this literature, it seems that attempts at urban regeneration date back to 1914, when it was recognised that the city would need to diversify economically. At this time, the 'Liverpool Organisation' was set up by local businessmen and local government to influence businesses all over the world to set up factories in the city, and they later published a supplement in the Daily Post on 21st February 1927 promoting Liverpool for investment (Lane 1997: 35). As such, an attempt was made in taking control of the economic opportunities of the future, by directing the economic transformation of the city, with the aim of initiating what would be termed now as 'urban regeneration'.

Parkinson (1985) highlights that between 1960 and 1980, Liverpool was involved in every urban initiative set up by Central Government, such as Educational Priority Areas (Tony Crosland), Community Development Projects (James Callaghan and Roy Jenkins), Inner Area Studies (Peter Walker), Inner City Partnership (Peter Shore), Enterprise Zones (Geoffrey Howe) andUrban Development Corporations (Michael Heseltine). What this list demonstrates is the sheer extent of the initiatives in play, and how Liverpool was being recognised as a deprived area which needed a range of solutions, from raised standards in schools, social change in poor neighbourhoods, a positive impact on unemployment, or a focus on attracting outside investment to the city. Whilst these initiatives all attempt to deal with a specific problem, either education, unemployment or communities, this list reveals how Liverpool itself has been labelled a 'problem', that it is beset with disadvantage and deprivation; and that hope for change is considered to be only achievable from outside of the city. Parkinson (1985) explains the main reason that these initiatives did not work was that they did not identify the underlying problem. Furthermore, Parkinson explains how they were ad-hoc experiments, separate from mainstream government programmes, and which changed direction or stopped suddenly. Following this, it was in 2011 central government's attitude to Liverpool thirty years earlier was to be exposed (policy documents and other political papers are kept confidential under a 'thirty year rule') when it became public knowledge that the early 1980s was a period when the option of a 'managed decline' towards the city was being considered by the Conservative government (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-16361170). This chequered history of Liverpool offers the context for a meaningful understanding of how narratives of urban regeneration have since developed. It offers both insight at a local level and a lens through which we can begin to understand the impact of central government policies around urban regeneration. Not least an understanding of Liverpool's history provides the foundation for an assessment of the role of the city's representation in these processes.

One aspect of regeneration in the 1980s that could be deemed a success however was initiated separately, by both local and central government, and concerned housing. As Meegan (1990: 90) explains:

> The most single-minded and as it turned out, the most politically provocative initiative was Liverpool City Council's ambitious council housing-based 'Urban Regeneration Strategy'. This strategy was given priority over all other policies including local economic development.

A critical need for better housing was evident at the time, and as one interviewee (a planner at Liverpool City Council in the 1980s) explains, it was a difficult time to work in planning due to the approach taken by the militant Labour in power. Despite this, they perceived that: "...debate was not welcomed, but also it was difficult to argue against a policy of giving people decent homes" (Interview 2). Parkinson (1985) argues that Liverpool was trying to present itself as a good model of socialism. Similarly, Taaffe and Mulhearn (1988) offer a portrayal of events in respect of the militant labour group of the time, including with reference to Labour's 'Urban Regeneration Strategy':

> More than 5000 homes were built in the period 1983-7. The achievements were hailed by housing experts, several of whom disagreed with the political position of the Council. The Post (12 September 1985) carried a headline – 'House-proud city has got it right'. It went on to state 'The city's 3000 new homes all with front and back gardens earn praise from author Alice Coleman ... a housing expert...'
> (p. 159)

Due to this tension in the focus on housing as the main regeneration strategy, Parkinson (1985) explains how between July 1984 and May 1985 central government gave housing funding to housing associations rather than to the city council. It was during this period that new housing, under the support of housing associations became deemed a success – see for example how information was presented positively in relation to the Eldonian village, a community based cooperative.

Such previous examinations of the problems of Liverpool and the attempts made to resolve them demonstrate the association between policy failure, problem city and the representation of Liverpool. Therefore, the representation of Liverpool separated it from other cities. For example although other cities, such as Glasgow had similar problems, one difference

in Liverpool was the militant tendency of the city council which exacerbated media coverage. For this reason the problems of Liverpool were examined by central government as extreme, with the solutions presented in the same manner. The lack of sustainability of these solutions mirrors former economic positioning of the city. As discussed earlier, the lack of sustainability in the employment available in the docklands instigated many of the problems of the city. Similarly, according to Parkinson (1985) the regeneration responses to the problems of the 1980s also seem to lack any sustainability. This lack of sustainability in the solutions available, impacts upon the outlook of the inhabitants, and their faith in the effectiveness of any urban regeneration initiatives. Such issues are addressed in the case study analysis chapters (Chapter Five, Six and Seven), which consider the attempt made at engaging with everyone.

Involvement in the solutions to the 'urban problem' was not only an issue between central government and the inhabitants, but also between central and local government. In 1972 Liverpool City Council published *Liverpool South Docks: Principles of Redevelopment*. This document contained planning objectives for opening up the waterfront, for employment opportunities, water-based recreation and economic and environmental benefits (Couch 2003). However, this new awareness of the potential economic prospects based on the leisure industry soon became hindered by problems within the LA. These problems within the LA were founded on political opposition, and as local government control was shared between Labour, Conservatives and the Liberals, neither party wanted to promote long-term policies for fear of losing popularity. This lack of a strong drive can be illustrated in Liverpool through the built environment, with any large scale redevelopment put on hold. An attempt to gain support for such a significant transformation could have been difficult for any party to take the lead on, especially as it would symbolise a transformation in the economic future. With no other purpose available for the docks, due to their symbolic significance as a part of the 'making of Liverpool', their redevelopment could have brought forward much tension on the economic future of the city. For

this reason, controversial proposals by central government, with their insistence a year later (1980s) that the service sector economy would replace the role of maritime employment, did not gain immediate support from the public. Armstrong and Riley (1984) explain how employment opportunities from the 1980s onwards were mainly in the service sector, and generally, the North did not expand into this as much as the South.

One of the main instigators for focusing on the service sector, particularly tourism through cultural and heritage facilities, was the European Commission (EC) through the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). The ERDF was set up in 1975 as a structural fund for areas within the EC which needed financial assistance due to agricultural and industrial change and unemployment issues. Projects financed entailed those concerning the built environment and investment in new industries, crafts and the service sector, in order to create employment opportunities (Commission of the European Communities 1984: v). Evans (2001: 183) explains how:

> [s]ince the late 1970s, European Regional Development ('Structural')
> funds in particular have provided leverage and direct investment in
> cultural and heritage facilities, particularly those linked to city
> regeneration... and in visitor-led strategies.

This can undoubtedly be noted in Liverpool, where, between 1975 and 1983, the ERDF supported 3.15 million European Currency Unit (ECU) for refurbishing one of the Albert Dock warehouses, so that it could become the Maritime Museum; further funding was also made available for a new ferry terminal in the docks area (Commission of the European Communities 1984: 68).

Of greater significance in this period, however, was the relationship between central and local government. Much has been written on the difficulty in how central government's proposals were understood at a local level (see for example: Parkinson 1989, Middleton 1991 and Thornley 1993) and on the relationship between central government and the LA in this era. While the priority of central government in the 1980s was on re-structuring the UK economically (Johnstone and Pattie 1990), which included the attempt to

create a demand for land, this was in opposition to Liverpool's local government's militant labour social-orientated focus. How central government constrained LAs control, especially with the creation of Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) has been discussed in Chapter One. In Chapter One it was explained how the aim of UDCs was to ensure a use for land, without having to be answerable to the public, particularly in relation to the needs of environmentalists and communities. Instead UDCs focused on benefitting market forces, which ultimately undermined the LAs role in local democracy. Parkinson (1989: 442) explains how the "values of urban entrepreneurialism replaced those of municipal collectivism", with property developers leading urban regeneration.

These issues aside, an administrative unit, The Merseyside Task Force was created, directed by Michael Heseltine, the then Secretary of State for the Environment, who at this time established the aforementioned UDC in Merseyside – the Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC). As control of local political direction, including urban regeneration initiatives and the representation of the city, was being directed from central government, the MDC's two main projects were the 1984 International Garden Festival, (emanated from a German initiative for land renewal) and the Albert Dock redevelopment. In a feasibility study for the Department of the Environment (DoE) in relation to the Garden Festivals, it explains this need to concentrate on the built environment for a sustainable legacy:

> It had become clear as the concept of British festivals developed that the emphasis on reclamation and urban renewal was central, and that a horticultural event of a summer's duration was but a means to a long-lasting impact on depressed areas. Would-be promoters were therefore asked to stress long-term regeneration in making their cases, and to pick mainly derelict or neglected pieces of urban land as possible sites (Exhibition Consultants Ltd 1984: point 1.1.07).

MDCs redevelopment of the Albert Dock was based on the Baltimore Inner Harbour and Boston Waterfront redevelopment of the late 1970s (explained in more detail subsequently). The first phase of the redeveloped Albert Dock initially opened in 1984, with the second phase completed in 1988 alongside the opening of the Tate of the North art gallery [now known as Tate Liverpool]. This initiative was fundamentally entangled in urban regeneration

discourses, partly because of its material prominence in the city, and also because it represented a new configuration of political agencies relative to private sector investment (Harvey 1989). Although described by the *Architectural Review* at the time as a vulgar theme park (mentioned in Pearce 1989: 85), the official narratives by the organisation managing the site gives the redevelopment a symbolic meaning as it "bear[s] proud testament to the strength of Liverpool's heritage and illustrates the depth of the revival at the heart of Merseyside" (The Albert Dock Company n.d.: 1). This era and the symbolic significance of heritage architecture for image enhancement is a recurring theme, and will be discussed in more detail throughout this thesis.

This attempt at diversification of the local economy with the introduction of the tourism/service sector however, over time, seems to have been regarded as inadequate. As evidence of this, Madsen (1992) argues that the manner in which Liverpool has marketed itself has not elevated its status above comparative cities; he points out that the port is on the 'wrong side' for Europe, has a low skilled workforce, fewer national parks in comparison to other cities, and that it lacks an international airport. Nonetheless, attempts at promoting the city's economy in this period do demonstrate some form of a strategy towards place marketing. However, the lack of a strong vision of place that Madsen observes in this period, and the other problems based on the lack of power in the overall operation of the local government, gave national government an opportunity to mandate taking control of Merseyside's politics.

Throughout the era that this chapter has explored, specific urban problems have also been confronted through an aggressive struggle around the objectives of urban regeneration, particularly during the second historic period of political economic strategies that Parkinson (1990) mentions, from 1983 – 1987. The struggle can be recognised in Liverpool as conflict between local and central government, and came to the fore during the militant period of local government. Central government, which supported

the MDC (Imrie and Thomas 1999), were enthusiastically focusing on property led development in the hope of encouraging private sector investment (Couch 2003). In contrast, the militant leadership of the LA focused on housing (as discussed earlier in this section) in the belief that, as Tony Byrne (militant councillor) explained, "I can't do anything to locate a new factory in Speke or anywhere else, but what we can do is to deal with unemployment, and the environment and living conditions within the limits of our capabilities" (quoted in Meegan 1990: 94). This militant style of urban regeneration focused on housing needs, but was also involved in the creation of Everton Park (Taaffe and Mulhearn 1988). Their local strategies also included giving financial assistance to shopkeepers for the purpose of modernising their properties (Crick 1986). In this way, the militant local government concentrated on specific practical needs of improvement, since they were unable to influence private sector plans. To this end, the move towards focusing on the service sector was predominantly directed through central government, by the MDC and Merseyside County Council. Furthermore, the cultural requirements (museums and galleries) of the city were in the control of Merseyside County Council during this period. However, in 1986, the abolition of the county councils brought about significant changes to the cultural regeneration of Merseyside, as this resulted in the galleries and museums being taken under the control of central government, and the tourism board being funded by the MDC (Interview 3, with a senior member of staff at the MCC).

Characteristics utilised in urban regeneration, such as the historic architecture of the built environment, the arts and tourism, all became directed nationally in Liverpool. Attempts made at place promotion became increasingly focused on heritage and the arts in general, as could be admired through the museums and galleries in the city. During the 1980s, as an attribute, high culture through the arts has had a significant role in constructing Liverpool at an international level and, once more, was based on the city's illustrious past. The Philharmonic Hall, built in 1849, provides one such example. Not only was this institution important for the cultural

significance of the city, but by the late 1980s, the MDC regarded such formal cultural institutions as 'ambassadors' for Liverpool; and when the MDC travelled the world seeking business investment, the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra would be sent with them (Smyth 1994).

This attempt to regenerate Liverpool in the 1980s, although directed by central government remained problematic. It has, however, been argued that, by the 1991 implementation of the City Challenge Programme, the relationship between numerous approaches to urban regeneration had become somewhat more coherent (albeit with problems), compared to the 1980s (see Russell *et. al.* 1996). This transformation in the approach of the LAs involvement, can also be recognised through the arts, and again, particularly music. City Challenge involved LAs, on the condition that they were 'competitive' in their approach to regeneration, and that they worked with the private sector (Hastings 1996). It also offered opportunities for the engagement of community organisations and the voluntary sector (Oatley 1995). Therefore, at this time, Liverpool City Council attempted to appear 'competitive' and work in a 'new' manner. This could be noted with the 1991 'Music City' report, commissioned by Liverpool City Council and written by researchers at the University of Liverpool (Cohen 2007). Its aim was to prevent Liverpool musicians from having to leave the city in order to expand their creative opportunities.

Once again, there is a return to the past for rationalisation of such schemes to incorporate music in urban regeneration initiatives; Sara Cohen argues that the role of pop music in the urban regeneration of Liverpool is that it provides "a particularly powerful and accessible resource in the production of place" (Cohen 1997: 77). She points to Liverpool City Council's attempts to 'package' the Beatles as a part of the tourism 'key assets' on offer. In another paper, Cohen (2007) explains how by 1998 'The Merseyside Music Development Agency' was launched, with the aim of holding on to the musical talent in the city, but also acknowledging the financial potential of what was regarded as "a natural local resource" (p. 147). The city's historical

significance as a major industrial port that is again employed for the purpose of mobilising certain characteristics of the city for urban regeneration, both at the local and central government levels of leadership. Later advice by central government on 'transforming places' gives a framework for regeneration, recommending local prioritisation that determines the "type of regeneration investment that is likely to be most effective" and that recognises "the economic and social characteristics of the area" (Communities and Local Government 2008a: 4).

Cohen's (2007) recognition of 1998, as a significant year for the city in how urban regeneration was being approached, has its roots in the transformation of the local political situation in that year. Over a ten year period (1987-1997), Labour controlled local government, but within this time there had been five different leaders. In the 1998 local elections, however, Liverpool's Liberal Democrats gained control. Meegan (2003: 65) explains how they "enthusiastically pursued the agenda of modernisation of local government". This agenda entailed participation in central government's (New Labour) urban regeneration initiatives – new deal for communities and pathfinder. At the same time, as Liverpool was modernising its local government, attempts at bidding for projects were finally achieving success.

This 'entrepreneurial' and 'competitive' style of urban regeneration was coming to the forefront on many levels by the 1990s, largely driven by Liverpool City Council. It seems that a new voice representing the city could be heard in attempts made at bidding for large scale projects. In 1994 Liverpool City Council made a bid for the Arts 2000 initiative: 'City of Architecture and Design 1999'. Its vision promised cultural, economic and social benefits for the inhabitants from the status. When discussing 'Why Liverpool?' the historical significance of the port is again recalled in the bid document:

> Liverpool is an international city, historically connected as Port of Empire
> with the rest of the world; its mercantile importance evident in the
> grandeur of its buildings. Global influences in the city are also reflected
> in the culturally diverse make up of its population and the maintenance of

> links by different communities with their countries of origin (1994: n.p. in
> the 'Liverpool: World City' section).

The potential future significance of this global past is later presented as a possible place-marketing resource, as:

> Innovative educational activities will involve using Liverpool's own
> architectural heritage as a way of raising public awareness of the city's
> wealth of historical buildings and public monuments in a broader
> international context... (1994: n.p. in the 'Liverpool: World City' section).

The 'City of Architecture and Design' bid emphasised the importance of the built environment, and in particular the waterfront area, for achieving urban regeneration. Although this bid was lost to Glasgow, in 1999 Liverpool City Council (under the newly elected Liberal Democrat leader) made another bid, this time for World Heritage Site (WHS) status. To justify bidding for this title, the bid emphasised how useful the inscription would be for further regeneration in the city. In 2004, 'Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City' was granted UNESCO World Heritage Site status. For the Albert Dock and the waterfront in general, the bestowing of World Heritage Status was regarded as a substantial moment. This strategic use of the historical built environment in 2004 demonstrates a shift in 'ranking', through the competitive style of 'selling the city'. This shift can be noted through how titles that have been granted to the city are used. The prestige attached to WHS status in urban regeneration is explained in a report commissioned by the DCMS. This report discusses the intrinsic 'outstanding universal value', prestige and attraction of the UNESCO title. It describes the relationship between heritage and regeneration as being a 'new phenomenon', linked with culture and based on attracting visitors, residents and businesses and further investment from an improved image, with civic pride often based on "seal of quality for a location" (Price Waterhouse Coopers 2007: 30). The symbolic role of architecture reveals the former global status of Liverpool's waterfront and becomes an attribute to potentially be mobilised for future economic prosperity.

In 2003, Liverpool City Council (through the Liverpool Culture Company) bid for European Capital of Culture 2008 (ECoC08), as an opportunity to regenerate and bring European/International significance to the image of the

city. This new focus by Liverpool City Council on bidding for prestigious, large scale projects mobilises place into what Harvey (1990) would describe as the 'spectacular', a method of creating consciousness, and "a means to attract capital and people (of the right sort) in a period (since 1973) of intensified inter-urban competition and urban entrepreneurialism" (p. 92). Attempts to entice people and capital once again drew upon the city's history. Historically migration is an important part of the constitution of place; and attempts were made to position the city as 'diverse' – again framed as a positive attribute for a 'vibrant' city. Based on their work analysing the ECoC08 bid document and its ambivalent relationship to the governance of urban space, Jones and Wilks-Heeg (2007) describe the tension in such re-branding thus:

> the vague allusions to diversity and cosmopolitanism are misleadingly
> partial, the lived reality of Liverpool as including large degrees of
> inequality, racism and poverty, that, while not in keeping with the re-
> branded image of the city, shape the lives of many people in Liverpool
> (p. 204).

Management of the branded image here predominantly falls under the responsibility of the local authority, via the newly created Liverpool Culture Company, but also by other organisations such as the Urban Regeneration Company, Liverpool Vision and the Business Improvement District.

This bid for ECoC and the subsequent title in 2008 is the chosen second case study in this thesis. Therefore, this bid, and the organisations involved in the urban regeneration of Liverpool during this period, will be examined in much more detail in the remainder of this thesis.

Summary

As this thesis proposes to assess the ways in which people narrate and legitimate urban regeneration strategies, there is a need to appreciate the background to these constructions. This chapter has discussed something of the political, cultural and economic history of Liverpool in order to lay the ground for subsequent analysis of how representations of the city are incorporated into recent urban regeneration strategies in Liverpool. As with their historical antecedents, these contemporary characterisations are based on the need to portray a distinctive image of the city in the context of a

'cultural economy of cities' (Scott 1997). Furthermore, narratives necessarily have a connection with the past, which is often positioned in such a way to either give a linear representation of a current 'reality', or to provide a rationale for a disjuncture or a break in the ways in which business is done locally.

David Harvey's (1989 and 1993) work identifies how LAs construct images of place as part of urban regeneration initiatives directed at attracting mobile capital of various sorts. Historical narratives of cities provides scope to develop distinctive and resonant brands to this end, with the need to emphasise uniqueness as a valuable component of any 'entrepreneurial' city. This links between not only the history of the city and the intentional interpretive representation put forward for promotion in urban regeneration. But, also over time, certain characteristics of the city have received a more significant and varied role in the wider regeneration strategy of Liverpool. Examples of this can be evident under both local and central government level of leadership. The policy process for urban regeneration focusing on image is underpinned by a conviction that it is evidence-based, as 'selective' facts are employed to justify and rationalise concentrating on the representation of the city. Such evidence has been initially founded on following successful models from Europe and the US, and has been employed strategically, to be associated with both competition and globalisation.

Liverpool has been promoted simultaneously as a 'new' city and as an 'old' or historic city. On the one hand, attempts have been made to construct a vision of a new city, that can offer good business investment opportunities. On the other hand, such a vision actively returns to the past to justify its claims. Early attempts at revitalising Liverpool have also involved a focus on appropriating the concept of place in the regeneration of the city. Instances from 1914 onwards illustrate an attempt to transform representations of the city by appealing for new ventures. There have been three key attempts at transforming the city's representation: firstly, attention centred on attracting

businesses; there was then a shift to a focus on leisure; and subsequently, by the time of the MDC, emphasis was upon the role of the service sector. As a means of legitimising behaviour and the transformation of place, civic pride manages to give a shared sense of meaning which involves the inhabitants, not only institutions.

Although this chapter has only given a broad overview of urban regeneration policy in Liverpool, it has demonstrated how the conceptualisation of certain characteristics of Liverpool has become increasingly important in positioning the city, in order to give it a competitive advantage in its approach to seeking business and tourism investment. Key moments in the development of urban regeneration, and transforming the representation of Liverpool have direct relevance for the case studies presented in the thesis, and as such, this chapter has provided a crucial context to the empirical work that follows. Having established Liverpool as the primary research site, the following chapter goes on to discuss the methodological approach to the research.

Chapter Three – The Methods

Introduction

Chapter Two examined how the regeneration of Liverpool the city in which both case studies are situated has been described in the academic literature. It explained the process of change at a local level in which regeneration became implicit in a social transformation of place and considered the role of central government in advising the city to regenerate by focusing on the built environment. Another characteristic in this approach to urban regeneration entailed arranging representations of the city through the re-developed land in order to gain competitive advantage both nationally and internationally. This chapter will explain how the research will elicit an understanding of local decision-makers' roles in urban regeneration and their perceptions of the important characteristics of the city's representation. It will begin by explaining the choice of case studies and their relevance to the research question. It will then detail the research methods adopted in both case studies, namely documentary analysis and interviews. Detailed information is given on how the data was arranged for analysis (including the practical means of categorising the frames noted in the data), and how it was carried out using frame analysis. This chapter also reflects on issues of significance such as how people make sense of the past, and also discusses my own reflexivity, and ethical considerations.

In brief, two case studies of large scale urban regeneration initiatives were chosen, with qualitative interviews conducted with relevant decision-makers. This was accompanied by qualitative documentary analysis of policy, strategic and promotional material written at the time of both case studies. The data related to the two case studies was analysed using frame analysis (Goffman 1986). Frame analysis has been chosen as a means of understanding the commonality and unity in presenting urban regeneration through different terminology and time frames.

The Research Question

The research aims to analyse how certain narratives have come to the forefront in urban regeneration policy discourse. The primary research question addresses how Liverpool has been represented in local regeneration discourse, supplementary questions include:

1. Who have been the institutional actors framing regeneration policy and discourse in the periods under consideration?
2. Why did institutional actors focus on certain elements of Liverpool?
3. What specific characteristics of Liverpool's social and urban fabric have been prominent in regeneration discourse in the two periods under analysis (1984 and 2008)?

Qualitative methods were adopted in order to gain a deeper understanding of the reasoning in why and how certain characteristics of Liverpool have been employed to represent place for urban regeneration. As already explained in Chapter One, the thesis is building on key concepts already explored within the literature, with the research interest informed predominantly by the work of Harvey (1993) in which he asks what social processes are employed to construct place under capitalism as cities attempt to sell images in order to attract investment. It is the attempt taken at a local level to construct images of the city which this thesis examines, and how their narratives reveal uniqueness of place, whilst adhering to central government policy guidance and global expectations of a competitive city. The narratives analysed are those of what has been termed in the title to this thesis as 'Decision-Makers'. These are senior members of staff from organisations with a role in regenerating Liverpool, and were identified through background, documentary research as appropriate individuals, due to their responsibility in Liverpool's regeneration. The narratives given in the interviews and the information available in published documents will be analysed using frame analysis.

The two specific periods of history that will be examined are 1984 and 2008. The first era was chosen following background reading on the subject of what Harvey (1989) describes as the shift from 'managerialism to

entrepreneurialsim', with recognition of how Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) adopted this style of urban regeneration in the UK in 1981. The second era, of 2008 was chosen as an example of a more recent central government advocated approach to regeneration. Both examples incorporate large-scale events, with the expectation of transforming the negative representation of place, recognised as problematic for business and tourism investment. The projects chosen were the 1984 Waterfront redevelopment in Liverpool which incorporated the International Garden Festival (IGF) and the opening of the first phase of the Albert Dock; and the status of European Capital of Culture bestowed on Liverpool in 2008.

Contextualising the Case Studies

As can be noted from the timeline (Figure 1) given in the last chapter, the case studies need to be understood in relation to other initiatives happening simultaneously in Liverpool at a local, regional, central and European level.

With regard to the first case study, the Waterfront Redevelopment of 1984, although initiated by the MDC from a regional perspective, needs to be understood as being closely related to the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) received between 1975 and 1983. As already explained in Chapter Two, this structural fund was available for cities that were seeking new employment opportunities following de-industrialisation, and that were investing in heritage/culture as a component of regeneration. One of the main projects the ERDF financed in Liverpool was the redevelopment of one of the disused warehouses at the Albert Dock, as the Maritime Museum. In the same era, the MDC was gaining land control of the Albert Dock as a part of an overall regeneration strategy of Liverpool along its waterfront that would embrace the private sector. This is also the same era that immediately followed a period lasting nine years (1974 to 1983) in which not one party had controlled the city council. Such a lack of control in leadership (up until 1983, when Labour held a significant majority) meant that for years, no long-term regeneration initiatives were carried out locally. Therefore, with the arrival of a Trotskyist, militant Labour leadership, the regeneration initiatives carried out in Liverpool followed a practical focus, of resolving housing and

education issues – with this being in opposition to the regeneration approach taken by central government (and through the MDC) of enticing private developers to cities.

The second case study of ECoC08 follows the expectations of central government's advice regarding how to successfully regenerate deindustrialised cities. Here, at a local level, there is recognition of how the title of ECoC08 could be applied in order to gain tourism and business investment. Through establishing partnership between different (although predominantly the city council) organisations in Liverpool to be headed by the Liverpool Culture Company, not only could the partnership of City Challenge be recognised as coming to fruition, but also the advice given by the Urban Task Force of how cities should compete in order to gain business investment. The bid for ECoC08 also associates itself well with the earlier cultural pride of the 'Cool Britannia' vision of New Labour. Overall, however, and as will be discussed in much more detail later in this chapter, what was of a great significance in the Liverpool Culture Company bid for ECoC08 was how it focused on the use of the title for successful urban regeneration.

The Case Studies

It has already been mentioned that the research is based on two specific case studies:

- The Waterfront Redevelopment 1984
- European Capital of Culture 2008

The case study approach provided an appropriate means of studying how a representation of place has been constructed, maintained and mobilised over a period of time, through utilising specific characteristics of the city. As Yin (2003: 2) explains, the case study is a means of understanding complicated social occurrences, as it "allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events". Case based research is useful for 'how and why' questions due to its explanatory, theory building style that integrates a set of ideas as they are understood around a particular subject (Carson *et. al.* 2001). A case study can focus both on contemporary events

and on archival data (Yin 2003). A single city (Liverpool) was used for an appreciation of the 'local' in both case studies, and the political, social and economic context for this has already been discussed in Chapter Two. By utilising two case studies (focused on two different periods in history) the aim was to provide a broader and deeper understanding of how a city is constructed, maintained and mobilised in order to attract private investment.

Selection of the two large-scale events developed from background reading around urban regeneration in the UK. From the literature, the central role of Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) became apparent (as mentioned in Chapter Two), and following this, more reading on their projects and their purpose was undertaken. The first project was selected on the basis of learning that one of the first UDCs was responsible for following two overall formulas for regeneration that was based on image enhancement. Image enhancement formulas had already become accepted at an international level, such as garden festivals in Germany (Theokas 2004), and waterfront redevelopment in the USA (Clark 1985). Through the support of the Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC) both these formulas were proposed and became what I have termed the Waterfront Redevelopment of 1984. The project for the second case study meanwhile, was chosen as an exemplar of contemporary forms of post-industrial (or in the case of Liverpool, of a redundant dockland) regeneration, recognised within the discourse of being either 'culture-led' or 'event-led'. It was established by means of an Urban Regeneration Company, based on the co-ordination of the local authority, a regional development agency and private sector representation – which, on a local level, identify development opportunities by working in partnership with regional agencies[3]. The project identified as bringing regenerative opportunities to Liverpool was the submission of a bid to host Euroepean Capital of Culture 2008 (ECoC08).

Case Study One: The Waterfront Redevelopment 1984

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[3] See www.urcs-online.co.uk.

The Waterfront Redevelopment in Liverpool includes the 1984 International Garden Festival (IGF) and the preliminary phase of the redeveloped Albert Dock. Both these initiatives were administered by the then newly appointed Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC). They have been situated together as one case study, titled 'The Waterfront Redevelopment' as they were a part of a new way of working on regeneration, they appeared in one overall plan for Liverpool, created by the MDC, and both were waterfront based. The IGF was the first event of this kind in the UK, and was held in Liverpool from the 2nd May to the 14th October 1984 as a "test of the continental model as a vehicle for the investment of resources targeting inner-city development" (Theokas 2004: 145). The IGF was positioned on a 950,000 square metre site (www.bbc.co.uk/Liverpool), which needed clearing of industrial waste before the location could be landscaped. Such landscaping, it was believed, would then act as a catalyst for further development and private sector investment (Department of the Environment 1990). During the five and a half months that the festival was open, the event was regarded a great success from a tourism perspective, receiving over 3.4 million visitors according to evaluations carried out at the time (see NOP Market Research 1985). As Middleton (1991: 82) suggests, "the Festival's success validated the emphasis increasingly to be given to the tourism element in the Corporation's planning".

In the course of the same year, the first phase of the redeveloped Albert Dock was opened to the public. In 1952, the Albert Dock had been given Grade 1 Listed Building status, and by 1976 it was designated a Conservation Area by Liverpool City Council. In 1979, Merseyside County Council (MCC) was managing the Southern Docks (which includes the Albert Dock) and agreement had been achieved to utilise part of the docks as a Maritime Museum. However, the 'agreement' (between the MCC and the Maritime Museum) and the land were subsequently transferred to the MDC, and the MDC's key project became the re-development of the Albert Dock, which pursued a model of urban regeneration that was already popular in the United States, due to "extravagant claims about regeneration in cities like

Boston and Baltimore" (Hambleton 1991: 6). The MDCs policy for the site was aimed at leisure and tourism promotion, emphasising urban entrepreneurialism and visitor-based place-marketing. In 1986, the second MDC Chief Executive, John Ritchie, commented in the *Financial Times* that there had been no purpose in initially trying to gain business investment in Liverpool, as this would have been too expensive (cited in Meegan 1999). As Meegan (1999: 92) explains:

> In the first years of the MDCs life, urban entrepreneurialism was not on the political agenda. A fragmented local political base and a weak private sector undermined the development of the political coalitions that urban entrepreneurialism requires.

Therefore, the first two regeneration schemes by the MDC were large-scale projects that concentrated on image enhancement for tourist investment.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the MDC was instigated by central government, with Michael Heseltine in the role of the Secretary of State for the Department of the Environment (DoE) leading the corporation (Loftman and Nevin 1994). In 1980, the Department of the Environment published a paper entitled G*arden Exhibitions and the United Kingdom*, describing how the German *Bundesgartenschau* could also inspire an approach in the UK to reclaiming derelict land and prompting economic benefits through construction, employment and visitors expenditure (Department of the Environment 1990: 8). Therefore, through such guidance from the DoE, it was felt that in Liverpool, a combination of two large scale projects had the potential of resulting in urban regeneration: the redevelopment of the built environment that would follow the Baltimore Inner Harbour design, and the *Bundesgartenschau* as a large scale event that would, it was felt, alter the representation of Liverpool through impressive, large scale landscaping (*The Landscape Design* 1984). The first two examples acknowledged by central government from Europe and the new world were first used in the UK as a part of one overall initiative for urban regeneration, and tested in the same location: Liverpool.

Case Study Two: European Capital of Culture 2008

In 2003, Liverpool City Council formalised its intent to bid to central government to become the UK's nominee for European Capital of Culture 2008 (ECoC08). In what became a competition between cities that sought to regenerate with the involvement of culture, Liverpool, NewcastleGateshead, Bristol, Cardiff, Oxford and Birmingham were all on the shortlist for the event. Griffiths (2006: 419) suggests that "[t]he choice of the UKs nominee for 2008 has involved the most rigorous, and fiercely contested, selection process to date" for an ECoC city. Griffiths also notes how encouragement was given by central government through the bidding process to local authorities that would potentially use the title of being 'European Capital of Culture' to support a regeneration agenda. The importance given to the regeneration agenda through image enhancement could be noted in the Liverpool City Council bid document, with two of the four objectives for 2008 being regeneration led: "Developing a positive profile and image of the city in the region, Europe and internationally, and increasing the confidence and pride of its citizens" [and...] "Marketing the city effectively as a good place to live, to invest or to visit" (Liverpool Culture Company 2003: 301). Later within the same document, a promise was made to learn from other cities that had been involved in regeneration through culture: "[t]he city instinctively knew the importance of the prize [ECoC08] and that the Glasgow experience 10 years earlier was exactly the model for Liverpool at the start of a new century under a new administration" (Liverpool Culture Company 2003: 701). The document also explains that "Liverpool has long-term plans to become one of the major festival cities of Europe. We aim to sit alongside such major cities as Avignon and Barcelona, Edinburgh and Salzburg" (*ibid.*: 801), clearly positioning these cities as examples to be imitated. As such, Liverpool's ECoC08 bid is a highly appropriate case study: since it is one of the most recent attempts taken to regenerate a city within the discourse of being 'culture-led' or 'event-led', and one which also concentrated on constructing, maintaining and mobilising characteristics of Liverpool, as a feature for image enhancement.

Documentary Analysis

Documentary analysis became an essential element of the research. As explained in the introduction to this chapter, it provided information on which organisations were actually involved in shaping urban regeneration in Liverpool, and also the necessary background information on who should be interviewed. Documentary analysis provided an opportunity to understand how an intentional definition of regeneration has been articulated, and give an insight into how Liverpool was represented *at particular points in time*. Documentary analysis, therefore, has been utilised for the two case studies, and is a measurable way of recognising how certain qualities of Liverpool were mobilised and shaped "the specific strategies that led to 'our present' as well as those that were rejected or seen to 'fail'" (Rapley 2007: 119). A range of material was analysed "to show the 'styles of thought' as they emerge, consolidate and compete across and between texts" (*ibid.*). Documentary analysis involved examining text from publications written at the time of the case studies, as this demonstrated "how the specific issues it [the rhetorical work of the text] raises are structured and organized and chiefly *how it seeks to persuade you* about the authority of its understanding of the issue" (*ibid.*: 113 emphasis in the original). The publications analysed included business material, aimed at policy advisers and general dissemination, as well as promotional material that specifically targeted the business investor/tourist (see Appendix E).

The organisations that have published the documents analysed in this thesis are clarified in Chapter Four. Here however there is a need to explain how I have defined the documents. As can be noted in Appendix E, the documents analysed are described, and the descriptors include: 'promotional material aimed at visitors', 'promotional material aimed at potential business investors', 'information for tourists', 'information for investors', 'strategic documents' and 'policy documents'. 'Promotional material aimed at visitors', are documents, often with 'glossy' pictures, written by the organisation to the general visitor to Liverpool. Such visitors can be tourists or the inhabitants attending an event/exhibition/new tourist location. 'Promotional material aimed at business investors' as the name suggests is marketing literature

written for prospective investors. These investors include developers and businesses considering moving to the newly redeveloped land. Strategic documents are those written for mapping out organisational decisions, explaining action to be taken and how specific targets will be met. Policy documents differ to that of strategic documents, as they consider the overarching aims of the organisation and are the responsibility of senior managers. By considering such data, the ways in which representations of the city were deployed and how they conceptualised Liverpool in urban regeneration initiatives could be analysed from a variety of perspectives based on various target audiences (this information is included in the analysis given in Chapters Five, Six and Seven). The role given to Liverpool in these official documents demonstrates the approach taken at urban regeneration; especially as "descriptions are never neutral but produce a specific understanding of the world" (Rapley 2007: 115). They inform the reader of how they should appreciate the reimaged city, and articulate premeditated assumptions around urban regeneration.

For the Waterfront Redevelopment of 1984 case study in particular, there was a need to also acknowledge that these documents are archival records (they date back to the late 1970s and the early 1980s). For this reason there was a need to be aware of how the documents were determined, the situation under which they were produced, and how 'truthful' they were (Yin 2003), and of particular relevance to this thesis, how they had been constructed (Hacking 1999). Such research ensured an understanding of why such documents were produced, and who the proposed audience was. Therefore, the purpose and the intended audience of the documents was clearly researched by me before interpretation and analysis was carried out. This background research was based around central government policy of the period and was undertaken in order to achieve an enhanced understanding of the local, social, political and cultural situation of the city (which is explained in Chapters Two and Four).

Analysis for the 1984 and 2008 case study involved categorising the central and local government publications written at the time, and assessing their relevance. Promotional material published for business and tourism investment was analysed and subsequently identified through a mapping exercise of institutional bodies that had a direct role in shaping the regeneration agenda followed in Liverpool. The textual references examined were local, regional and central government documents related to urban regeneration that were published and effective at the time of the case studies: 1984 and 2008. From this analysis the relationship between agents involved in urban regeneration in Liverpool was revealed, as were representations of the qualities deemed as important for Liverpool's image, and why only certain elements were focused upon. To identify the intent, Rapley (2007: 118), explains how documentary analysis is a useful technique "to trace the 'birth' and development of specific discourses and so offer alternative readings of the problem alongside alternative solutions", particularly as it impacts upon how ideas emerge. Although the thesis does not attempt 'to trace the birth' of urban regeneration, it does attempt to identify the construction, maintenance and mobilisation of characteristics of Liverpool's representation within urban regeneration programmes, and therefore seeks to be aware of how urban regeneration discourses have evolved in this particular city.

Interviews

To understand how representations of the city of Liverpool have been constructed, maintained and mobilised in order to attract private investment, it was appropriate to interview individuals who have had a significant involvement in the regeneration of Liverpool, namely, decision-makers. From reading documents relating to both case studies as background research, a list of all the organisations involved in Liverpool's regeneration and the chosen case studies was produced. For each organisation, key individuals mentioned in the documents or from further research on the organisation was contacted to be interviewed (a list of the organisations involved is given in Appendix A). As will be explained in more detail in Chapter Four, when

presenting the data for the Waterfront Redevelopment 1984 case study, what can be noted is that only a limited number of organisations were involved. There are two significant potential explanations for this. Firstly, that the influence of central government in Liverpool in the early 1980s was so effective, opportunities for non developer-led involvement was minimal (for more on central government's control in this era, see Chapters One and Two). Secondly, the era of 'partnership' had not yet appeared as a strong discourse for urban regeneration (for more on this see Hastings 1996 and Chapter One). For the European Capital of Culture 2008 (ECoC08) case study, although only nine individuals (from six organisations were interviewed), it became apparent that only at this organisational level were the senior members of staff involved in directing urban regeneration. In some instances, more than one member of staff from the same organisation was interviewed, this was to ensure that different aims and objectives within an organisation could be understood, depending on their position. The expectation was that this would provide an opportunity to examine their views of the defining characteristics in how Liverpool was/is represented and their perspectives of urban regeneration. These perspectives would thus demonstrate how certain characteristics of the city were constructed, maintained and mobilised.

The interviews opened up opportunities to discuss the decision-makers role in urban regeneration; it provided information on how they perceived Liverpool's representation and problems contended with. Throughout the interview process, as an interviewer, I had two main tasks: "(a) to follow your line of inquiry, as reflected by your case study protocol, and (b) to ask your actual (conversational) questions in an unbiased manner that also serves the needs of your line of inquiry" (Elliot 2005: 89-90). During the interviews, decision-makers involved in leading urban regeneration in Liverpool were asked open-ended questions on how Liverpool could be regenerated through either the Waterfront Redevelopment or ECoC08. This style of interviewing presented the interviewees with an opportunity to discuss and explain their own perceptions of urban regeneration. In opposition to this, a focused

interview would not have given such a broad insight into the decision-makers' views. Gerson and Horowitz (2002: 201-202) explain how "interviews provide the opportunity to examine how large-scale social transformations are experienced, interpreted, and ultimately shaped by the responses of strategic social actors", and it is this response to how Liverpool should be constructed, maintained and mobilised that the interviews revealed. Interviews were recorded and transcribed, with the transcripts stored securely (paper and electronic version).

For the second case study of ECoC08, as the interviews were carried out during the year of the event, or soon after, I have included the date of the interview in Appendix A. By giving the date of the interview, it is possible to ascertain what other elements of Liverpool were focused on at that period, with certain issues raising discussion in the local and national media. For more on media analysis of Liverpool and ECoC08, see the Media Impact Assessment report by Impacts 08[4].

Negotiating the past: how some people remember

The written and verbal narratives for this thesis revisit past urban regeneration concerns, some of which date back to nearly thirty years ago (in the case of the 1984 Waterfront Redevelopment). For this reason, accessing the ways in which people 'remember the past' constituted a key challenge for this thesis' methodology. What Shotter (1990) terms the 'social construction of remembering'– that is, how the past is negotiated in the present (see also Misztal 2003) requires an awareness of the "*rhetorical* (or argumentative) process" (Shotter 1990: 131) involved in narrators' (re)constructing past events, whereby they seek to communicate a 'favourable' impression of their actions. Misztal (2003) explains how as a 'process of negotiation', memory of the past is transformed as a means of understanding the present. Therefore, the process by which decision-makers' made sense of their role in urban regeneration from 1979 onwards, and defined specific characteristics

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[4] The Media Impact Assessment Report is available at
http://www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08/Publications/Media_Impact_Assessment_part_2.pdf

retrospectively, was important to understand. This is so as not only have past perceptions shaped present approaches to how Liverpool has been constructed, maintained and mobilised, but also the present focus on certain elements of Liverpool has impacted on an understanding of the past, with past actions paving the way for current regeneration initiatives. It is also worth noting how the narratives given in the interviews may enforce coherence on how urban regeneration was understood. Said (2000: 179) explains (in relation to research on the rise of Zionism and its impact on Palestinians) how "...the process of memory are frequently, if not always manipulated and intervened in for sometimes urgent purposes in the present".

The relationship between the past and the present concentrated my attention on both collective memory and the personal recollections of decision-makers, which impacted on the 'collective' present. This recognition of how the past is designated within memory is also discussed by Radley (1990), who argues that certain events are remembered and 'marked' at a later date, without being intentionally recognised as important at the time. Therefore, how decision-makers misremember or misrepresent their role in regeneration initiatives needed to be considered. Given this, the documentary analysis element of my research is particularly valuable as a means of triangulation. As Chapter One argued, the built environment has a great significance in urban regeneration, both at a symbolic level and in terms of attempts to gain financial returns from the property market (Hall and Hubbard 1998). The built environment is therefore described as an announcement to developers and the public that a city is changing. For this reason, it is also important to be aware of what Radley (1990: 49) terms the 'fabricated environment', and the impact this can have on the construction of memory due to its "tangible expression of the basis from which one remembers, the material aspect of the setting which justifies the memories so constructed". Therefore, how urban regeneration was comprehended in relation to the first case study covered in this thesis, needed to demonstrate an awareness of how the built environment induced a concentration on elements of Liverpool that were

dependent on tangible symbolic representations. The key to understanding what decision-makers tell now about the 1984 regeneration project is the fact that they may differ from the narratives which they would have expressed in 1984, due to the discursive meanings that the physical 'product' has acquired over the years influencing the concerns, ideas and motives behind the project's inception. This issue has been addressed by ensuring that it is the ideas *at the time* not *later* problems that are analysed.

The material characteristics of a city, acknowledged as elements of the past that feed into the present, are also recognised by Misztal (2003: 71), who defines such material dimension as "representations of the past embodied in historical evidence and symbolic structures". As already discussed, the main representations of the city in regeneration are very much based on their symbolic value, or ability to gain material value – for example, in terms of large scale redevelopment of the built environment, or by utilising large scale events that symbolically occur as a 'catalyst' for change. Therefore, when former events are discussed as central for urban regeneration, it is important to recognise and examine the events as relative to both historical and contemporary contexts. Bridger (1996) takes this argument further by pointing to research that has found that when narrations of place are based on history, they tend to be employed in order to justify a continuity in representing a place in that particular style. It is not continuity that this thesis aims to understand however, rather it is how particular characteristics of Liverpool have been employed and justified for urban regeneration.

Data Analysis

Frame analysis was used to analyse the data relating to how representations of the city of Liverpool have been constructed, maintained and mobilised by decision-makers in order to attract private investment. This is a particular relevant approach since it allows conceptualisation of such urban regeneration narratives. Frame Analysis originates from Goffman's (1986) work, in which he describes how individuals negotiate their behaviour. Rather than analyse theories, Goffman uses insights to construct an understanding

of how individuals make sense of what is going on. This leads to conceptualising interaction to examine how meaning is perceived. Hallahan (1999: 229) explains how "framing strategies operate simultaneously at multiple levels". Frame analysis involves recognising the construction of social reality and assists in shaping the perspectives through which people understand the world. It is this meaning (in the context of how urban regeneration is discussed in Liverpool) that the research seeks to reveal.

Goffman (1986) does not attempt to describe how frame analysis should be carried out, rather he shows numerous examples of how experience is organised, from which it is possible to recognise the basic behavioural frameworks and how they should be analysed. Due to the lack of instruction given by Goffman, it was vital that I examined as many examples of frame analysis as possible, from which a clearer insight of how to analyse the data could emerge. One of the key texts that informed my understanding of how to carry out frame analysis was Gamson's (1992) research into how people make sense of politics. The in-depth explanation on how the research was carried out and the process undertaken to code the frames managed to supplement the lack of instruction by Goffman (1986). Gamson's (1992) work also demonstrated how frame analysis could be employed to examine the construction of meaning on policies. Whilst the focus of Gamson's work was on interviewing the general public, it became apparent that this form of analysis could also be employed to analyse how decision-makers construct a meaning around specific policies (those related to urban regeneration).

Frame analysis has also been employed to analyse written text, for example, Strom and Cook's (2004) paper considers how the discourse around sponsoring the arts in the United States has changed from the 1960s to the 1990s. As data, they analysed debates held in congress and articles from the *New York Times*. Whilst the documents being considered differ greatly from those relevant to my research, Strom and Cook provide another point of reference and demonstrate that frame analysis can be carried out on written material, where the style of presenting the frame is more refined and specific

than that given in an interview. Frame analysis has also successfully been used to examine how the media portrays issues. This has been extensively documented by D'Angelo and Kuypers (2010). It is however essential to state that this is not the intent of my research, as rather, what is of interest for this thesis is how decision-makers initially construct, maintain and mobilise certain representations of place within their publications, rather than how they are disseminated and mobilised externally by the media.

Issues that need to be distinguished in relation to the first case study relate to retrospective research, and have already been noted (see section on 'negotiating the past'). In acknowledgement of this, there has been a need to bear in mind that "[f]rames are not static characterisations but change with time" (Hallahan 1999: 229). To this end, framing guides the perception and representation of reality at a particular time, in that some elements become noted. Frames tend to be unconsciously used although, in narratives, words such as 'because', 'since' and 'so' suggest how those interviewed wish to be interpreted. It has thus been possible to identify the intent, through an awareness of a particular issue or event and how it has been shaped in relation to a broader conception of urban regeneration.

Instead of only concentrating on how frame analysis has been employed for research, it is also worth understanding how Goffman's original concept has been developed. Here the work of Snow and Benford (1988) is very illustrative and has been chosen as the key point of reference for this thesis. They explain how support for certain actions is fostered through consensus and action mobilisation (which is based on the work of Klandermans 1984). They develop this theory, as they find Klandermans' (1984) work lacking in detail on the active relationship between "ideational elements, movement activity and participation" (Snow and Benford 1988: 199). Therefore, following Wilson's (1973) classification of ideology into three components, they conclude that frame analysis involves three core framing tasks, which direct agreement and generate appropriate action. These tasks are:

- **Diagnostic framing** – Here an event (or 'an aspect of social life') is diagnosed as problematic, and requires alteration. It involves identifying a problem with blame or recognition of the cause. Snow and Benford recognise that the identification of the problem is often realised in agreement, however, unanimity in assigning blame or cause tends to be more challenging.

- **Prognostic framing** – This involves a proposed solution to the diagnosed problem, which gives detail on what needs to be done. It entails strategies, tactics and targets. The authors explain that suggested solutions may not follow exactly from the blame and causes given in the diagnostic framing, they do however recognise that 'more often than not' there is consistency between diagnostic and prognostic framing.

- **Motivational framing** – Summons support for involvement, by rationalising the need for reform or 'corrective action'. The authors explain that it goes beyond the diagnosis and prognosis, arguing that as the cause and solution does not inevitably show the way to 'corrective action', then "consensus mobilization does not automatically produce corrective action" (p. 202) either. The purpose of motivational frames is to urge a certain action.

Snow and Benford (1988) argue that success in 'participant mobilization' depends on the scale to which these three tasks are present. The stronger and more developed these three tasks are, the more advanced and successful is the mobilisation achievement. They also note however, that there are constraints in these framing tasks. As this thesis examines how certain ideas around urban regeneration have come to the forefront, it is important to comprehend how claims resonate with the audience. To this end, they describe how influence is presented in frames by directing mobilisation, and that this can be identified through 'experiential commensurability': how claims can instigate association with the audiences' everyday lives. Another significant aspect of relevance to the analysis with how people support certain actions over others is what Snow and Benford

term 'Cycles of Protest'. In this instance they recognise the salience of time that when the movement emerges impacts on its awareness and support. They clarify the role of time by explaining how early movements tend to have more impact, and that later movements are constrained by earlier frames. Therefore, whether framing of the second case study of ECoC08 is influenced by earlier frames and other urban regeneration engagement may become apparent (as the two case studies for this thesis follow the entrepreneurial approach taken to urban regeneration (Harvey 1989)).

Snow and Benford (1988) emphasise that the factors mentioned are not comprehensive, but rather propose that they can be the basis from which further concepts and theories can be built. To this end, the three core framing tasks and the constraints and propositions will be applied to the research, where they have some bearing on the frames identified. Figure Two explains in more detail how the core framing tasks derived from Snow and Benford (1988) have been applied in the thesis.

Two Infrastructural Constraints of Belief Systems (based on the earlier work of Borhek and Curtis 1975 and Converse 1964):
1. Centrality or hierarchal salience of an idea
2. Range of the central idea

Three Phenomenological constraints:
1. Empirical credibility
2. Experiential commensurability

Three core framing tasks:
1. Diagnostic framing
2. Prognostic framing
3. Motivational framing

Three main propositions from Cycles of protest (loosely based on Snow et. al. 1986 and Turner 1969)
1. Impact of when the movement emerges
2. Early movements tend to have more impact
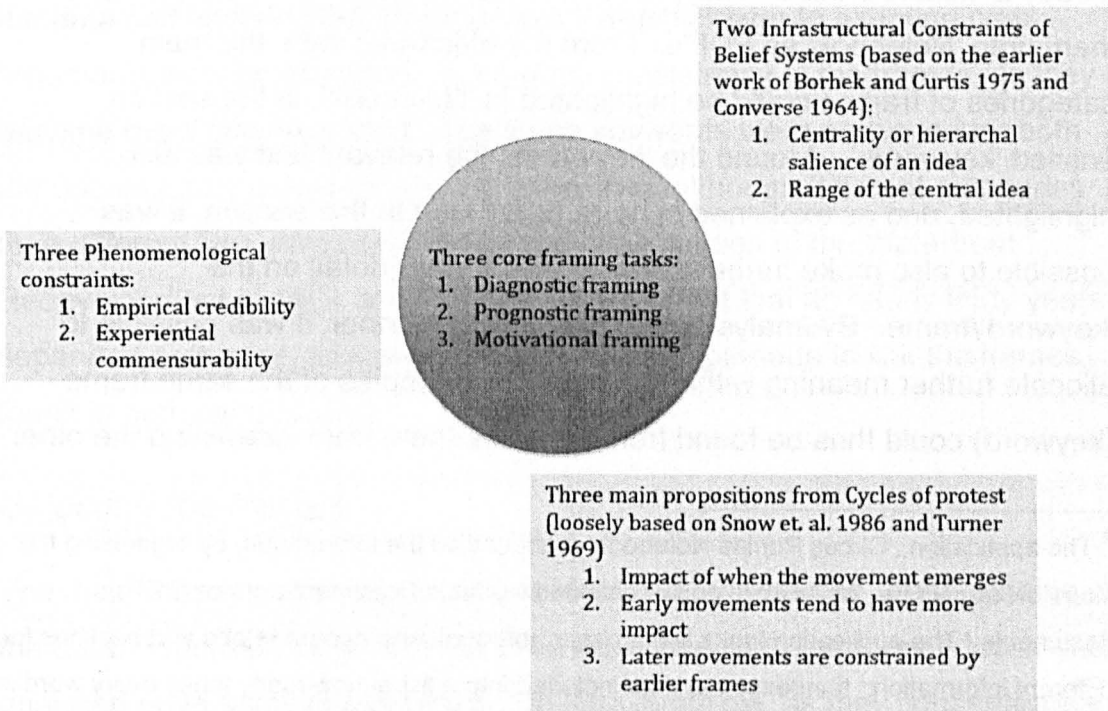3. Later movements are constrained by earlier frames

Figure 2: A visual representation of frame analysis in relation to Snow and Benford's (1988) 'conceptual scaffolding'

Computer Assissted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS)

To organise and make sense of the data, analysis was required, which gave scope for opportunities to refine the interpretation of the documents and interviews. All documents were downloaded to 'Circus Ponies Notebook' application[5], where it was possible to make notes on the data, highlight important sections and assign frames (termed 'keywords' in the notebook application), that were listed in a separate section of 'Notebook'.

The data for the case studies were downloaded to separate 'Notebook' files, with the main frames identified from reading the data, and recognised in the notes made. For the first case study (1984), all of the documentary evidence made available to me, was given in paper format, or copied from archives at the Liverpool Record Office, this meant that I did not have an electronic version to download to the Notebook application. Therefore, in order to have a copy available electronically, I scanned all the documents, and downloaded them onto 'Notebook' as PDF's. From the electronic data, the main categories of frames could be highlighted in 'Notebook', in the section entitled 'keywords'. Around the 'keywords' the relevant text was also highlighted, and as explained in more detail later in this section, it was possible to also make further notes to give further detail on the 'keyword'/frame. By analysing the data in this manner, it was possible to allocate further meaning within the setting. Examples of the same frame (keyword) could thus be found from the data, then, from examining the other

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[5] The application, 'Circus Ponies Notebook' managed all the information, by organising the interview transcripts, other word documents and Portable Document Format (PDF) documents. The application looks like a paper notebook with separate tabs and sections for different information. It indexes the data included into a list of how many times every word is used, and when extra notes and keywords are inserted to the data. This then becomes a means of categorising the data. For word documents and PDFs, extra notes could be added easily, in a manner that organises the data clearly for further analysis. All information (including the notes) from the original documents could then be retrieved via the searching system in the 'Multidex' Section (For an example of the multidex section, see Appendix C).

examples listed, other instances could be found, with the full context of the highlighted text also on display. Although the frames were at times similar, by looking in more detail at the background and context, it was possible to compare the instances in which the category was established, and to ask further questions, to explain how the issues were framed. By using the list of keywords, it was possible to draw a hierarchy of the most used frames, which meant that 'keywords' (the frames) could be dropped or amalgamated to others, as applicable.

Even though the 'Notebook' application was used to categorise the main frames, and to return to the original context from which the categories were noted, it must be made clear, that the analysis was not carried out by the application[6]. Using an electronic means of coding with 'Notebook' made the process much easier however, as it gave extensive opportunities for adaptation. For example, I could change the keywords to make them more suitable, following repeated readings of the data. This repeated reading of the data and verifying the frames made it much clearer to examine how arguments were constructed, which gave consistency to the frames, as they become more clearly refined. The same keywords were employed for both the documentary evidence and the interviews, although different categories (in a different file) were used for the two case studies of the Waterfront Redevelopment of 1984 and ECoC08. This meant that as nearly thirty years separated both case studies, there was no attempt made to link the frames found in both case studies.

Selecting the frames

The main frames within the data were identified by repeated, close reading of the data. The material gained from the interviews, and the formal documents analysed gave some complexity to the data available, as they conceptualised a means of constructing, maintaining and mobilising certain elements of Liverpool for a selected audience, and in a different time-frame. For this

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[6] I feel the need to stress that I created the categories and decided on what would be included, and how this would be presented in the thesis.

reason, when examining the data, as the documents were written at a particular time, for a specific audience, this was acknowledged when carrying out the analysis, through referring to the contextual information given in Chapter Two.

Careful analysis of the text was achieved by reading the range of documents and transcripts, to ascertain how the large scale programmes (the specific case studies) were assigned a role in promoting specific characteristics of the city and in regeneration in general. Evidence of principal frames became apparent, as they were familiar to a number of the interview transcripts, and/or documents analysed. Explanations of how regeneration should be achieved gave cohesion to the manner in which elements of the city's representation were framed as being vital for private investment. Once the key frames were identified (and coded as 'keywords'), it was possible to reveal and examine how they had been negotiated and assembled in a way which privileged particular aspects of the city over others in an attempt to attract private investment to Liverpool.

The multi-method approach

As can be noted in this chapter, there is a variety of methods employed in order to answer the research question. Two case studies, of the Waterfront Redevelopment of 1984 and ECoC in 2008 have been chosen to demonstrate how representations of a particular city, Liverpool, has been constructed, maintained and mobilised at specific periods of history. Archival and contemporary documentary analysis has been imperative for two reasons, firstly, it has given background information on which key organisations were involved in Liverpool's urban regeneration, and secondly; it has demonstrated how particular representations of Liverpool have been intentionally articulated to a variety of audiences at the time of both urban regeneration initiatives. Interviews with senior members of staff from relevant organisations have provided information that would not have been available only through archival and documentary analysis and that is the narratives of these individuals. These narratives offer an insight to how they

(through their organisational role) make sense of urban regeneration, and choose to highlight particular attributes of the city that can be constructed maintained and mobilised. Therefore, archival and documentary analysis with the interview data, ensures that a range of material can be analysed, written or justified verbally for different audiences, which gives an encompassing consideration of urban regeneration at the time (and after) the two case studies of 1984 and 2008.

By analysing this data using frame analysis it becomes possible to recognise how representations of the city are constructed and the direction through which sense is made of urban regeneration. The use of frame analysis for the case studies data gives an opportunity to situate specific elements into key events of the time and the discourses that are prevalent at these points. Through carrying out the analysis using an electronic tool, it becomes possible to be certain that the frames chosen in the diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing task are meticulously tested as appropriate. This could be assured by reviewing the data and analytical notes made, and going back and forth to validate the frames chosen and examining the data in context. Through returning to different data, it was possible to compare and contrast the frames and reflect on the purpose of the document and its audience in an easy manner. In this sense, the frames could be carefully analysed with any problems highlighted in an easy to find electronic format, which could thus be further analysed and appropriately designated a frame. This also helped with ensuring that the naming of the frames was managed in a manner that detailed the meaning of the frame, whilst also recognising the different terminology included in the text analysed.

Reflexivity

Of particular importance for research, before the interviews and during the analysis, is recognition of the context in which the researcher prepares their questions and reads the data (Boyatzis 1998), and how the researcher's involvement affects that data (Ravn 1991). Goffman (1986) in his work on frame analysis emphasised the need to be reflective in all aspects of life,

explaining how what we think we are doing affects how something is actually done. In the 'Foreword' to *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organisation of Experience*, Berger explains about Goffman that:

> He was so much the connoisseur of interaction that in order to get beyond the observation to the theory that he had to keep revealing to himself the sources of his own insights by pushing his analysis to more and more abstract levels. In this way he hoped to understand *how* he managed to perceive meanings in interactions that participants themselves did not (p. xiii).

The manner in which the data has been analysed through frame analysis will be discussed in more detail later in this Chapter.

Apart from the researcher's influence, moreover, there is also a need to think about how my own research continues an intervention into an understanding of debates regarding urban regeneration in its own right. Bourdieu (1990) suggests that the 'habitus', the personal characteristics, which generate certain perceptions are regarded as natural, but assumes the reflexive means of instructing knowledge, and of organising representation. It warns us of the need to be continuously reflexive in perceptions of one's position when conducting research and analysis. Ravn (1991) suggests that when carrying out the analysis there is a need to be considerate of other alternatives and perspectives. As already explained when setting out the research questions in this chapter, this thesis, and subsequent analysis of the data draws on the work of David Harvey (1993), who questions how place is constructed under capitalism. To this end, the analysis here takes as a preconception that the drive taken by LAs to be entrepreneurial impacts on how place is constructed, maintained and mobilised for urban regeneration. However, as the aim of this research is not to evaluate urban regeneration initiatives, but rather to deconstruct the narratives given through frame analysis, in this sense, it remains possible to recognise and respect the various insights found in the data.

When arranging the main issues to be discussed during the interviews, I made every attempt to make certain that the questions were open-ended, to elicit participants' perspectives on what is important and avoid steering the

conversation towards topics deemed significant by me. When analysing the interview data and writing up notes, I was aware of the need to be critical of my own interpretations, as Wengraf (2001: 38) cautions:

> [m]eaning is not transferred, only messages (consisting of bundles of signs...) into which meanings have been subtly or grossly encoded that may be decoded by the recipient in ways that are subtly or grossly different from those intended by the sender.

Therefore, whilst every effort was made to be critical of my own position in the analysis, there is also a need to acknowledge that my own background reading within the field will have informed my analysis to an extent. For this reason I have endeavoured to take on the advice to: "be reflexive about your own practices, critically reflect on how you have rendered a specific version of the world" (Rapley 2007: 130). This was achieved by being critical of my own interpretations and re-reading them closely against the data. Similarly, when reading the data seeking frames, every attempt was made not to project my own characteristics, emotions, values or attitudes onto the analysis (Boyatzis 1998). I thus paid attention to detail, and was consistent in the method used to decipher frames; however, I was also aware that a particular "challenge to the qualitative researcher is to use thematic analysis to draw the richness of the themes from the raw information without reducing the insights to a trivial level for the sake of consistency of judgment" (*ibid*.: 14). This was nonetheless easier to achieve, as it was the different voices in how urban regeneration was being discussed, and not my own categorisation that were to be heard. By not attempting to categorise certain representations of Liverpool, the ambiguity could be observed.

With the first case study, it seemed that the interviewees enjoyed the opportunity to talk at length to someone that was interested in their experiences, especially as it gave them the chance of reflecting on their earlier work. For the second case study, however, not everyone felt that the research was beneficial and worth becoming involved, and this became a methodological concern. As my thesis involved more than one research method, this could be identified as a technique of resolving any ethical dilemmas regarding such a lack of involvement in a convenient manner

(Brewer and Hunter 1989). An example of this concerned my inability to attain an interview with one key stakeholder. Numerous attempts were made at contact, yet e-mails and telephone calls were not returned and I was unable to find another contact person from the organisation (more information on this will be given in Chapter Four when presenting the data). For this reason, by using a multi-method approach, it allowed me to adopt an alternative angle and I chose instead to concentrate on document analysis in relation to this organisation; as explained by Brewer and Hunter (1989: 193) "... by combining two or more ethically appropriate methods, one may heighten the validity of research to a level approaching that of a single best-fit method".

Ethical Considerations

In the interests of ethical practice, the research was conducted in accordance with the Ethical Guidelines presented by the British Sociological Association Code of Ethics in their *Statement of Ethical Practice* (March 2002, updated May 2004), and the University of Liverpool Ethics process. A project proposal based on their criteria that assessed the risks or benefits of the research was submitted to the University of Liverpool Ethics Committee prior to the fieldwork, and ethical approval was obtained.

Given its focus on factual, policy issues, and the fact that the participants did not include any vulnerable groups, the ethical issues raised by this research have been minimal. The main ethical concern was protecting the anonymity of those that had agreed to be interviewed. I have chosen to use the term 'anonymity' here, rather than 'confidentiality' as "[a]nonymity is a question of degree. It can be satisfied in a weak form, at least sometimes, by changing certain identifying details..." (Wengraf 2001: 187), whereas, "[c]onfidentiality is a stronger requirement since it indicates that certain confidential material may not be used in any form, however anonymized" (*ibid.*). I assured all participants that any information they provided would be treated with anonymity, and that their names would be removed in the writing up and publication process; it was also explained verbally in advance of the interview

that any references to details which could identify the interviewee would be eliminated. Apart from this verbal assurance, informed consent was obtained from all interviewees, who were asked to read a short information sheet about my research and asked to sign a consent form which stated that they understood the information sheet, and were voluntarily agreeing to take part (see Appendix B).

Answering the research questions

The research theme and sub questions were given in the beginning of this chapter, and here, an overview of how exactly my chosen methods have been able to answer these questions will be given. As explained, the research sets out to recognise how certain narratives have come to the forefront in urban regeneration policy discourse. Frame analysis provides an opportunity to analyse how certain issues are communicated, and therefore how specific regeneration discourses have become more prominent than others, through the manner in which they are conveyed. By analysing interviews with decision-makers and regeneration policies, strategic documents and promotional material, what is deemed as important for a successful urban regeneration initiative can be detected through how success is interpreted.

The sub questions were the following three questions, and the method of answering each one is given:
1. Who have been the institutional actors framing regeneration policy and discourse in the periods under consideration?
   There is more than one way in which this question has been taken into account. Firstly, background reading on the subject of urban regeneration in Liverpool (as discussed in Chapter Two) has given an overall idea of the main organisations involved in urban regeneration in these two periods of history. Secondly, within the analysis of the data, the institutional actors who were responsible for certain discourses of urban regeneration becoming dominant became evident, through the manner in which the role of certain individuals/organisations is implied as

important, and how specific initiatives are justified through the fact that they are adhering to certain discourses.

2. Why did institutional actors focus on certain elements of Liverpool? Without specifically asking this question during the interviews (in order to ensure that no assumptions were made), it is the manner in which certain elements of Liverpool have been described as important which is analysed. This was analysed through how investment in certain projects are discussed as important. Central government policies written around the time of both case studies have also been analysed to recognise how support for regeneration at a local level is presented, with certain values emphasised.

3. What specific characteristics of Liverpool's social and urban fabric have been prominent in regeneration discourse in the two periods under analysis (1984 and 2008)?

The prominence given to specific characteristics of Liverpool in how it has been represented is identified through how decision-makers perceive certain characteristics as having a positive effect on Liverpool. In the strategic and policy documents analysed, the focus given to specific characteristics are recognised, particularly through how it is discussed that some are already esteemed assets, and for others, there needs to be further investment made. In a similar manner, with the promotional material analysed, the characteristics employed to represent Liverpool are evident, as they are being mentioned positively, and considered as worth noting to the public.

Therefore, by using frame analysis, the research questions can be answered, as the manner in which urban regeneration is discussed, and the beliefs construed about appropriate representation of the city can be revealed. Also, through the variation in data analysed, the process in which an overall regeneration discourse has become dominant can be noted.

Summary

This chapter has highlighted the methods used to carry out the research, and explained the main problems in accessing data and conducting the analysis

of documents written for strategic and promotional purposes. In summary, a multi-methods approach was adopted that included qualitative interviews with local decision-makers and documentary analysis. Two case studies were studied, both based in Liverpool. The first case study was the Waterfront Redevelopment of Liverpool in 1984, and the second case study was ECoC08. The data was analysed using frame analysis for the purpose of understanding how certain narratives have come to the forefront in urban regeneration policy discourse. The next chapter follows with an overview of the data collected, in order to demonstrate clearly how the frames were chosen.

Chapter Four – The Case Studies: Presentation of the data

Introduction

Chapter Three described how the research was carried out, the means of analysis and the aspects which needed to be considered when analysing the data, both from the perspective of being reflective and due to the type of data gathered. It highlighted the importance of clearly explaining not only when the data was collected for retrospective analysis, but also detailing the type of audience for which the documents were intended. To give a clearer understanding of the data, this chapter contextualises the research findings, without analysing the data. Describing the data in such a way allows for an explanation of the frames that emerge from the data. The main themes found within the frames will be discussed, to illustrate the breadth of information obtained and to demonstrate the diversity of ways in which representations of Liverpool have been constructed, maintained and mobilised.

Firstly, this chapter describes the data collected for each case study. By presenting the data in this way, there is an opportunity to understand why certain decision-makers and organisations have been recognised as central in their role in urban regeneration, and to justify the selection of these significant players for the empirical research presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Secondly, this chapter focuses on how the main frames were discovered in the data. The frames found in both case studies are (in no particular order): Saviour, Role of self, Necessity of a transformation, Distance, and Advantage. I describe how these frames can be applied to the three core framing tasks specified by Snow and Benford (1988), of 'diagnostic', 'prognostic', and 'motivational' framing, as discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

Case Study One – The Waterfront Redevelopment 1984

For the Waterfront Redevelopment, the key organisation driving the two programmes (the International Garden Festival (IGF) and the Albert Dock redevelopment) was the Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC). Two challenges were encountered during the research in relation to collection of documents pertaining to the MDC. Firstly, due to a government rule, which involves archiving documents, and not releasing them to the public for thirty years, only certain MDC data could be collected. To overcome this, other material written by the MDC and available in the public domain, such as that aimed at the general public and potential investors has been examined. Secondly, it was difficult to acquire some papers from the Department of the Environment (DoE) who supported the IGF (although it was initiated by the MDC), as it has since ceased to exist. However the generosity of the people interviewed for background on the initiatives (not necessarily a 'decision-maker') meant I was sent copies of everything they had related to the garden festival concept including copies of the advisory notes (and so on), aimed at those bidding for the festival, such as the DoE (1980) *Garden Exhibitions and the UK* paper, where the concept of holding a garden festival in the UK is presented for consideration.

Another key organisation involved with the Waterfront Redevelopment was Merseyside County Council (MCC), and their role entailed a close working relationship with the MDC. This relationship was particularly central to the tourism investment initiatives, as the MCC already had the responsibility of promoting Liverpool and the county in general. Documents written by MCC have given an insight into the focus on certain elements of Liverpool's representation and MCC's involvement in the process of urban regeneration, due to their role in tourism investment. The trepidation in advance of the abolition of the county councils in 1986 can also be noted in the documents written at the time (for both the public in general and in strategic documents), indicated by documents that raise concerns about the sustainability of regeneration should the county councils subsequently be dissolved.

At a more local level, what becomes apparent is the lack of involvement by Liverpool City Council. The reasons for this have already been highlighted in Chapter Two. However, a Planner from the City Council was interviewed with the aim of eliciting issues around the process of involving certain agents in the urban regeneration of Liverpool since, whilst land used for the IGF and the Albert Dock was under the control of the MDC, areas around it were managed by the City Council. Rather than the City Council having a role in Liverpool's Waterfront Redevelopment, it was the creation of a new, private business at a local level that was responsible for attracting private investment: the Albert Dock Company. Consequently, their promotional material has been analysed as part of the research.

The interviews

In the case of all the organisations mentioned above (the Albert Dock Company aside), my interviewees were senior representatives. All interviews were conducted in 2008 or early 2009 (dates of the interviews are given in Appendix A), and participants were asked open-ended questions with themed prompts (these prompts being based on my reading around the literature concerning their respective organisation. Chapter Three has described in detail the difficulties of carrying out retrospective research, and problems relating to the analysis can be separated into two sets of issues: the tangible and the intangible.

The tangible issues that could have effected the answers given in the interviews predominantly relate to the IGF site. As explained in Chapter Three, Radley (1990) discusses the 'fabricated environment', which has an impact on the construction of memory due to its symbolic representation. For the IGF site, the symbolic representation is manifested negatively in two ways. Firstly, while since the early 1990s, the site has been in decline, numerous developers have taken an interest in the site, and as recently as 2008 there has been interest in development for housing (the developers, however, went into administration). Apart from being an 'eyesore' for those passing the site, the local and, to an extent, the national media have been

remarking on the place being a blot on the landscape. The second issue is the power of the media in writing adverse articles concerning the waste of land use, linking this to an argument on the lack of sustainability in large scale urban regeneration projects. Such negative articles have the potential to influence the opinions of readers. A search on lexis nexis[7] on local and national papers, for the years between 2006 (when the festival hall was demolished) and 2008 (the year when the interviews took place) demonstrates this, with 170 articles refering to the IGF site (see Appendix D); these, which predominantly relate to the state of the site, hopes that a developer will acquire the site, or the proposition that it be opened up as a park to the public.

The intangible issues also concern the IGF site, and relate to what Shotter (1990) terms the 'social construction of remembering', as discussed in Chapter Three. Some of the decision-makers interviewed, although not asked about their actions, attempted to convey their understanding of the past as a means of understanding and justifying the present, in what Misztal (2003) terms the 'process of negotiation'. It is important to note that speaking to these decision-makers provides a retrospective, and therefore potentially diluted understanding of how they comprehended regeneration initiatives that took place twenty-five years previously. As I argued in the 'Remembering the Past' section of Chapter Three:

> our ways of talking about our experiences work, not primarily to
> represent the nature of those experiences in themselves, but to
> represent them in such a way as to constitute and sustain one or another
> kind of social order (Shotter 1990: 123).

Consequently, there was a need to be extremely cautious with the wording of questions relating to the 1984 case study, to make sure that those interviewed did not feel that they had to rationalise their views.

Interview 1, with a senior member of Cabinet in the 1980s, demonstrates this need to justify past actions, for example:

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[7] Lexis Nexis (now known as Lexis Library) is an online database of legal and newspaper articles.

> Of course, huh, it was so popular that they said that we are not going to
> build on it, and that was awful, but it is only just now I gather, all those
> years later that … they are still discussing it, but I mean, I said in
> Liverpool many times and this is not new that it was a total mistake, we
> should have had the garden festival, which I think was in 1983 and after
> that the developers should have moved in, created the jobs, created the,
> the competitive site was already there then, and then and so that was
> the idea, but it was so popular so that no we've got to keep it as it is.
> You know, and of course what happens is that it actually rotted
> (Interview 1).

In a similar manner, in Interview 2, with a Planner at Liverpool City Council
in the 1980s, the long-term problems and how they are being managed now
were mentioned:

> When the MDC boundary was extended, it went too far, there was
> frustration with what they were doing to the Baltic area, as it did not fit in
> with a plan for the area. The area had businesses and people living
> there. There was no interface between the militant housing and the
> Baltic area. The entire planning projects carried out are only being dealt
> with now, for example near the NOVAS building, the railings are coming
> down, which will make the place seem safer (Interview 2).

The documents

As already explained, there has been difficulty in obtaining official documents
by the MDC. However, a mixture of promotional and strategic documents
have been examined and, due to the involvement of central government,
Government Acts, House of Commons documents, House of Lords
documents and papers by the Department of the Environment have also
been examined. Analysis of such documents has provided an understanding
of central government's involvement in shaping urban regeneration, and
insights into their advice concerning local regeneration organisation and how
certain qualities of Liverpool could be employed in an attempt to attract
private investment.

Case Study Two – European Capital of Culture 2008

For the European Capital of Culture programme, the key organisation driving
the event was the Culture Company. The Culture Company was initially set
up in 2000 as a private company with the aim of coordinating the bid for
Liverpool to be nominated as European Capital of Culture 2008 (ECoC08).

Members of Liverpool City Council were seconded from various departments to the limited company, while other key members of staff were appointed from other organisations. Other organisations involved at a local level were the City Council, Liverpool's Business Improvement District (BID), and Liverpool Vision[8] (an Urban Regeneration Company (URC)). Another local organisation involved with a cultural remit was Liverpool First, the organisation with the role of partnering the public, private, voluntary and community sectors, chaired by the leader of the city council (see www.http://www.liverpoolfirst.org.uk/who-we-are).

On a sub-regional level, and from a tourism perspective, the Mersey Partnership was particularly involved in ECoC08. At regional level, the North West Development Agency advised on tourism and business investment perspectives.

The interviews
A senior representative was interviewed from each of the organisations mentioned above, apart from Liverpool First (due to its role being that of a coordinator rather than being actually responsible for urban regeneration and/or the ECoC08 programme). Similarly to the Case Study One interviews, all interviews here were conducted in 2008 or early 2009 (dates of the interviews are given in Appendix A), and participants were asked open-ended questions with themed prompts based on my reading around the literature concerning their respective organisation. Only one 'decision-maker' was not interviewed, and this was a representative from Visit Britain. In partnership, the Culture Company and the Mersey Partnership (TMP) funded a post at Visit Britain, to ensure that Liverpool was being adequately promoted as a tourist destination in 2008. Attempts were made to contact this representative, with the aim of securing an interview; however, my e-mails and phone calls were not returned. However, whilst it surely would have given me additional insight to acquire the narratives of this

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[8] Liverpool Vision was one of the first such Urban Regeneration Companies founded in 1999, with Manchester and Sheffield. Later, in 2004 the model was driven out by central government to another twelve cities.

representative from Visit Britain, both the senior members of staff I interviewed from the Culture Company and TMP discussed how they managed the representation of Liverpool being promoted by Visit Britain.

The documents

As can be noted from Appendix E, the amount of documents available for the second case study was more than double than those available for the first. There was no overall sampling carried out in order to choose which documents were included. Instead, all documents available from a tourism and business investment perspective were examined. These included a combination of websites, strategic business documents and promotional material. Such documents were analysed due to their relevance, as they offered an intentional representation of the city, either for business or tourism investment.

A preliminary discussion on the frames

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the same frames are employed in both case studies, but what differs is the manner in which these frames construct a meaning to urban regeneration. The frames were identified from reading the data. A list was made of how arguments were presented in the documents and transcripts (using electronic analysis, as explained in Chapter Three), and the information given in the lists became the foundation for the frames. The frames were devised from re-reading the lists and recognising how arguments regarding urban regeneration (the frames) re-occurred. Re-occurrence of the frames could be noted in numerous ways depending on the type of document, the intended audience and when it was written (including for whether it was in respect of Case Study One of 1984 or Case Study Two of 2008). From the list of frames, five modes of argumentation were identified in respect of both case studies, and these were: 'necessity of a transformation', 'distance', 'role of self', 'saviour', and 'advantage'.

Necessity of a transformation

'Necessity of a transformation' identifies the problems found in Liverpool, and following Snow and Benford's (1988) 'diagnostic framing', it concentrates on

identifying and accentuating a negative situation. A perception of the inevitability that Liverpool's situation will be dreadful without a significant transformation is emphasised. The 'attribution of blame or causality' that Snow and Benford refer to can be recognised in this frame. In both case studies, the reasons why Liverpool's situation is so critical is touched upon, but much more emphasis is given to describing the overall condition, rather than attributing blame to a specific individual or organisation for the persistence of problems.

Documents that describe the overall bad condition of Liverpool in detail demand a transformation to occur. In both case studies, causal factors relating to the political, social, economic and environmental situation are identifiable. These four factors heighten the 'necessity of a transformation', and together are presented as overwhelming evidence of the problem. In the Waterfront Redevelopment case study, criticism of either an individual or a specific establishment is much more recognisable, and will be explained in more detail with the 'distance' frame (to follow).

The 'necessity of a transformation' frame emphasises the negative situation as a means of ensuring that the organisations involved in urban regeneration will more likely 'buy-in' to change. By suggesting that the current situation is terrible, a shared belief is presented which compels a strong identification of the problem and a call for collective action. This identifies the problem, and gives authority to decision-makers/organisations to bring about change. The appeal of this frame is how it resonates with the public and organisations as a means of securing public acceptance of regeneration schemes. The ideas put forward in this frame for approval, or what Snow and Benford (1988) term as the 'identification of a problem', consist of four main themes: the desperate situation in the city; the need to work in partnership; the negative representation of Liverpool; and the lack of competitiveness. These four main problematic themes found in the 'necessity of a transformation' frame resonate with central government policy, and are varied, rather than focusing

on one problematic attribute, as Snow and Benford (1988: 200) realise: "attributional consensus is less frequently realized or is more problematic". Therefore, whilst recognition of the need for change may resonate with the public, particularly through concentrating on the negative, the specific issues attributed with the need to be 'transformed', may not appear popular, familiar or appropriate with the public/decision-makers/organisations.

The problem identified is rendered to be as relevant as possible to people's lives. By making issues familiar, and of an immediate concern, the diagnosis carries more influence in the 'necessity of a transformation' frame, particularly as it is deemed to have an impact on everyday life, as well as the overall political, economic and social future of the city. The familiarity of the problem corresponds with Gamson's (1992) explanation that "[t]he proximity of an issue depends heavily on context" (p. 195). Such recognition on how agreement is formulated through familiarity is described in more detail by Sacks (1995: 434):

> ... discussion is something that everybody knows about, and agreeing is, something that everybody knows about, and perhaps it is, then, a kind of institution which can appeal by virtue of its familiarity, in the sense that Christ appealed with love as something that everybody ought to know about, and hoped also to change the world.

The 'necessity of a transformation' frame is key to the manner in which Liverpool and urban regeneration is discussed. The transformation here entails local and central government administration; the negative representation of Liverpool; and the difficult economic and political circumstances in the city. The urgency of the need for Liverpool's transformation is emphasised, in order to gain consensus from the audience that there is 'no time to waste'. Although this does not gain consensus on attribution of blame, it does manage to produce agreement that the problem needs to be (urgently) addressed. Therefore, the numerous ways in which a 'necessity of a transformation' is promoted impacts on the manner in which Liverpool is discussed and regeneration is presented as offering 'hope'.

Distance

Overall, this is a minor frame. It has been included here, however, as it does deal with some interesting aspects of how successful urban regeneration is understood. It combines both blame and a consideration of the struggles relating to urban regeneration. As explained, this frame also corresponds with Snow and Benford's (1988) description of 'diagnostic framing'. It pursues their description of where 'blame' falls, what they define as 'causal attribution'. I have chosen not to use the term 'cause' or 'blame' to describe this frame, as analysis of the data suggests that this is too strong a word. Rather, it is the 'distance' from certain regeneration ideas, and general disassociation from some other organisations, which can be identified. This frame is much stronger in the first case study, and this may be due to the period of time that has elapsed. As explained in Chapter Three, it has been noted that individuals wish to justify their action and this could therefore entail passing 'blame' to others.

Avoidance of responsibility, without a strong assignation of fault, is found within this frame, and is repeatedly applied within a discussion on partnership. By avoiding responsibility, even without mentioning whose responsibility it was, there is an attempt made to ensure that it is understood that certain aspects do not come under an organisation's accountability. Attention to how the problem is conceived of in order to avoid responsibility is evident in both the documents analysed, and in the interviews. This is established through forewarning of how a solution will be unworkable without all involved behaving appropriately. In the Waterfront Redevelopment case study, the need for others to be accountable is made clear, in the second case study, meanwhile, this is much more refined, and within both the documents and interviews, this 'distance' from certain responsibilities is only vaguely suggested.

It is not only a distance from other organisations that is evident within the interviews, but also a disassociation between the key stakeholder and their organisation's behaviour. This is found in both case studies, and whilst it

certainly does not entail what Snow and Benford (1988) would describe as 'causal attribution', it does demonstrate a certain amount of criticism being directed towards certain actions which are perceived as creating potential problems for the future. As these problems are only a potential, and not framed in the 'actual' terms of a 'necessity of a transformation', there is not the same strong identification of a problem being put forward; rather, it seems to be a means of 'protecting' the individual/organisation, if regeneration is not a success.

Protecting the individual and, more importantly (in the first case study), the organisation, is of strong significance in the 'distance' frame. Accusations (in print and in the interviews) are often made against 'the other', which becomes a means of differentiating oneself from the old, problematic ways of Liverpool, and attempts to bring others on board collectively, to support change. Sacks (1995) describes how sentences (in conversation) are modified in order to make them inclusive. This becomes apparent in the promotional material documents when an attempt is made to include all readers in the 'new' and different way of working that 'will' bring successful regeneration to Liverpool.

Distancing oneself (key-stakeholder or organisation) from the 'other' reconfirms that individuals and organisations did everything possible for the success of Liverpool, and that, unfortunately, aspects outside of their control may have impacted on regeneration. Such 'recognition' of outside influences includes information around funding, the lack of a strong vision to be found in the city, and how the promotion of Liverpool needs to be better. These are all conditions that can be described as ambiguous, in relation to what specific action could be taken in order to alter the situation. When there is a lack of specific factors being referenced, (particularly pertinent for the second case study), this perhaps suggests a reluctance to attribute blame, when it is imperative that organisations are perceived to be working satisfactory together, in order to gain government funding (Hastings 1996).

Role of self

This frame is concordant with Snow and Benford's (1988) 'prognostic framing'; by sharing their experience, it describes the role of an individual's or organisation's involvement in urban regeneration and emphasises the strategies, tactics and targets to be pursued. 'Role of self' serves to project what needs to be done clearly. Involvement in urban regeneration details how the 'role' demands close collaboration with others, particularly in 'partnership' with the private sector, or other key organisations; often, therefore, the role of self gives an explanation of the coordination required for initiatives to succeed.

This frame has been included, as there are numerous instances both within the interviews and from the documentary analysis where the role of either the individual or the organisation is highlighted. This focus demonstrates how different organisations concentrate on specific elements within the overall attempt to regenerate Liverpool. The manner of construction, maintenance and mobilisation is presented in regeneration documents by a description of the self/organisation and relates to the process of working in partnership. This working in partnership includes an explanation of how Liverpool should be promoted, a justification of the focus pursued for regeneration, and an overall description of the organisation's aims and objectives. Documents and interviews discuss all these issues, (except for aim and objectives, which are only described in the strategic and general public documents).

The prediction that specific initiatives mentioned in the 'role of self' frame will be the foundation for change in Liverpool's situation corresponds with Snow and Benford's (1988) explanation of how prognostic framing more often than not relates to diagnostic framing. 'Role of self' impacts on the understanding given of the problem, as specific tasks to be delivered connect with the need to change the current situation, and deal with any causal attributions. Interpretation of the problem as given in the diagnostic framing of the 'necessity of a transformation' and the 'distance' frames are often referred to

in the 'role of self' frame, as validation of an individual/organisation's function or purpose. Justification for a particular position is given in a way that demonstrates the overall impression of how urban regeneration should be carried out due to the 'necessity of a transformation'.

Cooperation between organisations not only makes this a collective frame, but also a part of the 'strategies identified' that Snow and Benford recognise in prognostic framing. Although such strategies are identified in the 'role of self' frame, the information given here concentrates on the responsibility of that one organisation/individual, rather than how partnership functions. Therefore whilst 'partnership' is recognised here, it is not the main aspect of the frame, only acknowledged as a way of working. The responsibility of the individual/organisation is what is important, and therefore, this frame can also be understood as *individualistic*, in that it concentrates on the role of the individual or one organisation, and their specific responsibilities in urban regeneration.

Even when solutions are presented through organisations working in partnership, one approach to a solution seems to be advocated by all involved, and whilst the specific suggestions put in place may focus on a different justification, the expected outcome (or 'target', as discussed by Snow and Benford 1988) is principally a collective effort. The *'collective'* element of this frame seems much stronger in the second case study, as the hegemony of working in partnership has, as noted by Hastings (1996), become the culture of local authorities and other 'partners' involved in urban regeneration. Hastings identifies this transformation as happening from the early 1990s and as being the main part of the criteria for funding in the City Challenge bidding process. Since it pre-dates this period, the first case study, of 1984, lacks this 'collective' aspect of partnership, as the need for and 'ideology' of cooperation was not as central.

The 'targets' discussed in the 'role of self' frame consist of the responsibilities of either the individual or an organisation - a mixture of measurable (management style) aims, and also general, ambiguous objectives. What is important to note here is not whether or not the targets are realistic, but how the target is framed as a solution to more than one problem. By aiming for this target, it therefore, becomes possible from the solution to gain support from a diverse set of organisations. By sharing the experience of being involved in urban regeneration, it is not only the 'strategies, tactics, and targets' which Snow and Benford (1998) identify, that is discovered in this frame. The 'role of self' frame also provides background on how a meaning of urban regeneration is negotiated. 'Role of self' clearly states how the cause should be tackled, and where the function of the one (of either individual or organisation) is assigned, in relation to the many involved; it therefore justifies certain actions being taken in the regeneration of Liverpool.

This frame differs from 'saviour' (discussed below), as it does not relate to a successful situation, instead describing the purpose of the organisation/ individual neutrally, with recognition that there are others also involved, and with success not necessarily transpiring through one initiative. This 'role of self' acknowledges others, but also clearly states the importance of the individual/organisation in urban regeneration.

Saviour

This frame is also consistent with Snow and Benford's (1988) 'prognostic framing', described as the identification of strategies, tactics and targets that will present a solution. Beliefs about how a rescue can happen in Liverpool cannot be abstracted, due to the personal values associated with this concept (this frame identifies narratives deeply invested with the personal values and beliefs of an individual/organisation). The strategies, targets and tactics presented in this frame are directed at a specific, recognisable and widely known action.

Snow and Benford (1988) explain how prognostic framing *suggests* a solution. In contrast to this, the 'saviour' frame as found in the data does not 'suggest', it *acknowledges that the solution occurred successfully*. As already mentioned in Chapter Three, Snow and Benford identify three phenomenological constraints which impact on the success of 'participant mobilisation'. One of these constraints is described as 'Experiential Commensurability', which consists of evidence interpreted in a certain manner, in order to suggest a solution that resolves the problem (for a more detailed understanding of this constraint, see Chapter Three). The 'saviour' frame follows this interpretation of events to a certain extent; however, it is not the suggestion based on future action that is being predominantly discussed, but rather it is an insight of past action that is highlighted. Therefore, this frame can also be interpreted as a phenomenological constraint, due to the fact that the 'resolution' to the problem, endeavours to "strike a responsive chord with those individuals for whom it is intended" (1988: 207). Due to the credibility put forward of an action 'saving' Liverpool, the frame of 'saviour' 'strikes a responsive chord' as considerable support for specific actions emerges, with the 'commensurability' of the problem being framed to connect with people's experiences.

The divergence with Snow and Benford's (1988) conception of the core prognostic framing task, in relation to the 'saviour' frame could potentially be accounted for by the fact that the interviews were conducted 25 years after the events, and interviewees may have credited regeneration programmes with 'rescuing' the city due to hindsight. However, even within the archival documents, the 'saviour' frame reflects on current or early stages of action as convincingly rescuing the city. In the same manner, this frame can also be found in the ECoC08 case study, with factual statements made on how something is, or will be, a catalyst for change, thus 'saving' the city. Strategies identified in this frame consist of providing evidence that demonstrates how outstanding the saving action (namely, a regeneration scheme) is for Liverpool. This not only reveals what is deemed as *the* 'solution' in regeneration, but also implies that certain strategies, tactics and

targets are more prestigious than others. The dominant solutions are therefore, those framed as being a 'saviour'.

The 'tactic' in place relates to one particular action, concentrating attention upon the accomplishment, or likely success which the delivery of a certain achievement (due to the action) has had in 'rescuing' Liverpool. Future success of the city is perceived as originating from, and attributable to, this achievement. At times this 'saviour' is articulated in both the interviews and documents as the 'catalyst' or 'impetus' in Liverpool's regeneration, either due to the role it *has* played, or the *potential* of this action. As a 'saviour', the long-term legacy of such action is focused upon, which gives it the further authority of being the appropriate strategy to be pursued.

The urban regeneration targets from the 'saviour' frame include both quantitative and qualitative goals. For example, such targets include a quantifiable increase in the number of tourists to Liverpool, or qualitative improvements to quality of life and the built environment. There are documents written in the future tense (often as part of the 'Vision for ... [a certain date in the future]') which describe the catalytic effect of certain actions in saving Liverpool's prospects economically, there are also documents written in the present tense which describe future actions as specifically rescuing the city.

It could be argued that such 'redemptive' regeneration schemes could be considered under Snow and Benford's 'motivational framing' (see Chapter Three), however, they have been incorporated into 'prognostic framing' as they do not motivate support. Rather, they strongly imply that a problem has been solved, or is in the process of being solved, directly as a result of a specific regeneration activity. Although 'role of self' (also prognostic framing, as explained) includes the responsibility of both individuals and organisations, the frame does not include the sense that future success is based on certain specific actions. In contrast, the 'saviour' frame (also prognostic framing) predominantly concerns the perception that certain

actions are responsible for 'rescuing' Liverpool, or the symbolic significance of new developments (especially along the waterfront) for economic recovery. Only potential future success is stressed, never possible failure.

Liverpool's 'saviour' in both case studies does not essentially focus on one specific action, but, rather, generally includes a variety of successes, albeit while crediting one specific successful action with 'rescuing' the city. The successful action may vary at different points within the same document, although only one entity at a time is accountable and credited with delivering Liverpool from its terrible situation. To be a 'saviour', it is apparent that there is a need for some dangerous situation from which the city must be saved, hence the 'necessity of a transformation' frame, which has the framing task of diagnosing aspects of Liverpool as problematic. Snow and Benford (1988: 201) explain that "more often than not there is a direct correspondence between diagnostic and prognostic framing efforts", and this can certainly be noted in the data. The extreme problems identified in Liverpool in the 'necessity of a transformation' frame correlate with the strategies, tactics and targets solved by the 'saviour'.

Advantage

This frame is consonant with Snow and Benford's (1988) 'motivational framing'. It explains how opportunities for urban regeneration are framed as 'likely to succeed' due to certain characteristics of the city. The beneficial aspects of Liverpool are explained in order to encourage support, in what Snow and Benford describe as 'prods to actions'. The opportunities in store for Liverpool due to its numerous 'advantages' become a way of securing cooperation in the attempts taken to regenerate the city. This frame attempts to motivate organisations, decision-makers and the public by concentrating on the logical rationale for action and by protecting all that is advantageous in Liverpool. By proposing further regeneration consistent with the city's previous successes and building on Liverpool's 'advantages', such rationales imply that it will undoubtedly result in 'success'.

Such 'advantages' of Liverpool consist of an array of characteristics, both tangible and intangible. They are often listed in a manner that demonstrates that the city does not have to start at the bottom when it comes to regeneration since it already has certain distinctive qualities that makes it 'above' other places. This hierarchal aspect of Liverpool's qualities echoes the 'competitive discourse' discussed by Bristow (2005), and as Gamson (1992: 24) explains:

> Each policy issue has a relevant public discourse – a particular set of ideas and symbols that are used in various public forums to construct meaning about it. This discourse evolves over time, providing interpretations and meanings for newly occurring events.

This competitive discourse is consequently organised through the central frame of 'advantages'. Therefore, for the 'advantages' frame, the competitive discourse gains significance, as the 'advantages' of Liverpool become interpreted and given a strong meaning as a part of the policy discourse of how cities should regenerate.

Snow and Benford (1988) describe how motivational framing requires consensus in order to produce 'corrective action'. In the 'advantage' frame, this is mobilised through praise, in contrast to the other frames mentioned (which contend with the diagnostic and prognostic framing task) that highlight the negative aspects of Liverpool. By highlighting how the current efforts to regenerate, or the more natural characteristics of the city, are positive, there is an attempt to prompt cooperation from all involved. What is deemed 'good' about the city aims to provoke satisfaction and pride and a shared recognition that specific characteristics of Liverpool are 'effective'. It becomes a means of engaging support, as, in opposition to the 'necessity of a transformation' frame, it forms optimism, which thus has the potential to encourage cooperation. The rationale of the 'advantage' frame is to appeal to decision-makers' and inhabitants pride in the city, with the hope that such satisfaction will result in further support for the regeneration initiatives being put forward.

What is perplexing about this frame is how it wholeheartedly contradicts everything mentioned in the 'necessity of a transformation' frame. The fatalistic reasoning initiated in diagnostic framing (Snow and Benford 1988) and noted in the 'necessity of a transformation' frame is in discord with the flattering calls for motivation found in the 'advantage' frame. Within regeneration narratives more broadly, this promotion of superiority is recognised by Burgess (1982):

> But the *world famous, biggest, fastest, most central, most modern* and *internationally acclaimed* features of provincial life are rarely convincing. They have a hollow ring in towns with ailing industries and lengthening queues of unemployed (emphasis in original p.7).

The 'advantage' frame, therefore, attempts to appeal to all from a variety of positions. Not only does it provide opportunities for pride, it also instigates participation in the 'competitive game' (Bristow 2005) that urban regeneration is deemed to be. Such a motivational means of framing manages to elicit involvement, without actually making it clear what an individual or an organisation is becoming involved in.

Figure Three applies Snow and Benford's (1988) three core framing tasks to the research findings.

Three core framing tasks:
1. Diagnostic framing
2. Prognostic framing
3. Motivational framing

Necessity of a transformation ⎤
Distance   ⎦ Diagnostic

Saviour   ⎤
Role of self ⎦ Prognostic
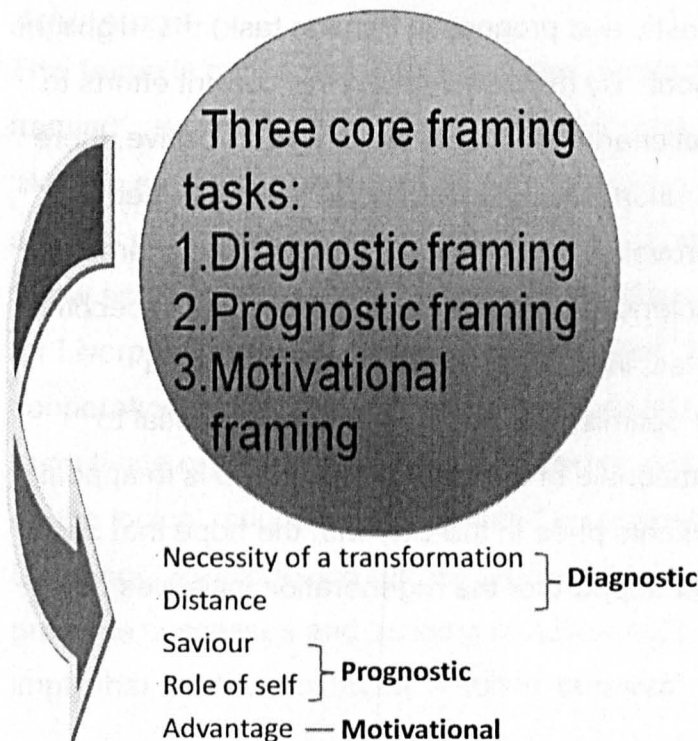
Advantage — Motivational

Figure 3: Application of Snow and Benford's (1988) three core framing tasks to research findings.

Clarifying how the data was analysed using Frame Analysis

It needs to be made clear that in relation to using frame analysis for the data, I am examining power in an indirect manner, that is, at the local level of meaning making. Benford (1997) recognises this lack of literature which focuses on how collective action frames become effective, and that "political opportunity structures should not be treated simply as objective facts, but rather as objectivated realities that are subject to transformation" (p. 423). Frame analysis is specifically concerned with exploring how people understand their situation, rather than explicitly concerning itself with understanding power and governance *per se*. It does, however, attend to how legitimacy may be achieved through the support given by government or other interest/pressure groups (see Gamson 1992). Indeed, Oliver and Johnston (2000: 37) explain how "[f]raming theory has provided a way to link ideas and social construction of ideas with organizational and political process factors". In this sense, frame analysis examines the process in which an attempt is made to influence behaviour (as can be noted through manipulation of reference framing in conflict frames - see Schweiter and DeChurch (2001)). It is this *process* again, rather than a mapping of power which is explained, for example in the work of Evans (1997), who examines how different frames appeal to different individuals/social movement organisations. In recognition of the different frames being presented, and how certain organisations promote consensus in conflict resolution, the work of Kaufman and Smith (1999) reveals the importance of 'reframing'; but again here, it is the process rather than the actual mapping of influence which is discussed.

In acknowledgement of Benford's (1997) claim, this thesis does attend to how frames become effective (motivational framing, see Chapter Seven). It also needs to be made clear that as this thesis examines the narratives of decision-makers involved in large scale events which are justified as an opportunity for urban regeneration, then it is to an extent those within a *powerful* (key stakeholder) role that were interviewed and the documents of such organisations analysed. Therefore, by examining the narratives that

had become prominent in urban regeneration, the frames analysed were those of the powerful as the action prompted through the prognostic framing task (see Snow and Benford 1988) was selected. There is, however, a need to state that the aim of this thesis is not to compare the significance of some narratives above others. The narratives analysed were those given by key decision-makers involved in influencing policy and existing in the public domain. For this reason, the narratives recently made public through the 'thirty year rule' regarding the first case study of 1984 were not analysed.

Summary

This chapter has provided an insight into the type of data generated in both case studies, and also into how certain ideas within the data can be understood as framing urban regeneration. It has demonstrated that the main frames of 'necessity of a transformation', 'distance', 'role of self', 'saviour' and 'advantage' correspond with Snow and Benford's (1988) three core framing tasks of diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing. The overall approach found in the data of describing the problem (diagnostic framing), presenting solutions (prognostic framing) and garnering support (motivational framing) have also been briefly considered in relation to both case studies. This chapter has also indicated how there is often a connection between the diagnostic and prognostic core framing task. In the data this can be recognised through how the 'role of self' and 'saviour' frame (prognostic) attempt to solve this 'necessity of a transformation' frame (diagnostic). This, however, is in direct contrast to a relationship with the motivational framing task, particularly as the 'advantage' frame (motivational) contradicts the comments made in the 'necessity of a transformation' frame.

The following chapters (Five, Six and Seven) expand upon this discussion of the data and the arguments made in urban regeneration narratives by analysing the frames in detail, beginning in the next chapter with an examination of diagnostic framing, as illustrated through the 'necessity of a transformation' and 'distance' frames in the Waterfront Redevelopment and ECoC08 case studies.

Chapter Five – Diagnostic Framing

Introduction

Chapter Four described how the five main frames – 'Necessity of a transformation', 'Role of self', 'Distance', Saviour' and 'Advantage' – are evident within the data. It detailed how the frames appropriately conform to Snow and Benford's (1988) explanation of the three core tasks in framing: 'Diagnostic', that is how the problem is diagnosed; 'Prognostic', that is how a solution is suggested; and 'Motivational', that is how a specific action is incited.

This chapter consolidates the 'necessity of a transformation' and 'distance' frames', as both correspond to what Snow and Benford (1988) describe as 'diagnostic framing'. The 'necessity of a transformation' and 'distance' frames as explained are compatible with the 'diagnostic' task, as they identify the problem and assign blame. Therefore, this chapter describes how problems around the need for urban regeneration are identified, and where the blame is attributed. Such identification and attribution will be analysed separately for both case studies, so that it is made clear for each specific period where the transformation needs to happen, for future regeneration. How (and why) Liverpool's representation needs to be constructed, maintained and mobilised differently in order to attract private investment is clarified, as the problems establish the manner in which the current image of the city should be changed. The extracts discussed in this chapter are examples from the data that are representative of the opinions given in the interviews and found in the documents.

The chapter will begin by giving a brief summary of diagnostic framing, before moving on to explain how Snow and Benford's (1988) framework has supported the analysis of the data. The two case studies, and the causal attributions found in the data will be discussed, which highlight how the problems are presented. By identifying the problems and how blame is attributed, elements of Liverpool's representation that are considered as

needing to be constructed, maintained and mobilised in order to gain business and tourism investment will be illustrated. Finally, this chapter demonstrates which attributes of Liverpool's representation are believed to be problematic, and consequently highlighted as worthy of rejection.

Background on Diagnostic Framing

Chapter Three provided a basic background to Snow and Benford's (1988) frame analysis, with an emphasis on how inter-dependent key factors lead to the mobilisation of a frame. As explained, they emphasise that the factors mentioned are not complete, but rather offer a basis for further concepts and theory building. The first core framing task, of three, indicated to by Snow and Benford is 'Diagnostic Framing'. It entails a "diagnosis of some event or aspect of social life as problematic and in need of alteration" (*ibid*. p. 199). It involves identification of a problem and attributes blame, cause and effect. Snow and Benford explain how there is often agreement on recognition of the problem, but, conversely, more divergent views on the characteristics to be blamed. This difficulty in recognising a strong focus can also be detected in the analysis, as will be discussed in detail when analysing the 'distance' frame.

In Chapter Four, it has already been briefly mentioned how two of the main frames found in the data incorporate what Snow and Benford (1988) would describe as 'diagnostic framing', and these two frames ('necessity of a transformation' and 'distance') will be discussed in more detail.

Why Diagnostic framing is appropriate for the 'Necessity of a transformation' and 'Distance' frames

As will be argued in this chapter, there is an overall consensus on the 'necessity of a transformation' for urban regeneration to be occurring in Liverpool, and also on the need for how the city is represented to be more positive. Following Snow and Benford's (1988) recognition that the problem can be apparent, the cause of the problem is more challenging. Therefore what is perceived as in need of a transformation corresponds with much

more than the basic concept of there being a need for change. The considerable degree of agreement about the problem, and the varying factors perceived as responsible for this 'necessity of a transformation' will be discussed separately for both case studies.

The 'Distance' frame however is not encompassed in much of the written and verbal data, as can be noted from Appendix F. Although a minor frame for both case studies, in the interviews, 'distance' entails blaming others for the failure of urban regeneration. In both the documents and interviews, it is the problems associated with a lack of support for the initiatives that are highlighted. The need to blame others can only be strongly recognised in the first case study, and, as mentioned, only within the interviews. The reason for this is likely to be linked to the issues raised in Chapter Three, namely the impact of 'hindsight' arising in interviews recalling events occurring some twenty five years earlier. As such, the interviews demonstrate the processes of perceiving success and also failure, through dissociation with certain actions. Such errors have also become a representation of the problem, as Radley (1990: 49) acknowledges, due to their impact on the 'fabricated environment': their "tangible expression of the basis from which one remembers, the material aspect of the setting which justifies the memories so constructed". As explained in Chapter Two and Three, this is certainly the case for the first case study, with evidence in the data of the need to blame others for inadequacy, and of there being a lack of agreement on the problem.

Although interviews were carried out contemporaneously for the second case study, the manner in which blame has been negotiated as a frame can nonetheless be recognised. This attribution of blame however does not deal with specific problems, it is much more general in discussing overall aspects that may not be suitable in how regeneration is occurring. Here, the reason for coding this frame as 'distance', rather than 'blame' can be explained, as analysis of the data clarifies how it is a need for distance from some of the established ideas around urban regeneration that becomes imperative.

Although there is not explicit assignation of responsibility for wrongdoing demonstrated (something that is apparent in the first case study), it is a lack of support which is evident.

The framing

Case Study One – The Waterfront Redevelopment 1984

The two frames noted within the data – 'Necessity of a transformation' and 'Distance' will be discussed together here, as the purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate how the overall frames provide a means of interpreting how Liverpool has to change *according to* the decision-makers interviewed and in the documents analysed. Therefore, to understand what the main problem is in the minds of decision-makers, the frame 'necessity of a transformation' implies this. However, as already discussed, what Snow and Benford (1988: 200) refer to as the "attribution of blame, or causality" will be identified within both the detail given in the 'necessity of a transformation' frame, and also in the 'distance' frame.

'Necessity of a transformation' concentrates on the desperate need for change in Liverpool, both in how regeneration attempts are made, and in the perceived need to change the negative representation of the city. 'Distance' contends with the consequences of volatile behaviour by other organisations.

Identification of the Problem
In urban regeneration narratives – as the term 'regenerate' indicates that there is a need to recover from decline – the actual problem can be acknowledged as obvious – that the city is regressing. The need for improvement is therefore communicated through the 'necessity of a transformation' frame.

The process of framing a problem attempts to convey its seriousness. By communicating the extent of resentment of the current situation, it highlights the importance of the proposed change. The means by which this resentment is communicated is a detailed interpretation of the problem,

which confirms how certain themes illustrate the seriousness of the problem. Snow *et. al.* (1986) explain how within the frame alignment process, 'frame amplification' occurs, which clarifies and strengthens the understanding of a problem. This process integrates with the diagnostic framing initiated by Snow and Benford (1988), in particular when Snow *et. al.* (1986) describe how belief amplification incorporates a belief in the seriousness of the problem and about the causality of blame.

Amplification of the current problem can be found in a House of Commons Report, that emphasises the severity of the unemployment problem, and raises concerns that a solution is unattainable:

> Renewal is not possible, if by that term one means the creation of full employment within the urban economy. Large number are likely to remain unemployed in the foreseeable future and inevitably the cities will continue to house large number of 'dependents' (the old, the single-parent family, blacks etc.). This realisation should condition any view about solutions to the urban problem, or any notion that employment generation can produce a market based solution to the wider social problems which exist in cities (House of Commons 1982:160).

Even though it is the term 'renewal' rather 'regeneration' that is used in this quotation, it is the report's recognition of the 'urban problem' that is being analysed, not the terminology used.

The belief stated here is that the problem is extensive, that it is more than an unemployment issue, and that it also entails 'wider social problems'. By identifying the transformation needed, the report supports action that is bigger than 'employment generation'. The presumption made is that the unemployed are 'dependents', and will be unable to support themselves within a broader capitalist agenda. The city is presented as being in a desperate situation and as a result, any action is deemed better than nothing, as the 'foreseeable future' is unlikely to be positive anyhow.

By emphasising just how bad the situation actually is, and that social problems are unavoidable, the role of a 'market based solution' (although clearly stated as not 'perfect'), is redefined as a promising solution. It advances how the problem is understood to the prognostic framing discussed

in Chapter Six. The meaning implied initially by a 'market based solution' is that it will not deal with all the social problems found in Liverpool. However, there is an attempt carried out here to 'key' (see Goffman 1986) such a solution into connoting hope. This process is carried out through emphasising the hopelessness of current circumstances, due to the fact that '[r]enewal is not possible'; which redefines a 'market based solution' as one promising some improvement. Redefining a solution in this manner implies that there is an opportunity of a positive transformation, and that this will only take place to an extent, as the current situation is so bad.

Through changing direction in imagining hope for a solution, an attempt is also made to turn the problem around. The problem is no longer about the lack of employment opportunities. Instead, the problem is declared as being that of the 'dependents': a much wider problem than the particular issue of unemployment. Transferring the problem from the specifics of unemployment to that of the 'dependents' personalises the need for a transformation, and implies the desperate need to find a solution. By attempting to present a solution in this manner, there is also clear acknowledgement that it will not deal with their 'wider social problems'. In this sense, the committee seems to be refusing to take responsibility for the 'wider social problems' and is limiting its involvement to addressing only specific aspects of the city's needs. Accepting the limitations of the solution advances the argument that 'a market based solution' will attempt to deal with some of the problems found in Liverpool, and thus bring some hope for the inhabitants' future. The only inhabitants that can be reassured about the future, however, are those that are willing to become involved, and are not dependable on others.

Identifying a problem in this manner distances the role of government from initial responsibility, as evident in a Senior Member of Cabinet's explanation of the problem and the lack of success following Liverpool's popular International Garden Festival (IGF):

> Of course, huh, it was so popular that they said that we are not going to build on it, and that was awful, but it is only just now I gather, all those years later that ... but it was so popular so that no [the inhabitants felt]

we've got to keep it as it is. You know, and of course what happens is
that it actually rotted (Interview 1).

The problem here is not seen as due to central government's behaviour and understanding of urban regeneration as again blame is not assumed to be due to political involvement, but rather the inhabitants and the city council. The failing is presumed to be that of the inhabitants, for allowing the site to rot. Local residents' opposition to development on the site is deemed as 'awful', with the blame laid firmly at their door. Hence political involvement in supporting Liverpool's bid for IGF in 1984 is not the problem, but rather what is done with it at a local level. The problem is deemed as serious due to the manner in which the site has returned to its original rotten state. Therefore, the government backing which made such an opportunity for a transformation possible has been wasted, and it is presumed to be the fault of the people of Liverpool. The retrospective account given in this quotation contrasts with the contemporaneous viewpoint given in the report (mentioned earlier) written at the time, and accordingly, such an attribution of blame can be accounted for by the justification element understood to be of relevance to how people remember (see Chapter Three).

The interviewee contrasts the short sightedness of those who wanted to 'keep it' with what he regards as the sustainable approach taken by central government in wanting to build on the site. The lack of reconciliation 'even now' further reinforces the blame attributed to those who wanted to 'keep it'. The decision taken therefore defines the problem and those responsible. The presumption made is that if the IGF site had been developed, there would not have been a problem, and a market based solution would have been a likely outcome to the site (see prognostic framing in Chapter Six). Due to the contentiousness of the issue long term, the problem is clarified, with the intentional strategy idealised. As the site had not been developed however, the current situation is defined as being outside of central government's control, which influences how the situation is understood, as blame cannot be placed on them.

Within the documents written at the time, the people of Liverpool also have a role to play in how the problem is identified, they are drawn upon as the reason why certain actions should be taken. Again, in the House of Commons Report, whilst discussing the negative image of Liverpool, a member of the committee, Mr Young (Chairman of the MDC) focuses upon the following in order to justify redevelopment:

> I think that to tackle the so-called image of Merseyside is far better done
> in a physical way than with all the writing or column inches you see in
> the press or media. The same thing can apply to the Albert warehouse.
> If that is brought back to life then that will be better. I think personally
> the people of Merseyside have been looking for some tangible evidence
> of things being done... After all, one of the basics is to find a new
> dimension, a new shape, which is now reflecting the new role of the Port
> of Merseyside... (House of Commons 1982:188).

Although the problem in Merseyside is identified as being unspecific: image based, it is pinpointed to a specific landmark, which is thus elevated to being a symbol of all that is currently wrong with Merseyside. Therefore, by redeveloping this site, as also a symbol to the inhabitants, then a physical transformation gives a 'new shape' and a 'new role' to the old, negative image revealed in the press or media.

The negative image is only implied in this instance, as it is 'so-called'. Thus the problem 'shifts' from being about image, to being about a need for physical change. By discussing the media it becomes possible to give materialisation to abstract claims, through bridging (Snow *et. al.* 1986) the vagueness (of 'the so-called image') and the real (found in the tangible 'Albert warehouses'). The use of the media in order to justify such a redevelopment (see motivational framing in Chapter Seven), deemed as also necessary for the 'people of Merseyside' combines two different problems, whilst putting forward the belief that by contending with the physical, the image will also be resolved, and thus a solution would be possible that would satisfy the inhabitants.

Such a problem with the press or media becomes a means of justifying a practical response to what are framed as immediate, existing problems. The

origins of problems with the media are always framed in a way that highlights the seriousness of the problem. In the promotional material for tourists written at the time of the IGF, it is the political and racial problems in the city that are highlighted, but this is not done on its own, but rather by highlighting the bad publicity gained:

> Only a few weeks ago it seemed that the fight between the city council and central government would overshadow the opening of the Festival. But not so. Publicity for the festival has surpassed even the coverage of the Toxteth riots, scenes which were so tragic for the image of Liverpool. The battle scars of Lower Parliament Street have faded and the tulips, daffodils, hyacinths and roses have bloomed (International Garden Festival 1984a: 5).

Political fighting and riots on their own are not deemed as serious enough problems, rather it is the opinion of Liverpool presented in the media which is the main problem. Here, although the tourists have not been affected by the specific difficulties found in Liverpool, the problems found in the city gain significance as it also impacts on them. How the problem is framed highlights the national implication of Liverpool's problems and the negative publicity provided to the tourists. This is focused upon as the main problem in the extract, rather than the localness of the council's fighting and riots in one part of Liverpool: Toxteth. This resonates with broader cultural themes of focusing on a symbolic, shared representation; rather than the much less understood specificity of the real and perplexing local problems (see Gamson's (1992) work on 'counter themes').

Therefore by transforming the problems found in Liverpool into a national publicity issue, it becomes possible to persuade a wider audience that the problems found in Liverpool are extreme. Greater support for the need for a transformation is thus secured, by amplifying the seriousness of the problem. The injustice that Liverpool has to deal with due to the negative publicity it receives, is framed as something that can be overcome, particularly due to the support of the tourists who are visiting the IGF, and the good publicity that emerges from it.

The recognition that the IGF can somehow reverse the negative image of Liverpool is further confirmed in another promotional document for tourists. In the *Festival Guide* 'message from Chairman Merseyside County Council' the following appeal is made:

> I trust that of our visitors who have the opportunity can be persuaded to travel around the County of Merseyside – for I am sure that they will experience a pleasant surprise. Merseyside has suffered from being a misrepresented area and I have always believed that the best cure is for as many people as possible to come and see Merseyside for themselves... Looking out over the River from the Garden Festival site, I hope the magnificent panorama will tempt you to explore (International Garden Festival 1984b: 4).

In a similar manner, the document ends with the following plea:

> The event has brought tourists to Liverpool and Liverpool to tourism ... The money spent by visitors contributes to the security and creation of jobs – as long as it keeps coming. The festival is making a start, opening many eyes to Liverpool's true image and demonstrating to the city the potential value of tourism in the long term (*Ibid.* p. 205).

Much has been written regarding the MDC's focus on tourism investment, rather than enticing business investment (for example, see Crouch 2003). In this quotation it is possible to recognise how the process of tourism's role in regeneration is anticipated. By accentuating the role of tourists in providing a desirable change to Liverpool's image through exploring the area, they are not only given responsibility in treating the problem (and are thus a part of the solution), but by not exploring, they are adding to the problem. The problem is deemed serious enough to require involvement from all, the 'misrepresentation' of Merseyside needs a 'cure', and that is the tourist. Therefore, those tourists who do not attempt to explore the area become implicated in causing additional problems for Liverpool. Additional problems are here described as being about unemployment and not being involved in providing evidence of tourism's potential 'long-term' value.

All tourists that are able to are expected to 'explore', as it is framed that collectively they can and should make a difference. The goal is to emotionally gain advocates for Liverpool/Merseyside (which integrates with the collectiveness of motivational framing, see Chapter Seven), who will see and promote a different side to Liverpool, that contrasts with the negative representations of the city. The 'publicity' mentioned in the earlier quotation

is understood to be the cause of the negative representation of place, and overall is recognised as the main problem that the regeneration initiatives propose to change.

Specifics of the problem

I have discussed how the overall problem is founded on a negative representation of Liverpool. Additionally, specific features are associated with this, regarded as symbols of all that is wrong with Liverpool's image. Snow *et. al.* (1986: 469) describe this process as 'frame amplification', which includes 'value amplification' where certain values are identified, idealised and elevated "presumed basic to prospective constituents but which have not inspired collective action for any number of reasons". One of the main ways in which this can be illustrated is in relation to the built environment.

Environmental implications of a negative representation of place are continuously stressed within the data and, as will be explained in more detail in Chapter Six and Seven, redevelopment is highlighted as the solution. The then current transformation through redevelopment is deemed as a motivational factor for continuing with such a solution. As a 'problem' however, the Department of the Environment (DoE) *Garden Festivals and the UK* paper clearly sets out the type of place that would benefit the most from the event:

> Planning benefit is of the essence of the idea; combining exhibition with park could help to regenerate an area, not only by providing a high-quality park, but by the less tangible but equally important change to the image and morale of the area that should go with it. The idea could thus be of greatest benefit to a declining inner city area in need of regeneration; it would have less raison d'etre in an already well endowed area (Department of the Environment 1980: n.p. point 18).

Regeneration, in the form of the garden festival, is identified as a means to tackle the problem of the city's 'image'. The problem is expanded to not only being about a 'declining inner city area', but also about 'morale'. In this extract, the discourse of image-led regeneration that will impact on the inhabitants' 'morale' is presented, but only appears as a small element of the overall argument for the garden festival. This focus on 'image' in regeneration gains considerable influence over the years, as can be noted in

the second case study. By developing the idea that there is an emotional need to redevelop land with a 'high-quality park', the problem of dereliction is amplified as being much more serious, as it now impacts on individuals' confidence.

Linking the need to redevelop land and emotional well-being of the inhabitants not only serves to amplify the problem, but also obstructs any criticism about the planned method of regeneration (the prognosis). The garden festival idea is thus sold as the 'greatest benefit to a declining city area'. The undesirability of a place is used to justify the regeneration, which would not be required in a 'well endowed area'. Undesirability is consequently given a greater meaning, not limited to image enhancement – as through making the area desirable, or 'well endowed', the inhabitants' self-esteem and confidence is assured.

Confidence through transforming the built environment is also framed as a necessity not only for the inhabitants, as just mentioned, but also for future investment. The need for private sector investment, and also the need to transform the negative representation of the city, becomes paramount in discussions about the current problem of derelict sites within the built environment. Again here, the frame is amplified through two "ideational elements [i.e. a focus on shared values and supportive beliefs, by down-playing any grievances] that cognitively support or impede action in pursuit of desired values" (Snow et. al. 1986: 469 – 470).

Emphasising a desire for change can also be found in the MDC Initial Development Strategy:

> Each project undertaken will be designed to improve the marketability of the area, and to attract private investment. The pump priming role will include: (a) land acquisition, dock reclamation, provision of infrastructure, environmental improvements, building refurbishment and the identification, assembly and marketing of suitable and attractive development packages... (Merseyside Development Corporation 1981: 24)

The valuable elements of urban regeneration mentioned here are image improvement, and private sector investment. This opens up a discussion on how the 'desired values' of both can be arranged by the MDC. The specific problem described is that of an unmarketable area, and a lack of private investment. Therefore, by improving the marketability, there is a belief that private sector investment will also be attracted (and consequently is the solution). These shared desired values, identified as exactly what needs to be transformed in Liverpool, resonate with the political discourse of this period. As the quotation demonstrates, an explanation is offered as to how such land should be developed: that it needs to become financially viable. The 'necessity of a transformation' frame therefore highlights this need for 'environmental improvement' in order to meet the two values of image enhancement and private sector investment, which will make the land economically effective.

Other means by which a transformation of the built environment can become a reality is given by highlighting the desperate need for change. In *The problems of management of urban renewal – appraisal of the recent initiatives in Merseyside' House of Commons Report*, there is an attempt made to demonstrate an understanding of difficult local issues. For example:

> The Government agrees with the Committee that reforms are necessary to simplify and make more effective the powers and responsibilities of public authorities and other agencies on Merseyside. [next point made regarding abolishing the Metropolitan City Councils]... On Merseyside, as elsewhere, the Government's proposals will help overcome problems caused by duplication of local Government powers and functions which at present lead to local conflict (House of Commons 1984: 179).

Therefore, by justifying changes to local government, due to the then 'present' 'local conflict', further support is given to central government's political position, not only in relation to where power and responsibility should be, but also more general 'functions'.

This quotation supports the framing style given in the last quotation from the MDC *Initial Development Strategy*, as they both emphasise that regeneration should be carried out in a certain manner, due to the politicisation of urban

planning. Both these quotations focus on the political aspect of a 'necessity of a transformation' and diagnose the problem as being related to the way land is considered. The LAs approach to governing is blamed for the derelict areas to be found in cities and, in turn, such dereliction is considered the reason for the current negative representation of the city. As such, the LA is presented as being in conflict regarding suitable development.

The causes of the problem are not only political, but also blame the economy. More than one approach is incorporated to the conceptual framework of how the economy plays a part in the 'necessity of a transformation' frame. However, what the approaches have in common is the belief that the current financial incentives available for cities are deemed a hindrance to urban regeneration. In the House of Commons *Environment Committee 1982-83 Report*:

> Social and economic division in modern cities is acute, and it is some of the results of such division which are promoting current concern. But the same divisions were apparent in the nineteenth century when urban economies were growing but where the pressures of growth proved beyond our capacities to deal with in a satisfactory way. The critical differences are that we now face economic recession and structural economic change, and have government committed to the provision of a wide range of services for the disadvantaged (House of Commons 1982: 160).

Understandably, the role of the government is elaborated upon here due to the audience of this report being the MDC, members of parliament and civil servants. Rather than opening with a reference to the 'economic division', it alludes to 'social division', in an attempt to consciously define economic division as incorporating much more. In this sense, the document derives a greater influence, as it becomes possible to draw on other issues deemed as important to individuals, not only the economy. Not only does this idealise the economic problem, as it also becomes associated with the social, but by comparing the current economic situation to that found in the nineteenth century, the difficult economic circumstance is exacerbated. The reasoning for this however can be ideologically interpreted as an opportunity to reformulate and idealise central government's actions.

Central government's actions are here construed through what Kuypers (2010: 288) would define as 'agenda extension', it is the rhetorical perspective of framing analysis, in order to "achieve specifiable goals". 'Agenda extension' is the process whereby certain information is used to shape awareness of a particular issue or event in a particular direction. The intent of the political discourse here is to portray the Conservative government values and beliefs as being congruent with the values of potential advocates (or in this case, the general public – for more on this see motivational framing in Chapter Seven). By describing the considerate behaviour of government policy as the reasoning for a necessity of a transformation, a new choice of values is given on whether or not there should be commitment 'to the provision of a wide range of services for the disadvantaged'. What can be seen here is manipulation of why private sector collaboration is required. Government action in this sense can be interpreted as justifiable due to their desire to assist the disadvantaged. Private sector collaboration is thus bargained for by explaining how otherwise assistance 'for the disadvantaged' is to be cancelled. Such a choice is not presented as something that central government needs to do, as they have already found a way of being able to assist the disadvantaged, rather support from others is required, and becomes a way of getting agreement on private sector involvement in government policy. It can be recognised that all frames contend with "principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters" (Gitlin 1980: 6), however in this instance the emphasis is evident, with the 'blame' for having to work in such a manner with the private sector being due to the 'disadvantaged'.

As Snow and Benford (1988) have made clear, and explained in Chapter Four, whilst there tends to be agreement that there is a problem, there is much less consensus on the attribution of blame. This is evident within the 'necessity of a transformation' frame, in the numerous ways in which the economic situation is highlighted. The process undertaken for the 'new way

of working' economically, is described by a Senior Member of Cabinet when explaining how and why the UDCs were created:

> ... in order to bring money, but not money on the basis of, and this is my criticism of Peter Shore's fund[9], he was just compounding the problem, they had endless flows of public sector fund, subsidy in these areas. It wasn't a solution. It was just pouring more money into the same old problems. And what I wanted, was to bring about a reversal of the decline and I knew you could not do it, just in a public sector way (Interview 1).

The problem is highlighted through emphasising how the money made available was intensifying the situation. In this quotation, it is not the lack of money due to supporting the 'disadvantaged' that is highlighted, nor a lack of money in any sense. Rather, the problem is economic and, furthermore, is a result of a management issue, since *too* much money was being made available. Changing the direction of blame here in an attempt to alter political involvement in the problem corresponds with Goffman's (1986) 'keying', as the activity carried out by Peter Shore is changed from being an effort to support cities in need of urban regeneration, to an unforgivable and irresponsible behaviour.

Keying earlier actions in this manner puts this frame into what Gamson (1992) defines as an 'injustice frame' – the injustice here being the financial waste carried out by the Labour government. Gamson argues that an injustice frame attempts to gain collective action, as "injustice focuses on the righteous anger that puts fire in the belly and iron in the soul. Injustice... is a hot cognition, not merely an abstract intellectual judgement about what is equitable" (*ibid.* p. 32). This non-abstract manner of diagnosing the problem is evident, as blame is pinpointed at an individual, with a clear explanation of wanting to "bring about a reversal of the decline", which could only be done through a new way of working, not through the problematic format of "pouring more money into the same old problems".

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[9] 'Peter Shore's fund' (Labour) was funding set aside by the Secretary of State for the Environment between 1976 and 1979 to assist cities facing economic hardship. This was not a formal term for the funding.

In summary, the problem focused upon in this first case study is a necessity of a transformation in Liverpool's representation. Blame for such a negative image is based on the political and economic position in Liverpool, and its disadvantaged population. Only through decision-makers in urban regeneration presenting Liverpool as somewhere deserving of investment can there be any hope for the city, which is why the problems are articulated around the symbolic change of image, which will become apparent through rectifying the economic efficiency of land, as discussed in the prognostic framing in Chapter Six.

Figure Four depicts the process involved in diagnostic framing for Case Study One.
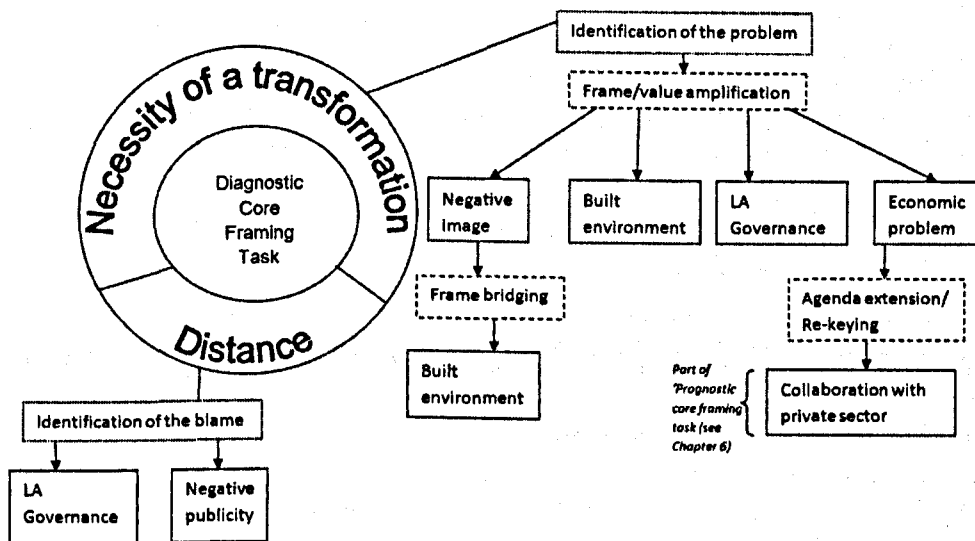
Figure 4: Diagnostic framing in Case Study One

Case Study Two – European Capital of Culture 2008

In the same manner as case study one of the Waterfront Redevelopment in 1984 was presented, for this case study also, the two frames noted within the data – 'Necessity of a transformation' and 'Distance' will be discussed together. As can be noted from Appendix F, diagnostic framing is revealed in the analysis of the data, and is evident in every document, with only one of the interviews and seven of the documents not mentioning a problem at all.

Similarly, the 'distance' frame is also not mentioned in these specific pieces of data.

Identification of the Problem

The main problem identified here is that of a negative representation of the city, with numerous concerns voiced on how this is an issue of great concern, and a barrier to successful urban regeneration. The manner in which the diagnosis is put forward varies however, although overall there is an attempt made to link this to the built environment.

During an interview with a Member of Staff from The Mersey Partnership (TMP), the importance of the built environment for tourism investment is explained:

> Keen to focus on the location specificness of activities in the city. Parts of the city have been identified that have a distinct offering, now there is a need to work with other organisations in that place to work on the distinctiveness, e.g. Bold Street, Hope Street, Cavern quarter, and of course, the waterfront. It is the combination of distinctive areas that give the visitor a feel that they're walking through different areas. There is now also a need to have a stronger waterfront brand – with consistency to a geographic location that tells people they are by the waterfront (Interview 4).

The problem being described is not an overall dilapidation of an area, but rather a more intangible concept. It is the idea that Liverpool needs strong, distinctive branding of the built environment, in order to succeed. It is the lack of both effective branding and a distinct atmosphere that are deemed the problems here. The need to transform such accepted and recognisable distinctiveness into a brand is perceived to be the main issue. The difficulty in organising this transformation is played down – rather, by explaining how "[p]arts of the city have been identified that have a distinct offering", there is an attempt made to secure involvement in supporting and working on place distinctiveness, as there is already the framework in place which can be expanded (this will be discussed in more detail in relation to motivational framing in Chapter Seven). A linkage is also made here (what Snow *et. al.* (1986) would describe as 'frame bridging') between the lack of branding problem and the problem of needing to work in partnership.

Opportunities for working in partnership, which are deemed to be currently lacking, is recognised to be difficult (the "*need* to work with different organisations" and the "*need* to have a stronger waterfront brand"), due to the 'consistency' expected from a branding exercise. Therefore, there is a contradictory message given, that this will be easy, due to the identification of areas that has already been carried out, whilst, contrastingly, there is a difficulty arising from a need to work closely with other organisations. How the current lack of consistency for branding parts of Liverpool is deemed as a problem however, does not progress to the attribution of blame, rather this quotation can be interpreted more as a 'to do' list.

The current deficiency in opportunities for the cultural tourist in Liverpool is further touched upon as a problem. Arguments are put forward about the need for a new cultural building during the *Capital of Culture Scrutiny Panel*, where Dr David Fleming, Director of National Museums Liverpool, maintains that:

> The museum was aware of the option to build a theatre/museum mix.
> Liverpool was considered to be weak in relation to the Capital of Culture
> bid, which when emerged was not shocking. What was shocking was
> the figure announced for the theatre which was £80m, however the
> Museum are of the opinion that the theatre is no longer on the agenda.
> The Museum need a positive way forward to deliver a major cultural
> building in Liverpool and it has the potential and the resources (Liverpool
> City Council 2004a: n.p.).

Two separate problems are stated here, one being the lack of a 'cultural building' and the second being the cost of such a building. By mentioning both problems, an attempt is made to demonstrate neutrality to the overall problem, however by detailing the opinion that the museum is in a position to fill the capital of culture bid gap, the prevalent regeneration discourse of design-led urban identity (see Julier 2005) becomes dominant. This means of narrating success in regeneration abides with Julier's (2005) findings of how a new identity is constructed in place by focusing on new buildings. The cynical manner in which the cost of the theatre is discussed focuses on the contentious aspect of it, however by putting forward the viewpoint that a museum can make up for the current 'weak' position Liverpool finds itself,

then the 'necessity of a transformation' becomes established. The frame therefore gains depth, as it resonates with a more public/common opinion (that money should not be wasted) but the desired values of gaining a new cultural building can still be met. By emphasising the ideational elements of the museum – that the current problem for the city is its lack of such a building, and its affordability (in comparison to the theatre), then this 'design-led urban identity' regeneration discourse is reinforced.

This need for a 'design-led urban identity' as a regeneration discourse is further recognised as a problem within the current role of planning and, as a precursor to Liverpool One, the *Unitary Development Plan* explains how:

> A key element of the Retail Strategy is the need to secure a major new development of sufficient critical mass in order to re-dress the retail under provision and to re-assert the City's role as a regional shopping destination, to claw back lost market share from the catchment and to act as a catalyst for wider investment and improvements (Liverpool City Council 2002: 197).

The problem identified here is the lack of retail opportunity in Liverpool, but within this, the long-term issue is that of a need for 'wider investment and improvements' (for which the retail strategy will be a catalyst). The diagnosis here is 'rekeyed' into a hopeful situation, as the current, poor provision will be *re*-dressed, and the city's role as a 'regional shopping destination' will be *re*-asserted (i.e. the new retail offer becomes the solution). The overall problem is identified as the current lack of competitiveness, as the market share needs to be clawed 'back' 'from the catchment'. By 'rekeying' the problem into a hopeful situation, the optimistic certainty of playing the competitive 'game' is acknowledged, with the prize being 'wider investment'.

The importance attached to 'wider investment and improvements' for which a new retail strategy will be a 'catalyst' implies that the current problem is a lack of investment in Liverpool. Due to the need to 're-assert' and 're-dress' as mentioned, an association is made between the lack of investment and Liverpool's competition, both of which are found lacking. The compatibility of the current problems provides a 'bridge' (Snow *et. al.* 1986) between the

'retail under provision' and the need for 'wider investment and improvements in the city.

The current and past problems of Liverpool's lack of competitiveness is further validated when discussing the aim for the future. In the *Creating a World Class City for Business* document by Liverpool Vision, it clearly states this expectation:

> The aim is to consolidate and develop the economic recovery and growth of the last decade, build a sustainable knowledge-based economy able to compete even more effectively in international markets, continue to develop the city as a business and visitor destination, and establish its status as one of Europe's most exciting and dynamic cities (Liverpool Vision n.d. n.p.).

Here, although the problem is in the process of slowly being rectified over 'the last decade', there is still much consolidation and development work to be done. This highlights how the work carried out to date is not yet sustainable and, therefore, Liverpool does not yet have a competitive edge internationally. Sustainability can be regarded as a 'countertheme' which Gamson (1992: 184) explains as having relevance in how something is framed, as "issue frames gain strength through a symbolism that resonates with broader cultural themes and counter themes embodied in popular wisdom". The other theme, as already discussed, is that of competition – and the sustainability agenda reaffirms this need for development. A detailed explanation of how Liverpool needs to compete is given, by describing 'business and visitor destination' as a requisite for European and international appreciation.

In a European and international context, an emotional framework is given to Liverpool's situation – that it is currently not 'exciting' nor 'dynamic'. By explaining the current situation as the opposite of this, what is highlighted is the negative, or dull (if any) image Liverpool possesses internationally. This is in direct contrast to how Liverpool is described in motivational framing, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven. Here, by stressing the emotionally negative representation of Liverpool, it awakens a sense of need for change – the desperate situation of the city being an uncomfortable truth

that needs to be tackled. This un-comfortableness is presented in a positive manner since, rather than describing the position of Liverpool negatively, the emphasis is on how Liverpool's prospects can be saved (and be a part of the solution), thus giving hope, rather than focusing on despair. By providing hope in the necessity of a transformation, it encourages involvement (the motivational framing, as discussed in Chapter Seven) in supporting the continued development of 'the city as a business and visitor destination', rather than becoming involved in a dispute about how Liverpool is attempting to recover and improve its competitiveness.

The need for international competitiveness is more compellingly put across by Liverpool First, in which the statistics on Liverpool's economic position are followed by:

> The challenge for the next decade is to accelerate the pace yet further to build an internationally competitive economy which will create wealth and prosperity for Liverpool's residents and businesses in the future.
> Liverpool lost half of its population during almost 70 years of decline. This exodus of people and money generated devastating economic, physical and social impacts which persist in many parts of the City today.
> ... The principal challenges for Liverpool are across the employment, health and living environment domains... (Liverpool First 2008b: 6-7).

In a similar manner to the earlier quotation given, it is further progress towards the internationalisation of Liverpool which is mentioned. However, rather than focusing on future hope, the 'necessity of a transformation' here concentrates on the despair. The long-term impact of Liverpool's decline is accentuated, by briefing the reader on how long this has been going on for and by pointing out the impact on population. This serves to give immediacy to the problem, by bringing engagement to the issue, since inclusion of the 'economic, physical and social impact' has potential resonance for all parties.

As the role of Liverpool First is to bring together the public, private, community and voluntary organisations in Liverpool (see Chapter Four), such resonation between all parties on the impact, attempts to provoke a collective action to address the 'necessity of a transformation'. Such collectiveness integrates the population decline in Liverpool with frame amplification (Snow

et. al. 1986). The decline is amplified due to it being interpreted as impacting on the difficulty for the city to participate internationally. Support is sought – specifically in relation to 'employment, health and living' – by emphasising the severity of the problem. Although earlier, it is the 'economic, physical and social impacts' that are mentioned, here, it is the social aspect of these problems that are highlighted, thus confining the problem explicitly to the people, by focusing on a more human element. The human element of Liverpool's decline should thus win collective action (see motivational framing in Chapter Seven) and support for the discourse of international competitiveness.

The importance of a more human element to bids on a European level is clearly explained during an interview with a senior member of staff from Liverpool City Council:

> the profile of the city has certainly changed since the end of 2002, when the bidding for European Capital of Culture 2008 began. The bid reminded the inhabitants of what they have culturally, which could then be related to civic pride, city image and positioning the city.
> In 2005 there was an evaluation of Creative Communities, during this evaluation the *Esmedune 2000: Vision or dream (a healthy Liverpool)* publication from 1988 was found, which discusses many of the regeneration aims that are discussed now with capital of culture such as linking health and other aspects to regeneration. Sometime between 1988 and 2002 such linkage seems to have been lost, but it has now returned as the vision of the city (Interview 3).

The importance of linkages between the values of regeneration and the inhabitants is clearly described here. The disregard given before 2002 (but after 1988) to the more human aspect of regeneration is discussed. By declaring inclusion of such aspects in the regeneration of Liverpool through bidding for ECoC08, it manages to idealise this initiative. The problem is thus narrated as being the lack of inclusion of social issues in the regeneration vision of Liverpool before 2002 (before 'New Labour').

The importance being given to the needs of the inhabitants extends the regeneration framework to demonstrate how the values of urban regeneration are compatible with social needs. The document mentioned (*Esmedune*) verifies this, as it is a complete contrast to economic

regeneration, focusing instead only on the social (health and education) requirements of a city. Therefore, by discussing another extreme to that of economic regeneration, an attempt is made to change the direction of how bidding for ECoC08 is understood, that it is now deemed as a comprehensive, realistic method of bringing about a transformation, as it contends with 'civic pride', but also the more competitive, symbolic requirements of 'city image and positioning the city'. In this sense, the bid itself becomes an element in the wider process of place-marketing (for urban regeneration) being carried out by Liverpool City Council and others, with the city attempting to be perceived as a place of culture. This need to concentrate on 'city image and positioning the city' is evident, but it is the style in which this should be done which needed to be changed. The 'necessity of a transformation' is highlighted as important for the lives of the inhabitants, something that had been required since 1988 (when the aforementioned *Esmedune* document was published).

In the *Capital of Culture Scrutiny Panel* there is an attempt taken by a member of the panel (Councillor Linda Jane Buckle) to differentiate ECoC08 from earlier regeneration, by trusting that it would meet the needs of the residents, not just developers. Included in this is the termination of plans to build the 'fourth grace'[10] being reframed as an opportunity to demonstrate such a concern for the inhabitants:

> There's a lot of opportunity as well in losing the Fourth Grace to focus more on community projects. The media focused so heavily on building projects which caused a lot of confusion with the general public and what they thought Capital of Culture was about, the trams, the iconic building etc. When actually Capital of Culture is going be a lot more than that, it is about smaller projects and communities and their involvement in the whole process. So this should force people to understand and appreciate the scope and depth of what the Capital of Culture is going to be about (Liverpool City Council 2004a: n.p. meeting held 18/10/04).

This separation between the large-scale development-based projects and those addressing community needs is highlighted here, in a manner which

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[10] The 'Fourth Grace', also known as 'The cloud' was Will Alsop's design for Liverpool's waterfront, which according to the ECoC08 bidding document "the proposed Fourth Grace will be both the functional focus and iconic symbol" (Liverpool Culture Company 2003: 901) of Liverpool's cultural legacy following the event. Not only was this building to be iconic along the waterfront, but it was also to house a cultural venue and hotel.

implies that they are mutually exclusive approaches. The problem being put forward in the Capital of Culture Scrutiny Panel was the 'loss' of the Fourth Grace, however Cllr. Buckle alters the problem to that of *how* regeneration should be implemented. By separating the needs of regeneration (between those of inhabitants' and those of developers), there is an attempt made to generate a different form of engagement with the issue. The issue here returns to that described in the earlier quotation – focusing on the inhabitants. This time, however, it is not about raising civic pride, rather it is about how ECoC08 is sold to them.

This need to publicise ECoC08 as being for, and involving, the residents of Liverpool is perceived as important due to the 'confusion' caused by the media focusing on the large-scale projects. Reasoning on why transforming opinion is regarded as important is not explained in detail, however, the need to resonate with the public through a symbolic change is emphasised. This transformation reveals an association between the problems of the past (cost of the projects) and an opportunity to rectify this through the new recognition of the residents' needs, deemed as absent in earlier media reporting of ECoC08. Re-directing the problem in this manner emphasises opportunities for the future, particularly the opportunity for community involvement.

I have argued here that the problems put forward as a 'necessity of a transformation' are predominantly deployed in order to shape the way in which urban regeneration is understood. The problems are consistent in their approach with how Snow and Benford (1988) argue that diagnostic framing involves identification of the problem, and these problems also feature as a 'frame alignment processes' mentioned in Snow *et. al.* (1986) of frame bridging and frame amplification. Also, in the 'necessity of a transformation' frame, Goffman's (1992) 're-keying' of a problem can be discovered, as can the application of information for collective action recognised by Gamson (1992). Another aspect of diagnostic framing

explained by Snow and Benford (1988) is that of attribution of blame, and this will be discussed in the next section.

Specifics of the problem

Attribution of blame for the problems which need a transformation, is not a dominant aspect in this case study and, where it is, it tends to be in a general manner rather than to a specific organisation or individual. In acknowledging the severity of the problems, overall blame tends to be placed on the city council, for their long-term, repeated failings in regeneration attempts. In particular the council is criticised for their overall governance and for being too inward-thinking. There is also acknowledgement of a lack of strong branding of the city at a sub-regional level, and a perception that the city should have been marketing itself better, and looking into the future, rather than concentrating on the old problems.

That the old-style city governance is to be blamed for many of the city's problems is suggested in the *Local Area Agreement* document explaining how:

> Cities in the future will be differentiated not just by their physical environment but also by the quality of experience they offer. Liverpool is releasing its latent energies, moving completely away from old-style city governance to a new model where creativity is at the core of innovative regeneration, education, tourism and social responsibility...
> For Liverpool, the process of change and transformation has already begun. We are a city willing to take risks and apply new approaches and solutions to our problems and challenges (Liverpool First 2008b: 6).

The claim here is that 'old-style city governance' was the reason that the 'quality of experience' (the 'experience economy') on offer in Liverpool was not good enough for the city to be able to compete by 'differentiating' itself. In contrast, the promised 'new model' will be creative and innovative in dealing with 'problems and challenges' found in the city. Although the problem of the 'old-style city governance' is not clarified, by defining the 'new model' as incorporating 'taking risks', the old way, and behaviour of the city council can be recognised as being problematic and not competitive.

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Blaming the lack of competition on city governance, broadens the blame to more than one issue, and locates responsibility on numerous factors, with benefits of change being far-reaching, to include 'regeneration' (in general), as well as 'education, tourism and social responsibility'. The presumption here is that the change in the city governance will be enough to transform the city and create successful regeneration without putting the responsibility on industry, or other factors that are out of Liverpool First's control. Although there is a lack of detail about how the 'new model' will actually transform the city, the key words to describe the process are 'creativity' and 'innovative'. This discourse of creativity suggested here not only presents the belief that the causality of blame is due to the unimaginative behaviour of the 'old-style city governance', but also that creativity is the solution for the 'problems and challenges'.

The manner in which this new creative style of city governance is being pursued is further explained in the *Core City Prospectus*. It is deemed as important for the future of the city, as the 'old' style did not work:

> At the start of the last century Liverpool was one of the richest places on Earth; at the turn of this one it is regaining its confidence and pride. After 25 years hibernation and turning inwards, there is a shameless acquisition of what's been done best in urban regeneration elsewhere and a willingness to partner for mutual economic and social benefit... education and training for jobs and social confidence and enrichment is gearing up...
> The city will look after its own and welcome all (Liverpool City Council 2003: 7).

The problem is identified as the fact that Liverpool has not attempted to regenerate in the appropriate and approved manner. As the *Core City Prospectus* was written by the city council, then the style of writing gives this piece of work accountability (and therefore blame) for the problems of the past 25 years. The 'shameless acquisition' carried out in following what is deemed as 'best practice', is recognition of the need to do things differently, in order for the city to regain 'its confidence and pride'. Although the paragraph continues by explaining the 'willingness to partner for mutual economic and social benefit', there is a move here from only describing the 'confidence and pride' that is being regained, to incorporating 'mutual and

social benefit'. Rather these elements are a way of bridging (Snow *et. al.* 1986) the unconnected social elements with the economic problems of the city over the past 25 years.

Recognition that over the past 25 years the city has been 'turning inwards' and will now be seeking to 'partner for mutual' benefit is also bridged in order to demonstrate how caring this will make the regeneration, as it will 'look after its own and welcome all'. Welcoming was not deemed possible when Liverpool was looking inwards, but now they are seeking partnership, there is an implied acceptance of others, and an acknowledgement that the old way of regeneration did not work nor are they too proud as to learn from 'what's been done best in urban regeneration elsewhere'. Bridging in this manner seeks to involve different organisations in Liverpool's much needed regeneration, and stresses compatibility in beliefs, as there is now a shared viewpoint on how regeneration works to the advantage of the inhabitants and those willing to invest (either for businesses or by visiting). Frame bridging therefore seems to be applied as a gesture of acknowledgement in self-blame, and an opportunity to emphasise the intention to change by praising the viewpoints of the other. In this instance, it is to follow "what's been done best elsewhere" (with Bilbao and Toronto given as exemplars), something that is recognised as an appropriate action for urban regeneration.

The 'inward-looking' past of Liverpools' regeneration attempts, are further recognised as needing to be changed, with the city council's parochialism subjected to blame during the *Cultural Legacy Scrutiny Panel*. In the minutes it is explained that the advice given by Sir Bob Scott[11] was:

> In his view the City must become more outward looking, seeing itself as a major international City rather than concentrating on local issues and local problems. There should be more emphasis on the benefits of international travel to promote the City and international relationships. He believed that as a City we resonate more powerfully internationally

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[11] Sir Bob Scott led the bid for Liverpool to become ECoC08 and had previously chaired Manchester's bid committee for the 2002 Commonwealth Games. As an external 'voice' in the Culture Company (their International Ambassador) he seemed to be regarded as an expert on event-led regeneration.

rather than nationally (Liverpool City Council 2008a meeting held 14/08/08, n.p.).

The problem as it stands, is that Liverpool is focusing on the wrong issues – 'local problems' – rather than gaining 'international relationships', and there is an acceptance of blame for this by the city council. By presenting the current problem in this manner, it distinctively distinguishes Liverpools' problems, and connects them with a solution (see Chapter Six). The need to become more outward-looking is argued to be impossible whilst the city is focusing on the local, and therefore a focus on the local and the global cannot be conducive for Liverpool's regeneration. By making Liverpool city council choose between focusing on the local problems or the global opportunities, responsibility on the necessity of a transformation is put on the liable party, particularly as an 'expert' has advised on that choice.

As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven (Motivational framing), the manner in which this advice is put forward attempts to complement Liverpool's standing internationally (rather than regarding Liverpool lower in the hierarchy of only being a 'national' player). However, by criticising the current behaviour of the city council, and by indicating that, the problem will not come to an end until things change, the need for transformation is highlighted. Furthermore, the severity of the problem is emphasised, along with the city council's obligations 'to promote the City'. By concentrating on how the city should be promoting itself, the current lack of either national or international promotion is highlighted, and this form of regeneration is idealised for Liverpool's future. The belief amplification put forward of the type of values Liverpool should be setting forth is therefore presumed as those which will promote Liverpool internationally, and thus assist the city's competitive advantage.

Promotion of the city is deemed to be lacking in Liverpool, with the necessity of a transformation attributed to the sub-region in general. The TMP states how:

> It seems, however, that there is still a lack of clarity and focus relating to a number of important brand related issues. There seems to be a

> tendency in the sub region not to grasp the nettle on some of the more
> difficult issues and to give more priority to political considerations than
> what makes sense to consumers...
>   The following are some suggestions as to brand issues that a
> new strategy could tackle:...
> •   Mersey Waterfront Regional Park. As the strategic masterplan for
> the plan states, it will not achieve its potential as a destination until it is
> given a name... and the brand starts to appear in the public domain...
> (The Mersey Partnership and Locum Consultants 2008: 60).

This returns us to the problem mentioned earlier of focusing on local issues; however, the issues here are specifically mentioned as being 'political' (disagreements between councillors on how Liverpool's is being regenerated), and deemed as an unnecessary factor in gaining a strong brand. Focusing the blame in this manner not only demonstrates how attempting to rectify the 'real' problems of the city/sub region are not considered effective for urban regeneration, but that it has a detrimental effect on consumers.

By stating the blame on the inappropriateness of the current strategy, responsibility for change in how promotion/branding of the city/sub region should be occurring is highlighted, and is the opposite of politics. Rather, by focusing on new development in the built environment, there is closure to any form of solving such problems. Political issues are not regarded as worthy of being solved, and rather there is a focus on the symbolic and the new. The manner in which this new economy becomes dominant in the case of Liverpool, is through highlighting that focusing on the real issues does not work (i.e. it becomes the problem). There is therefore a contentious aspect to such a focus, which advocates a transformation towards branding.

Giving such a clear choice between the old way of focusing on 'political considerations' or developing 'brand issues', the assumption is made that there is only one way forward, and that the 'sub region' has been wrong in its conduct to date. This clarifies the belief that there needs to be a change, as the old way did not bring about the desired regeneration of Liverpool. Recognition of the problem in this respect supports change but, more importantly for diagnostic framing, it constructs an understanding of the past

as unjust, and the action of those in charge at a sub-regional level as fundamentally inappropriate. The focus is on moving away from the political problems of Liverpool's past, in favour of a new, politically neutral, market-based solution based on consumption.

Figure Five depicts the process involved in diagnostic framing for Case Study Two.
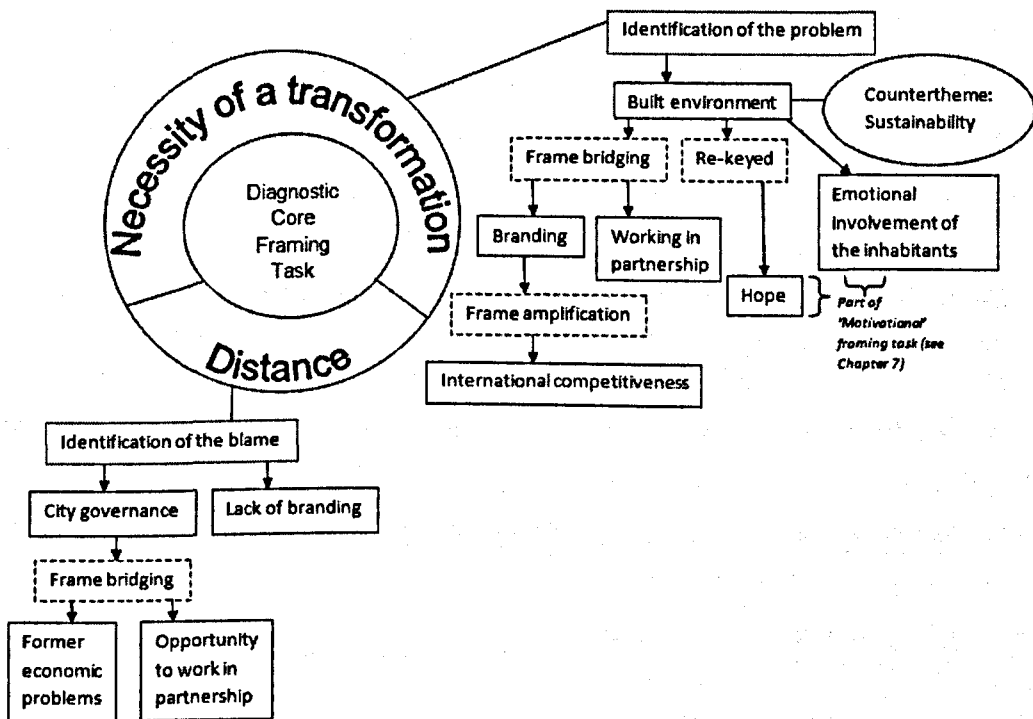
Figure 5: Diagnostic framing in Case Study Two

Summary

As explained in the beginning of this chapter Snow and Benford (1988) believe that there is often agreement on recognition of the problem, whilst the characteristics to be blamed are more divergent. From the discussion on the main problems given in this chapter for both case studies, this divergence in who or what is to blamed can be recognised. Although the characteristics of Liverpool's problems can be recognised as being economic, political, environmental and social, specific elements of Liverpool's city council's inappropriate style of regeneration were discussed. Such inappropriateness in how Liverpool city council has attempted to regenerate thus reveal how hope for constructing, maintaining and mobilising Liverpool should be carried

out, in order to attract private investment, with a move away from practical issues towards the symbolic representation of place promoted in order to entice tourism and private investment.

Through the 'necessity of a transformation' frame, what can be noted is that there is hope in any future action presented, due to the severity of the problem. In both case studies, it is the representation of the city that is focused upon, not the political problems. Hope for the future is thus recognised through how closer partnership between different organisations can transform how the city is represented. This issue is focused on collectivism, due to the social, political, economic and environmental problems, which demonstrates across the board the 'necessity of a transformation'. This collectivism is 'bridged' into an understanding of the problem being image-based.

Causal attribution of blame in both case studies originates in the style in which local governance has applied itself to urban regeneration. Overall, it does not attempt to isolate a specific action as liable for the necessity of a transformation (especially in the ECoC08 case study), but rather focuses on the bigger picture. When blame is placed in this manner, there is also an attempt made to suggest a different way of working, or as explained here a 'new style of governance' (this will be discussed in its own context in Chapter Six (Prognostic framing)). The following chapter will consequently examine how the frame 'role of self' entails "identify[ing] strategies, tactics and targets" (Snow and Benford 1988: 201) in urban regeneration narratives.

Chapter Six – Prognostic Framing

Introduction

In Chapter Five, how Snow and Benford's (1988) 'diagnostic' framing related to the data was considered. It was explained that 'diagnostic' framing could be discovered in the 'necessity of a transformation' and 'distance' frames. Aspects of Liverpool which were diagnosed as problematic, and in need of transformation were: a lack of competition, a lack of working in partnership and its negative representation. These aspects were considered through how a meaning is given to such claims of an overall desperate situation, predominantly established on economic and political factors in the city. In this chapter, it will be explained how Snow and Benford's second 'core framing task' (of three) of 'prognostic' framing relates to the data. Whereas, 'diagnostic' framing identifies and diagnoses the problem, highlighting how certain factors are to be blamed. In contrast, 'prognostic' framing suggests a solution to the problem. The intention of 'prognostic' framing is "not only to suggest solutions to the problem, but also to identify strategies, tactics and targets. What is to be done is therefore specified" (p. 201). The prognosis given in this chapter focuses on the actual solution, identifying and analysing how the strategies, tactics and targets are communicated. In Chapter Four it has been mentioned how two of the main frames found in the data, incorporate what Snow and Benford would describe as 'prognostic framing'. The frames discovered and developed from analysing the data, which reveal solutions are the 'role of self' and 'saviour' frames.

These frames, conceptualised from reading the data apply Snow and Benford's (1988) 'prognostic framing'. The 'role of self' frame describes involvement of either individuals (decision-makers) or organisations in Liverpool's urban regeneration. It illustrates the processes and procedures followed in order to generate a solution, including the aims and objectives of organisations, and justification on the chosen means of focusing on regeneration. Additionally, the 'saviour' frame does this, but also describes how specific actions, conduct or projects will (or have, as per retrospective

interviews – see Chapter Three) manage to save/rescue the city, resulting in a positive solution. In contrast, the 'role of self' frame does not confirm a successful outcome, rather it concentrates in a less positive/neutral manner on what is being done, and organises the regeneration process. This does, at times relate well with the 'Saviour' frame, as in such instances, it demonstrates how the role of self is communicated successfully. Therefore, this chapter will explore the manner in which solutions are put forward and how strategies are identified for successful urban regeneration.

In Chapter Three there is a detailed description of how Snow and Benford (1988) have evolved the understanding and analysis of how frame analysis is understood. When describing the research approach undertaken for this thesis, it is explained how there are inter-dependable key factors which cause the mobilisation of a frame. Snow and Benford explain that there is often an association between diagnostic and prognostic framing. With this in mind, there will be numerous examples in this chapter, which return to the data and analysis discussed from a diagnostic framing perspective. The need to separate the diagnosis from the prognosis was recognised in Chapter Five, as when problems are discussed, there is always an effort made to put forward recommendations on how things could be different. In Chapter Five however, every effort was made not to analyse the solution, but rather to focus on the problem. The problems diagnosed were often in opposition to the solution presented. For this reason, the solutions are referred to in this chapter.

The analysis of the data will be carried out for both case studies separately, in order to clearly contextualise the frames within their specific period of history. Positioning the analysis of both case studies individually, not only gives a stronger framework, but also a clearer opportunity for reference to the dominant political discourses of the time. This overall analysis of the two case studies will build on to the process of framing discussed in Chapter Five, as it explores how problems are interpreted, in order to put forward a certain solution. The solutions discussed in this chapter have been noted

from analysing the data, and the extracts used as examples are demonstrative of the solutions in general.

The framing

Case Study One – The Waterfront Redevelopment 1984

The first case study, of the Waterfront Redevelopment in 1984, which includes the International Garden Festival (IGF) in Liverpool and the opening of the first phase of the Albert Dock will be examined here. How certain regeneration solutions have been put forward in relation to the Waterfront Redevelopment will be analysed. Snow and Benford (1988) explain how 'prognostic framing' not only entails suggested solutions, but that strategies, tactics and targets can also be identified. From analysing the data however, the strategies, tactics and targets are not always clearly set out. Rather, the solutions tend to be more vaguely described, as can be noted in the 'saviour' frame. For the 'saviour' frame evidence is provided, with the intent of gaining support for the solution put forward, and does not entail a detailed, management style structure giving identifiable strategies, tactics and targets. Therefore in this chapter, the overall solutions will be discussed, with a detailed analysis of the process taken. This process will entail interpreting how individuals interviewed or the documents analysed reveal either the strategies, tactics, targets or how evidence is put forward in order for certain claims to gain credibility.

As Chapter Five highlighted, the problem which needed rectifying in the Waterfront Redevelopment case study, was the negative representation given of Liverpool, rationalised as the reason why the city lacked business and/or tourism investment. In recognition of this, the solution provides a linkage between how Liverpool's representation could be transformed, whilst at the same time opening opportunities to involve the private sector. The opportunities for business investment and an increase in tourist numbers are explained by a senior member of staff from Merseyside County Council (MCC), when giving detail on their role and responsibilities:

> I received a Churchill Fellowship in [year stated] to find out what lessons
> could be learned from American cities which had used tourism as a
> means for digging themselves out of decline. I spent a month travelling
> around cities and wrote a report on my return which I presented ...

Immediately followed by the 'saviour' frame, explaining:

> I think also that it took the success of Albert Dock, the tall ships and the
> garden festival, for there to be a realisation of the need to focus on
> tourism; until then, they were focused on industrial and commercial
> development. To pin all this on one person, it has to be Michael
> Heseltine and we need to give him credit for his role, plus his ability in
> bringing Arrowcroft and other developers to Liverpool. Without his
> intervention a lot of this would have withered on the vine. He [Michael
> Heseltine] occupied a central role, he had access to funds, the
> Government and to the law (Interview 3).

The 'role of self' described here highlights how the interviewee and the MCC
actively wanted to learn and improve Liverpool's future prosperity. It focuses
on the process of learning, by explaining how background research was
carried out to learn from other cities. No attempt is made in the beginning to
demonstrate any partiality towards this research becoming Liverpool's
'saviour'. Rather it is the process of learning from other countries which is
emphasised. This emphasis is conveyed through describing why the
Churchill Fellowship was granted, and what would be done with the
information gained. The influential element here is what will be done with the
report, that it will be presented, and thus shared with others. The trip to
America is thus regarded as useful, as it will generate appropriate action back
in Liverpool. The process is clearly described in a narrative format, in order to
validate the significance of the action: it begins with gaining the funding, the
purpose of the trip and ends with an explanation of what was done with the
findings. Therefore, the solution for Liverpool to also be able to dig itself 'out
of decline' becomes apparent, and that this is to be done through an
appropriate course of action, based on the findings.

The success perceived in the US that is explained in this extract, validates the
course of action as the most appropriate and only correct solution. This
solution however rapidly becomes more than an impression of a possibility to
'learn', and is contemplated as a 'saviour' for the city. Evidence is clarified in
order to demonstrate how the background of learning became a 'success',
with the tourism strategy resulting in an appropriate change. Here, the

transformation from a suggestion, to a reflection on accomplishment takes place. As the interviewee situates their own role in the background this process of learning from 'American cities' is altered from being the main consideration of the narrative. Such a shift from the 'role of self' frame towards the 'saviour' frame also transforms the focus on how urban regeneration is discussed, and grants all gratitude for a positive transformation to Michael Heseltine.

The linkage between the work carried out by Michael Heseltine and the role of the interviewee is given through the Albert Dock redevelopment, which also shifts the credit from the self (interviewee) towards focusing on the result. Focusing on how much was done by one person empowers the role of that individual, and downplays the likeliness any other opportunity had in generating a successful solution. Such empowerment amplifies the solution, and the suitability of such a method of urban regeneration. This suitability is in direct contrast to what 'they' wanted to do, which was focus on 'industrial and commercial 'development. By mentioning 'they', without any detail on whom this is, an attempt is made to oppose other strategies. Opposition to other strategies further idealises the appropriateness of Michael Heseltine's approach, and how in a sense he saved Liverpool by focusing on the image of the city. This highlights how the strategy of focusing on tourism investment was perceived a success. Through emphasising the success of the tourism strategy, as being in opposition to the work of the other ('they') MDCs strategies, tactics and targets are implied as corresponding with the needs of the city.

As the Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC), through Michael Heseltine's leadership were aware of the approach employed in US cities and supported such initiatives, it closes any dispute on whether or not this was the appropriate regeneration strategy for Liverpool. A strong claim is made, that without Michael Heseltine, developers would not have become involved in Liverpool's regeneration; it endorses the importance of having a high-profile, politically connected champion involved in the project. The interviewee does

not mention the overall role of the MDC here, but rather, one particular individual is selected as the saviour. The manner in which this act of saving Liverpool was carried out and deemed successful, interprets success in the same way as central government's guidance. As discussed in Chapter Five, this 'necessity of a transformation' towards engaging with the private sector, is here presented as the successful solution Liverpool needed, and thus the target was met. By recognising achievement in such a manner, it conforms to the political discourse of the 1980s. It advocates the change needed, and rationalises the solution to conform with central government's expectations, as financial incentives ('access to funds') and government policy ('the law') supported this.

Such 'access to funds, the Government and to the law' are described as what Liverpool needed. As the solution or achievements were 'the Albert Dock, the tall ships and the garden festival' occurring in 1984. The extract demonstrates how change can happen and targets be met, thus solving the need for a necessity of a transformation (see Chapter Five). Any ambiguity and uncertainty on how the solution originated is reduced through the personification [through Michael Heseltine] of the manner in which the transformation happened. The 'credit for his role' is accentuated with information given on the strategic thinking with 'his ability in bringing Arrowcroft and other developers to Liverpool'. The aim of this solution (although commented upon in the past tense), is the important prospect of bringing developers to the city. This description of Michael Heseltine, which can be perceived as the saviour, gives a strong sense of how change could happen, and that the problem could be resolved smoothly. This is further emphasised with the belief that '[w]ithout his intervention a lot of this would have withered on the vine'.

In an interview with an architect who worked for MCC in the early 1980s, we also see the emergence of the 'saviour' frame. Again, this is in relation to the idea that gaining the involvement of private developers is important for Liverpool's future. This time however, the notion of 'saviour' is expressed in a

more unspecific manner – the general work carried out by the MDC. During the interview it is stated that:

> there was a strategic transformation by the MDC to bring Liverpool back to its waterfront. There was from then a new functional relationship with the river that included a new purpose with the service/leisure sector (Interview 5).

Here, the 'functional relationship' clarifies the role of developers, as they have given 'a new purpose [to the derelict waterfront] with the service/leisure sector'. Gamson (1992) describes how an effective strategy utilises emotion in order to secure support, and whilst this interview was held over 25 years after the action transpired, the emotional value is reverted to when describing the transformation that occurred. The emotional element here is how a relationship could be developed with the waterfront again. Although it was recognised as 'a strategic transformation', the language is not official and management based, despite the fact that it is discussing a focus on the service sector. The aim here is not to illustrate how many developers became involved, or how much private investment was gained. Instead it is the 'relationship' with place. Although the 'relationship' is idealised by how it has given a 'new purpose' to the area, the manner in which this is carried out is not declared.

By concealing how this new relationship occurred, the means of understanding how change happened along the waterfront focuses an understanding of the transformation as relating to the leisure opportunities now available. The specific goal is to give land an economic purpose (see Chapter One) and to propose the relationship it could have with the people of Liverpool. The manner in which the interviewee organises this idea should be noted: as it is the relationship with place which is stressed. The overall role of the MDC in presenting a strategy which saved the waterfront is clarified as their actions are presented in a manner which focuses on the end result being positive. This implies that such a solution would not have been possible without their involvement, particularly as the organisational factors are recognised as strategic: with the 'new functional relationship' happening in 1984 and still recognisable now.

The collective opportunities available from an economic transformation to the waterfront are also discussed in the *Albert Dock Village* newsletter, where under the heading 'A new community', it is explained that:

> By the end of the decade, the Albert Dock's unique partnership of family and exclusive shopping, entertainment, museums, art exhibitions, conferences and commerce will come to rich fruitition and bear proud testament to the strength of Liverpool's heritage and illustrate the depth of the revival at the heart of Merseyside (The Albert Dock Company n.d: 1 article 1).

It is the cultural variety on offer at the Albert Dock which will create the 'new community', with attempts made to demonstrate shared values (including around family-orientated activities) as offering regeneration (see 'collectiveness' as discussed in relation to motivational framing in Chapter Seven). This extract again does not emphasise how this transformation is happening, rather it is the end result that is rationalised. Rationalisation of this transformation is carried out through integrating it with people's experience, in order to reinforce the positive. The collective dimensions of heritage are appealed to, the city's cultural history being presented to the reader as something of which everyone in Merseyside can be proud. By discussing the 'strength of Liverpool's heritage', it is not only the new development in the Albert Dock which is deemed important, but an involvement is given to the inhabitants through an opportunity to be proud. The social aspect of the impact the Albert Dock's redevelopment can have is again emphasised, as the revival becomes a 'proud testament' that is evident by the change happening. What is implied here is that the emotional feeling of pride must be considered within an understanding of the regeneration taking place.

This positive goal of change to the Albert Dock is amplified by detailing how long the project will take to be completed: as it will not be ready until 'the end of the decade' (six years). Highlighting the timescale in this manner focuses the reader on an understanding of how this change is progressing, and removes any ambiguity on the seriousness in which this is scheduled as a long-term goal. The long-term element of the change also specifies the

dominance of the solution, and how well thought out the strategy is for Liverpool's revival. The connection, made between the new and old again links to the timeframe, and resonates an emotional call for collective support (again, see Chapter Seven on motivational framing), which advocates change through respecting and glorifying what already exists. Glorifying, and placing heritage 'at the heart of' Merseyside's revival heightens its importance. It implies that heritage (Liverpool's past) will be the main solution for Liverpool – and that all the new development transpires to integrate with this success.

It is understandable that the documents written for the public (including as above, where the audience is businesses with a potential interest in investing), attempt to rationalise the solution by 'socialisation'. This 'socialisation' attempts to assimilate an understanding of events with the public, rather than focus on economic development. However, even in strategic documents, it is not only the harder, infrastructural and economic aspects of regeneration that are mentioned, for example, in the MDC *Initial Development Strategy* it is explained how:

> The first phase of the Merseyside Maritime Museum is well established at Mann Island and should be encouraged to develop, firstly by securing accommodation in the Albert Warehouses for the Maritime collection which of national importance, and secondly by berthing exhibition vessels and vessels on courtesy visits to the port. This maritime environment will provide an exciting catalyst for new development and form a base from which the industrial archaeology and recreational potential of the restored docks can be explored and enjoyed (Merseyside Development Corporation 1981: 18, point 8.8).

In this extract, it is apparent that what matters the most, is the need to encourage 'new development'. Development is regarded here as the long-term contributor to change – from the 'first phase' to its later role in opportunities given to explore and enjoy the 'restored docks'. Achieving 'new development' is thus calculated as the best solution for the waterfront. Releasing pride in the inhabitants is again implied, and once more through the city's history, by mentioning the 'national importance' of the 'maritime collection'. Complimenting Liverpool's history to the inhabitants, attempts to ensure that pride in the past advances to the new development. How the solution is to be found in attracting new development, is argued around 'enjoyment'. The long term, 'catalyst' of change is described as the new

recreational environment, however how the 'maritime environment' will act as a catalyst is not explained. Instead the focus is on the transformed actual environment, this attempts to reduce any ambiguity as a clear vision of what the area will look like is described.

This description of the environment focuses on the new, and the openness of the site. Such openness is in direct contrast to the security wall and the general closure of the site whilst still a working port. Such a contrast with the past becomes an opportunity to idealise the change. As the port is going to be open for vessels, and 'the docks can be explored', the 'new development' is validated as a democratic cause of action, which represents new and 'enjoyable' opportunities for the public. The solution is therefore focused on the opportunities that accompany new development, rather than on the actual development that will need to take place. This effectively validates the cause of action taken and causes difficulty for other suggested solutions to come to the forefront. Gamson (1992) notes how strategies tend to relate to people's experiences, and this can be recognised here with how it is the sociable aspects of redevelopment that are highlighted, rather than issues around investment and the economic value of land.

The fact that the economic value of land is discussed is understandable, as this is a strategic document; however, the amount of discussion is minor. Instead, the reasoning for why development should be 'encouraged' is referred to, which returns the extract to a discussion on furthering social aspects of regeneration. Concentrating on the end result – the opportunity to explore and enjoy the 'industrial archaeology and recreational potential', omits any detail on the procedure taken for this to happen. As a strategic document, the purpose of it is to give specific information on the future of Liverpool, however such detail is omitted, and thus it can be implied that there is an attempt to persuade the reader that there is no need to spend time explaining the detail. Particularly, as such detail entails the economic value of the land, and how this should be enhanced. Instead, the focus on the end result again presents the new development as the only sensible solution for a

'necessity of a transformation'. Illustrating the end result in a clear and positive social manner, suggests that the 'new development' is compatible with the needs of all[12].

The *Environment Committee Report* similarly demonstrates this compatibility in selecting specific actions as a solution. In advance of the action being taken, the end result is still presented hopefully and in an encouraging manner for those included on the Committee:

> ... a successful Garden Festival, if it is successful in terms of attracting people – 3 million visitors and generating income from that and the spending power from that and then leaving behind it the bonus of an exhibition all, which is going to be turned over a leisure and sports complex, leaving behind the promenade of completely re-landscaped area – will be beneficial to the local community. If it attracts three million visitors and is an outstanding success it will play a very real part in engendering confidence in the area. This is really what we are looking for, confidence for investment in the area (House of Commons 1982: 188).

The process in which the International Garden Festival (IGF) will save Liverpool's future is clearly set out here and as mentioned, it combines hope for the local community and most importantly, an opportunity to entice investment in the area. The overall target of gaining developers confidence is clearly pronounced, and validated with the mention of the benefits to the 'local community'. Setting out such a clear mandate for development reduces any opportunity for ambiguity and uncertainty, particularly as it states '[t]his is really what we are looking for, confidence for investment in the area'. Stating this requirement, and also mentioning the local community, advocates change through IGF and amplifies the goal, as all will then desire 'confidence for investment'. The rhetoric of discussing urban regeneration in this manner, demonstrates the process of gaining support for new targets. As although the target is clearly to 'engender[ing] confidence', other benefits to the 'local community' are emphasised.

Recognition is given in the beginning of this quotation of the uncertainty in following such action, with 'if' declared twice regarding the amount of visitors

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[12] This recognition of different 'needs' in urban regeneration is discussed in relation to motivational framing in Chapter Seven.

attracted to the IGF. However, this uncertainty is brief, in contrast to the conviction of how much success the IGF will bring to Liverpool. This implies an attempt to persuade the reader that what really matters is how, in the long-term, developers' confidence in the area will be stimulated. The contradiction between the 'if' for the 'local community', and the 'real part' of 'engendering confidence' transforms the meaning of this frame. What is considered worthwhile, is what can be done with the site afterwards, whether or not there are '3 million visitors'. Although overall, as mentioned, it is the 'confidence for investment' which is paramount, the symbolism exists through the leisure based transformation. This transformation is pointed out through the new 'sports complex', and the 're-landscaped promenade', not the actual festival, which may, or may not, be a success.

What has been demonstrated in the Waterfront Redevelopment case study is that although community needs are declared, overall the strategies, tactics and targets are centred on gaining private investment. Through the analysis, it can be recognised that whilst the overall focus relates to the development of land, in order to communicate this with others, the process of 'socialisation' occurs. Community needs are mentioned in order to demonstrate desired shared values for urban regeneration, and to ensure that the transformative process is supported. To guarantee that the interpretation of urban regeneration is clear, and understood, means of gaining confidence from the private sector is set out in detail as the solution to the 'necessity of a transformation'.

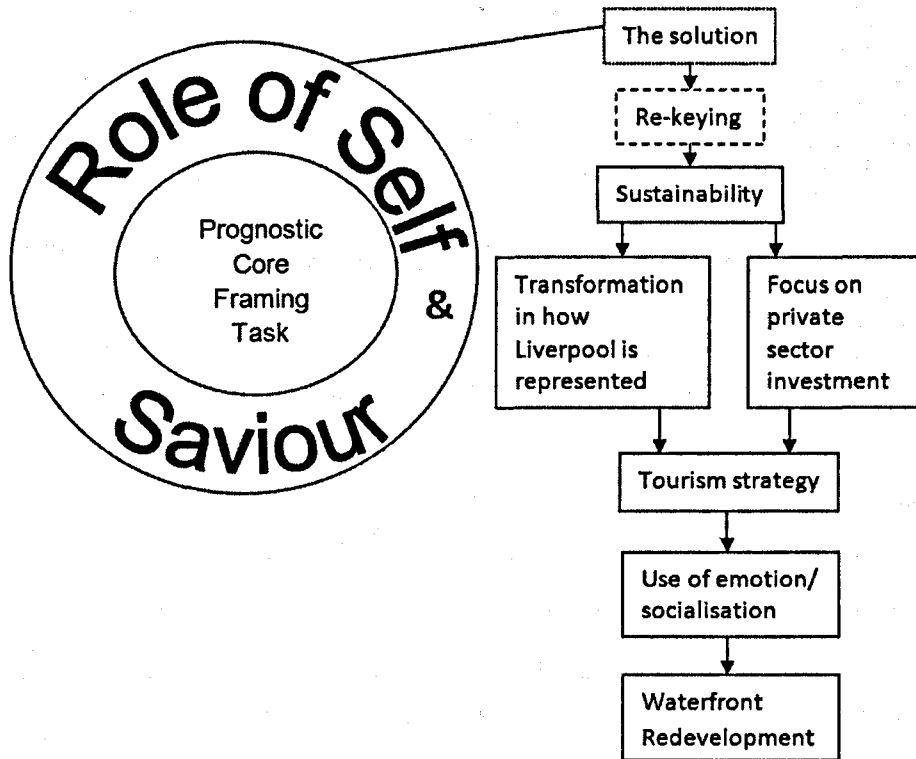Figure Six depicts the process of prognostic framing in Case Study One.

Figure 6: Prognostic framing in Case Study One.

Case Study Two – European Capital of Culture 2008

Case study two, as explained in detail in Chapter Three, is European Capital of Culture (ECoC), held in Liverpool in 2008. Analysis of this event examines narratives of urban regeneration deliberated either by decision-makers, or from documents written in the years leading to ECoC08. From the urban regeneration solutions discussed, the focus of the strategies, tactics and targets in 2008 are based on new development in Liverpool. Although solutions for Liverpool's problems are often discussed around ECoC08, it is the role of this in association with other, either new or more established characteristics of the city that is emphasised. By emphasising other characteristics, rather than ECoC08, an attempt is made to demonstrate how sustainable Liverpool's regeneration is, and that its intent is inclusivity.

Such inclusivity entails declaring how much involvement local communities have in supporting the transformation needed. During an interview with a senior member of staff from Liverpool Vision, when discussing the branding of the city, it was explained how this was carried out in the 'role of self' frame:

> Through working with Finch, they appointed Brand Vista to do the work
> and it followed the typical principles of brand development work,
> especially the process of understanding the marketplace, everyone from
> the people in Liverpool to influential decision makers in London and the
> South East were involved. Key stakeholders were given a voice and it
> was made known that it was to be a brand for the city, not just a logo.
> The branding shows awareness of the positive elements of European
> Capital of Culture and recognises the value of media exposure during
> 2008, the logo is now being supported by the city with its value noted by
> research carried out, and it has become a means for the city to evolve
> (interview 1a).

The interpretation given of the strategy pursued aims to suggest that strategic thinking existed to ensure the development of a strong brand for Liverpool. The strategy here emphasises how all were involved, and that this is the reason that it has become a success which is 'supported by the city'. Through demonstrating the strategic thinking taken, there is specification of how the targets will be met, as it is described that the brand's 'value [is] noted by research carried out'. This further validates the focus given on branding for urban regeneration, as the work is appropriately researched. Belief in the probability of change and its efficiency for regenerating Liverpool corresponds with amplifying the process taken in branding Liverpool, as it not only empowers everyone in the change happening, as mentioned; but it also gives authorisation to the end result – which is here the 'logo'. Focusing on the process, not only the solution rationalises the remedy and gives an understanding of how change (i.e. a focus on branding) transpires.

Such validation of the solution by focusing on the process organises the meaning of urban regeneration to be interpreted as identical to the needs of the 'city', as this is how it will 'evolve'. By indicating the transformation, the process is implied as rational, it follows the diagnostic frame (see chapter five): 'necessity of a transformation'. The active, altering function of this 'role of self' frame, transforms the meaning of the effort taken in conjunction with 'Brand Vista', to a clarification of evidence which supports the positive, in order to harmonise the solution. This association with the audience highlighted here can be associated with the 'experiential commensurability' (Snow and Benford 1988) discussed in Chapter Three. The experiential commensurability element of this prognostic framing task gives credibility to the focus on branding, with the strategies, tactics and targets being identified.

Such conviction demonstrates how a representation of Liverpool has been constructed, maintained and mobilised. It illustrates the process of working in partnership ('with Finch') to ensure that the image employed for branding the city seemed credible, and can be further developed through the media to gradually become a new positive representation of the city. This need for constant advancement in Liverpool's image for the city to evolve is justified through how the logo has developed and advanced following ECoC08, to become a unique representation of the city (see Figure Seven below).
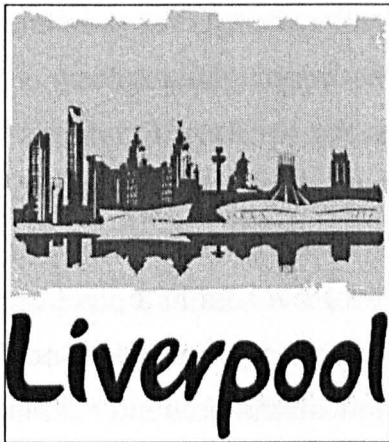

Figure 7: Liverpool's logo (from 2009 onwards)

The unique representation, which builds on the positive elements of European Capital of Culture' can be recognised as a strategy in documents as well. Regeneration solutions are put forward and justified as additional to current benefits. For example, the NWDA *Regional Economic Strategy* explains how:

> The Northwest has been successful in winning major events. These contribute to an improved image of the region, as well as generating economic activity. There are significant opportunities to build further on key events, such as Liverpool Capital of Culture 2008, and much to do to ensure the region benefits from its success in winning such accolades.
>   One of the strengths of the region is its diversity, particularly of its communities. Future growth depends upon using the talents of all these communities. This requires cleaner and safer environments, as well as the full participation of the community and voluntary sectors (Northwest Development Agency 2006: 45).

Again, it is the 'improved image' that is vital, in order to 'generate economic activity'. 'Winning major events' is interpreted as useful for the region, for three different reasons, as the variety in benefits to be gained implies that everyone can be positively affected. The three forms of 'benefit' explained are: that the image of the region has been transformed (see Chapter Five on

how this was deemed a key problem which needed addressing); secondly, economic activity has been generated, and that thirdly, there are further benefits for the region from the event held. The three benefits of how successful major events are understood are incorporated without any detail on how a transformed Liverpool will ensue. The lack of detail in Liverpool's transformation ensures that no specific beneficial goals are declared for the city. Rather, the focus is on being competitive, and can be noted through the repeated use of the word 'winning'. By stressing the 'winning' aspect, the competitive gain by the region is highlighted, and acknowledged as possible due to the 'strengths of the region'. Focusing on the 'winning' aspect is understandable given the context of this extract, as the *Regional Economic Strategy's* core audience is "public, private, voluntary, community, faith and trade union partners [which] have a crucial role in helping the region to achieve its potential" (p. 4), and therefore need to feel involved in a positive opportunity. Advocating specific solutions in such a style will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven, as an element of 'motivational framing'. Rather than discuss 'motivational framing' here, it is the manner in which the solution is constructed around future success (by 'winning') which is analysed.

Through focusing on how future benefits can be received from ECoC08, the strategy manages to give a sense of empowerment, as the future role involves others. This involvement can particularly be noted with the second paragraph from the quotation given, which describes in great detail the 'communities'. The process described here attempts to reproduce the benefits of ECoC08 in the future to the communities. By emphasising the positive, future benefits of ECoC08 that will be available to the communities, there are two separate overall targets being met and amplified (Snow *et. al.* 1986). These targets are amplified through the 'full participation' needed for the solution to be met, which entails the aforementioned representation of the region and economic activity. It also includes complimenting the diverse and talented communities, as being one of the region's 'strengths', in order to appeal for their 'full participation'. Through paying such compliments, it becomes evident that the purpose of this second paragraph is to persuade

'appropriate' behaviour. This is evident through the praising made of the current diversity found in communities, which can be perceived as an attempt to ensure that communities respond appropriately to the strategy's vision. The persuasive style of organising the solution around basic needs: such as 'cleaner and safer environments' supports a focus on 'winning major events' to be a practical strategy. Having such a practical strategy thus manages to oblige such communities and voluntary sectors to approve of such targets. Without their approval, not only will the environment not be 'cleaner and safer', but the other two benefits already reaped in the city centre will also fail. The need for such 'appropriate behaviour' from the communities is deemed vital due to the differing needs to be found in a 'diverse' place, thus controlling the strategy is imperative. Although the diversity of the communities is only mentioned in passing, the need for cities to appear diverse is a well-recognised aspect of the competitive discourse. And as already explained (in Chapter One and Two), this discourse is supported by central government, as found in the Core Cities research on competitiveness. Therefore, success for all (especially diverse communities) is only deemed possible through further supporting the benefits gained from ECoC08 and other major events. This success, met through meeting diverse needs, also conforms to central government's advice.

The Culture Company's *European Capital of Culture 2008 Vision Document*, also recognises the overall belief that ECoC08 is to be a regeneration success, as can be noted from where it states:

> The starting point for the programme is the city's already full and buoyant cultural calendar. The aspiration is then to create a dynamic and special experience across the year working with artists and creative organisations from the city and across the world to make this offer really unique for 2008 by encouraging unusual collaborations and connections, the creation of extraordinary work and memorable experiences, and championing a spirit of risk, edginess, and wit (Liverpool Culture Company 2006a: 6).

Again emphasis is given on the local through discussing the 'aspiration' of working with 'artists and creative organisations from the city'. The belief stated here is that only by organisational collaboration between the local and 'across the world' can the ECoC08 programme be 'really unique'. Stating this

belief manages to rationalise the remedies (Benford and Snow 2000) which will ensure a creative city, with the target of such creativity is to be able to champion 'a spirit of risk, edginess, and wit'. Gamson (1992: 185) explains how "[s]ymbolic strategies should aim at showing the connection between a collective action frame, the broader cultural counter-themes with which it resonates, and the experiential knowledge encapsulated in popular wisdom". This connection in symbolic strategies that Gamson discusses is evident by how the Culture Company begins the statement given in the extract. The experiential knowledge that the city's cultural calendar is 'already full and buoyant', attempts to create collective action through the involvement of both the local ('city') artists and creative organisations, as well as those 'across the world'. The broader cultural counter themes are of ensuring that cities compete internationally, by appearing to have 'a spirit of risk, edginess, and wit'. Such a symbolic strategy links the local to the global, through the creativity involved, and with the shared experience of all who have experienced the programme of the 'cultural calendar'. It also conforms to the competitive discourse of urban regeneration at an international level. This competitive discourse is stated in the Arts Council, England Report, *Arts and Regeneration: creating vibrant communities* (2007), it explains how the arts can shape communities, and suggests that there is a need for risk taking in order for art led regeneration to be successful (see Chapter One).

Discussing successful regeneration through an international perspective can be noted in the 'Creating an Outstanding Quality of place' section of Liverpool Vision's *Creating a World Class City for Business*. In this document, reasons for wanting to live, work and visit are given as:

> The Liverpool City Region is attracting more visitors than ever before with a wealth of cultural and historical attractions. The iconic city centre waterfront has become an international visitor destination, and the physical change in the city centre is mirrored in regeneration elsewhere in the city. The new award winning Arena and Convention Centre Liverpool is bringing international artists and conferences to the city (Liverpool Vision n.d.: n.p.).

Again, by linking the local needs found 'elsewhere in the city', to the global recognition of the 'iconic city centre', the regeneration approach being followed is identified as a target to be replicated. By replicating 'the physical

change in the city centre' for further success in regeneration, the strategy taken of focusing on the built environment is validated. No differentiation is made between the regeneration needs found in the city centre, in comparison to those of local communities on the outskirts. Rather, the viewpoint put forward is that what is good enough for the city centre is also good enough for 'elsewhere'. Therefore, such an extension of the visitor objectives, to those of the locality not only homogenises what is available in the city (centre and elsewhere), but also validates the discourse of following best practice resulting in successful regeneration (see Chapter One).

Such a viewpoint by Liverpool Vision manages to arrange three specific aspects in how regeneration is framed: firstly, it validates a focus on the built environment for successful urban regeneration, by discussing the 'iconic' waterfront being of international importance to visitors. Secondly, it attempts to appeal to the inhabitants 'elsewhere', that the transformation of place in their locality will also be of an 'international' standard; and thirdly, as mentioned, it shapes the need for urban regeneration 'elsewhere' in the direction of focusing on the built environment. These three intentions manage to instigate what Snow *et. al.* (1986) term 'frame extension', this is achieved here by portraying the objectives of gaining international visitors as corresponding with those of localities 'elsewhere'. By concentrating on iconic elements of the built environment and the presentation of 'international artists and conferences' the objectives become a shared desired value. They are validated as appropriate, and idealised through highlighting the success of the city centre's redevelopment. This success becomes associated with an enhanced quality of life and is presented as such by Liverpool Vision.

The *Winning Tourism* strategic document by the Mersey Partnership (TMP) also justifies change through large-scale events. The urgency and desperation to get things done means that strong claims are made in order to organise the solution as ideal:

> Capital of Culture presents us with a once in a lifetime opportunity to showcase the Liverpool City Region as an exciting, cultural rich and diverse destination. There was huge institution and popular support for

the bid and this must now be harnessed to deliver the best ever
European Capital of Culture year in 2008. Volume and value of visitors
forecasts – The Capital of Culture title is forecast to generate... 1.7m
extra visitors, £2billion worth of investment and 14, 000 jobs. If the key
projects outlined in this strategy are delivered there is a very real
opportunity for Liverpool to become a premier European destination and
the visitor flows forecast in this strategy could be exceeded by 2015
(The Mersey Partnership 2003a: 30-31).

This 'once in a lifetime opportunity' is set for 2008. As the first edition of this
document was written in 2003, by discussing an event to be held five years
into the future, the large-scaleness of the event and the deadline are
emphasised. As such, the importance of 2008 becomes a 'saviour' for
Liverpool. It is urgency that is being put forward here, the interpretation of
how ECoC08 is a 'once in a lifetime opportunity', with the need to 'harness'
the support, before it gets out of control. The controlling element of the
solution is confirmed to be a necessity, due to the forecasts being made, and
the numbers mentioned.

This numerical presentation of 'evidence' assists in arranging an intentional
interpretation; it is designed to ensure support for the event (see motivation
framing in Chapter Seven), and conviction to the sustainability of such an
approach in regeneration. The 'evidence', although predicted on forecasts
made attempts to influence the reader due to attributing specific numbers to
the positive result expected. This need to unquestionably focus on the
positive evidence clarifies how urban regeneration is deemed successful, and
how large scale events are promoted as an economically viable solution. The
evidence presented focuses on investment (for both business and tourism),
and employment opportunities. Such intent reveals the overall objectives for
events. By stating how the objectives could be met, an understanding of how
a certain solution is advocated as viable, and the process that this entails
becomes established. This process of gaining agreement on the 'lifetime
opportunity to showcase Liverpool' is therefore sanctioned as a result of
forecasted numbers which address economic hope. This hope however
returns from discussing the economic potential to a more abstract target: of
becoming 'a premier European destination'. As an overall target, the lack of
specific meaning to this term is in opposition to the forecasts made in relation

to the economic opportunities. Whilst the economic opportunities were predicted, they were also measurable, and therefore could be focused upon. Focusing on economic targets provides an opportunity to construct further claims that will encourage the need to harness 'popular support' by institutions and the general public. This clearly demonstrates the manner in which support is identified as conceivable: through the concrete (although forecasted) assurance that an economic transformation will materialise.

Such an economic transformation also relies heavily on another large scale programme of transformation in Liverpool: the Liverpool One development. For this programme, there is less of an attempt made to narrate this as necessitating support from the public, or the manner in which this is done at least does not entail such rationalisation. Rather, as can be noted in the ERM Economics *Final Report* on the ECoC08 Socio-economic impact, it is the economic value of a new retail development that is highlighted:

> The PSDA [Paradise Street Development Area, now known as 'Liverpool One'] retail-led mixed use development, due for completion in 2007/08, represents a wholly private sector, £750 million direct capital investment, and is a key element of Liverpool's wider regeneration strategy. It includes part of the nominated World Heritage site, and will provide for economic and social growth and improvement through a high quality, integrated and fully accessible development. It will benefit not only the continuing physical renaissance of the City Centre, but also the wider area, whilst preserving and enhancing historic fabric of international importance (ERM Economics and Liverpool City Council 2003: 22).

The most important element of this 'saviour' is how the development 'represents a wholly private sector' investment. By gaining such investment, it states how Liverpool is succeeding in the competitive requirements of urban regeneration. Highlighting such a good working relationship between the private investors involved in Liverpool's regeneration, attempts to demonstrate the importance of the old architecture, whilst emphasising the new way of working. Providing yet again numerical data on the investment made, focuses the solution on how well this new way of working functions. It attempts to influence the reader to be supportive of the new way of working, by highlighting the continuity of the investment to the existing 'historical fabric'. Associating the economic and social growths by explaining how they

can both be rectified through redeveloping the built environment is an established discourse in urban regeneration (as mentioned in Chapter One and discussed in relation to the data in Chapter Eight).

By highlighting how well Liverpool City Council (LCC) is managing to appropriately regenerate the city, by trusting the private sector, the assumption made is that this is *the* solution. The solution is idealised, due to the manner it is stated as a component within the 'wider regeneration strategy' for Liverpool. By being a factor in the 'wider regeneration strategy', it also manages to be presented as a work in partnership for the overall benefit of Liverpool and 'the wider area'. Such new investment bridges the old grandeur of the city: 'the nominated World Heritage site' with the new way of working, thus validating a perceived balanced approach to regeneration. By mentioning that the historic environment is of an 'international importance', and that the new development includes this site, the new is linked as having an equal importance. Optimism in this programme is revealed through the £750 million investment, and that the historic buildings involved are of an 'international importance' as confirmed with the nomination made for WHS status. Therefore, this report on the ECoC08 Socio-economic impact can thus be equally hopeful of Liverpool's success from ECoC08, not only the Liverpool One project. For the city council to have such a positive report, written by an external consulting company, the solution becomes even more ideal – it follows the advice of central government, and is validated by a private organisation.

The benefits given are accounted for through the 'economic and social growth', but are predominantly discussed around the 'physical renaissance'. What can be noted in this extract is that although the overall purpose of the report concerns ECoC08, specific programmes, unless a part of an event, remain to focus on the 'hard' infrastructure of cities and the role of developers. The exclusive role of developers in the 'retail-led mixed use development', although focusing on the 'hard' infrastructure, is nevertheless discussed in softer language. The development is not only described in terms

of financial investment, but as providing for 'social growth' and being 'fully accessible'. Therefore, what this extract and others demonstrate is that the focus remains on the 'hard' infrastructure of urban regeneration, with the language employed to describe this being softer.

See Figure Eight for a depiction of prognostic framing in Case Study Two.
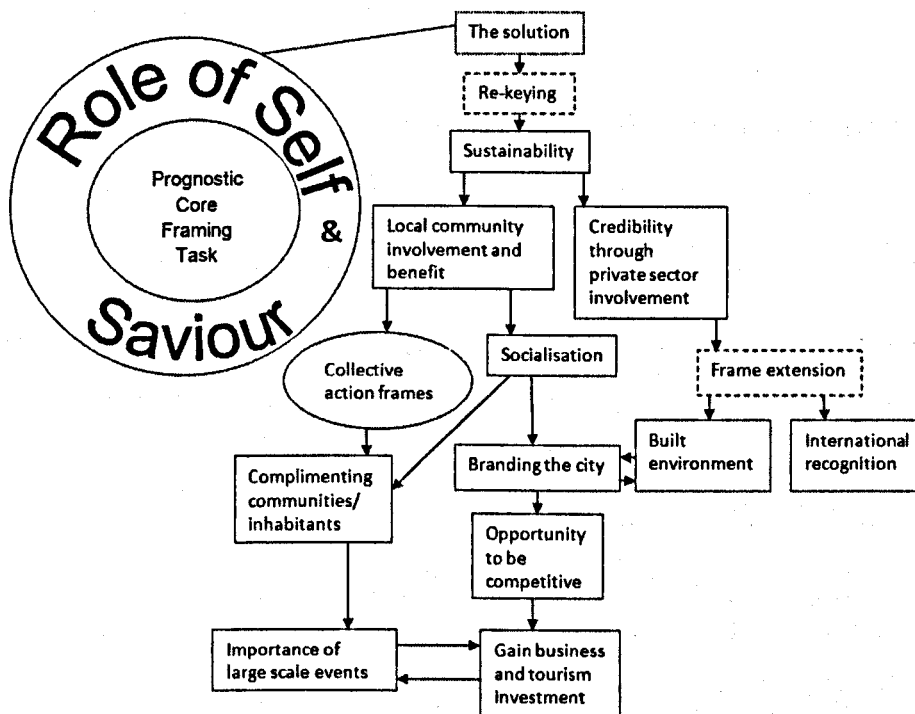

Figure 8: Prognostic framing in Case Study Two.

Summary

This chapter has described the process through which Snow and Benford's (1988) 'prognostic framing' is played out in Liverpool in 1984 and 2008 through the 'role of self' and 'saviour' frame. The difficulty in recognising a coherent set of strategies, tactics and targets for both case studies has been noted due to the different audience the documents were written for, and the variety of perceptions given in the interviews[13]. In this chapter, another element of Snow and Benford's (1988) conceptual scaffolding of frames have been illustrated: 'Experiential Commensurability'. This concept is defined as

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[13] This is recognised as a limitation of the research, but also expected due to the conflicting narratives in circulation concerning urban regeneration, and will be discussed in more detail in the conclusion to this thesis.

a phenomenological constraint, where evidence is interpreted in a certain manner and organised around direct experience, in order to suggest a solution, believed to respond to the problem. This 'constraint' contends with the 'Saviour' frame, and integrates well with the overall prognostic framing, particularly in instances where the 'role of self' frame progresses to that of the 'saviour' frame.

For the Waterfront Redevelopment case study, what became apparent from analysing how the solution was framed, is that in the rare occasions when the process is discussed, it is in order to validate the significance of the action. However, predominantly the process is not discussed at all, rather it is the end result which is focused upon, which aims to highlight how positive the solution could be for Liverpool. I have argued that the positiveness of the strategies attempt to relate to people's experiences, in particular that of local communities, with redevelopment of the landscape validated as an opportunity to democratise space by opening it up to the public. The overall interpretation given of successful urban regeneration, is the potential confidence to be gained from the private sector. How this confidence is discussed however, entails 'socialisation' of such economic transformation, by demonstrating shared values and rationalisation of peoples' experience.

Through the ECoC08 case study what has been demonstrated is how support for certain strategies relates to political discourse, with the process of gaining support explained, or highlighting the positive end result. Through focusing on the process, the solution is rationalised as being a sustainable target. The goal of generating income is highlighted in this case study, and organised around the manner that it will empower the involvement of local communities. The political discourse of competitiveness through creativity and redevelopment of the built environment are identified in the narratives. What else has been noted in relation to the second case study is the association that can be made between the built environment and branding. That accordingly the representation of place presented for branding the city needs to be supported by a physical change, not only the symbolic. In order

to gain support for such a change to the built environment within the process of validating such urban regeneration projects, there is an attempt to socialise the redevelopment. This attempt can be recognised through how popular support is acquired, which endorses the involvement of others, through either focusing on community opportunities, or by concentrating on the potential investment to be gained.

In both case studies, the core task of prognostic framing is acknowledged through the 'role of self' and 'saviour' frame. The frames seem to function in order to reduce ambiguity and uncertainty around potential urban regeneration solutions. The focus is largely on ensuring that the end result seems desirable and the narratives tend to focus on this, rather than the process and technical detail (particularly in the Waterfront Redevelopment case study). The persuasive and emotional rhetoric employed when presenting a solution can assist in explaining the lack of clear strategies and targets being discussed. The appeal made, is for support from the inhabitants, requested through emotionally employing a focus on shared values and experiences. Such 'socialisation' of the regeneration solution however is associated to the idea of the need to attract private investment through transforming the built environment. Therefore, when shared heritage and culture is emphasised as it often is in the narratives, it is to highlight the relationship the inhabitants have with place, in order to transform the role of space.

Chapter Seven – Motivational Framing

Introduction

Chapter Five and Chapter Six respectively discussed how Snow and Benford's (1988) diagnostic and prognostic core framing task was applied to the data. Therefore, Chapter Seven will demonstrate how Snow and Benford's third (and final) core framing task of 'motivational framing' relates to the data. The purpose of motivational framing, according to these authors, is to act as "prods to action" (p. 202). Such enthusiastic behaviour towards certain aspects of urban regeneration were found in the data, and the manner in which this was presented were categorised as the 'advantage' frame. The analysis for this data is consequently arranged around the propagation of the idea that opportunities for urban regeneration are likely to succeed, and for that reason should be supported. As explained in Chapter Four (presentation of the data found in the case studies), how the 'advantage' frame organises cooperation for urban regeneration focuses on the benefits available for the city by following specific programmes. The style of programmes focused upon are praised in an attempt to ensure that they are further developed, as they are already successful, and need to be encouraged to become a part of the wider urban regeneration strategy. Encouragement is employed here to confirm the need for further support and confidence in the style of urban regeneration being followed, with pride in Liverpool's characteristics presented as a means of reinforcing an emotional call for approval.

Findings from analysing the data indicate that the advantage frame is a means of complimenting the local population and organisations involved in urban regeneration to have confidence in either themselves, or their actions. At times, this entails self justification or there is an attempt to influence the reader (at a local level – including the public and decision-makers) and motivate them into engagement, through praise, for either behaviour to date or natural characteristics. In Chapter Six, when discussing prognostic framing, analysis of the data did briefly reveal aspects of motivational

framing; this was only touched upon, however, it related more to the proposition of competitive aspects of urban regeneration as a *solution*, and therefore how Liverpool was 'best' and had an opportunity to 'win'. In opposition, motivational framing, by means of the 'advantage' frame, is not about proposing solutions, but rather focuses on how Liverpool *is* the best: or has inherent *advantages*. Presenting such conviction to the reader (when the intended audience is at a local level) additionally acknowledges their role in generating such success. This in turn, impels belief that the regeneration approach followed enables a definite 'win' for the city.

Snow and Benford (1988) demonstrate how participation is enticed through a moral imperative to be involved in the peace movement, they also explain that participation is more complex than this. To demonstrate this complexity, they emphasise the difference between 'consensus mobilisation' and 'action mobilisation', explaining how different peace organisations have portrayed such issues, and interpreted morality for further organisational support. The organisational support discussed in Snow and Benford's work is proactive in its attack on the use of nuclear weapons. Such proactivity is in direct contrast to how 'motivational framing' is being discussed in this thesis, as all that is required from urban regeneration narratives is overall support – that the initiatives chosen are the most appropriate for Liverpool's future success. The manner in which such support is acquired does however conform to Snow and Benford's findings, as although the degree of motivation required is much weaker, it does entail conviction, incentives and the imperative to care. Some issues concerning conviction, incentives and the imperative to care have been touched upon in Chapters Five and Six. However, in this chapter, it is the manner in which these aspects attempt to gain support from the public and to motivate organisations to work in partnership which will be focused upon. Naturally, this does depend on the purpose of the document, and who its intended audience is. The examples illustrated of motivational framing discussed in this chapter are illustrative of the data, in how advantages are presented for support from the audience.

In this chapter it needs to be made clear that analysis of the data has been divided into sub-headings for both case studies. Such sub-headings have been created in order to illustrate how the motivational framing through various advantages has been recognised. Therefore, they can be understood as sub-frames, as although they all relate to the 'advantage' frame, they are distinctive means of gaining support. In the Waterfront Redevelopment case study, support is gathered through rationalising the argument that Liverpool is at an advantageous position, that there are opportunities available from focusing on tourism as a means of regeneration, that the public should support the tourist-orientated regeneration approach, and how potential success in existing and on-going initiatives are discussed as predetermined. In the ECoC08 case study, the sub frames of 'advantage' entail the uniqueness that can be used for branding, and that the regeneration approach already started is again a predetermined success.

Motivational framing and the 'Advantage' frame

Motivating organisations, decision-makers and the public is a requirement within the need for partnership in current regeneration discourse. To address such discourses in regeneration, data from the case studies will be analysed using frame analysis. Davies (2003) recognises the difficulty for Local Authorities (LAs) as central government puts pressure on them to put forward a logical, shared action. Davies recognises the complexity in the expectation that LAs can incorporate shared values between themselves and local businesses. Through the conviction of central government, that one strong approach will bring success, an interpretation of 'success' can be analysed, particularly as it has to hold a meaning to more than one type of audience with their own distinct interests – the public and private. This need for consensus is also recognised by Snow and Benford (1988), with how 'corrective action' must be produced. This construction of 'corrective action' is clearly demonstrated in the data through the 'advantage' frame, by the praise given to how well all are doing in the current approach to regeneration being followed. Such cooperation in the approach taken and the effort made, attempts to demonstrate satisfaction and present pride in the effectiveness to

date, in regenerating Liverpool. How the effectiveness is portrayed thus employs pride in the action taken, or the characteristics of the city, which can be promoted positively as what Snow and Benford (1988) would term "selective incentives" (p. 202).

The framing

Case Study One – The Waterfront Redevelopment 1984

Case Study One examines how urban regeneration is considered through the 1984 Waterfront Redevelopment in Liverpool. In this section, how the 'advantage' frame can be explored through the case study will be discussed. As already explained, the Waterfront Redevelopment incorporates the International Garden Festival and the opening of the first phase of the Albert Dock redevelopment. These two projects formed a strategy in Liverpool's regeneration, submitted through the Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC). Chapters Two and Three respectively chronicled Liverpool's history and regeneration strategies, positioning the changes in regeneration taking place in Liverpool in 1984 against the backdrop of a break from industrial activity as a central plank of local economy. This transformation encompassed a new focus on attempting to manage and turn around Liverpool's negative image, by attempting to attract *tourism investment*. Due to the contrast of this approach with previous efforts at regeneration, it is understandable that it may have been challenging to garner support from developers and the inhabitants of Liverpool, for the Waterfront Redevelopment programme.

Thus, this chapter explores how a particular approach to regeneration was made sensible and appealing to a variety of key publics. Attempts to motivate action in 'rationalisation for looking to secure tourist industry investment', opportunities available for Liverpool in securing tourist industry investment', 'public support of a tourist-orientated regeneration approach' and 'successful regeneration: emphasising continuity between existing and on-going projects' will be explained in the following sections. For the Waterfront Redevelopment case study, six sources are drawn upon in this

chapter, one interview with a senior member of staff in the council, and five documents, written for either the public or as strategic documents.

Rationalisation for looking to secure tourist industry investment

In order to justify this focus on gaining tourism investment, rather than enticing heavy industry to Liverpool (a move away from such industry could also be noted in other cities with an economic history, for example coal mining, as evident from the coal strikes in 1984), a justification is made on the appropriateness of this new approach to regeneration. During an interview with a senior member of staff from Merseyside County Council at *the time* of the Waterfront Redevelopment, the rationale for establishing confidence in tourism investment is given – the city's *history* of tourism:

> People forget that Liverpool has always had a strong tourism industry; it was built on trading links with America, especially from the late 17th Century. There were transatlantic ferries, the liner companies, the migrants used Liverpool as a front door. Therefore, Liverpool for 150 years at least was used to being a tourist destination and had the infrastructure that went with it. You had the big hotels such as the Adelphi, the original one, but Liverpool was more of a staging post, rather than a destination. There were guide books to the city and the overhead railway showcased the dock area to tourists. So the Liverpool Docks have always been a tourist attraction, especially as there was better access to the waterfront then. It also had the famous museums, the libraries and the department stores, but not cathedrals then. There was also the architecture with St. George's Hall, the churches and all the Victorian and Georgian architecture was intact although medieval Liverpool had disappeared. The population at the time was heading towards one million, so it was a buzzing and vibrant city (Interview 3).

A validation of confidence in Liverpool's appropriateness as a tourist destination is given through highlighting the historical evidence of Liverpool's ability in attracting tourists. Such a focus on history, in order to justify later actions implies that the transformation in how Liverpool was being regenerated by 1984 was not considered to be a significant transformation for the city. Downplaying this approach to regeneration, with a linkage to the past gives the perception that tourism investment will be achievable, and thus a sensible strategy which should be supported. By giving examples of how Liverpool has the infrastructure in place to be a successful tourism destination, it prompts others to believe that such success can be guaranteed again in 1984. The fact that the city 'was used to being a tourist destination' presents the notion that such a strategy is a natural direction to follow, which implies that the inhabitants can become involved in it

effortlessly. This effortless involvement, perceived as natural for the inhabitants becomes immediately relevant to them, through historical association with tourism.

This historical association correlates with the city's period of pre-eminence, when Liverpool was an affluent city, with global connections. By reminding others that 'trading links with America', 'transatlantic ferries [and] the liner companies' brought great wealth to the city (as '[p]eople forget'), it is suggested that this relates to the city's former significance as a tourist destination. Negotiating the past in this manner does not contain any mention of Liverpool's demise. Similarly, an attempt at enticing other industries, following the decline of the significance of the docks, is not mentioned; and instead it is the 150 years' of experience in tourism that is highlighted. An example of this is the statement made regarding how the city's population 'was heading towards one million, so it was a buzzing and vibrant city', which needs to be understood against Liverpool's aforementioned population decline (according to the Office for National Statistics, in 1981, the population was 510,000), and had decreased further by 2008 (when the interview was held), with the city's population at 434, 900 (Office for National Statistics). Therefore, the population of Liverpool's past is regarded as having given the city a 'buzz' and 'vibrancy'. This 'buzz-iness' and vibrancy is implied as having the potential to return (albeit, not through an actual increase in the local population), by means of focusing on tourism development.

Therefore, investing in the tourism industry has been presented by a senior member of Merseyside County Council (at the time) as appropriate, due to the grandeur of the city and what it has to offer. Indeed, the *opportunities available for Liverpool through focusing on tourism development* are a significant feature of numerous documents produced in the early 1980s – those written from a strategic perspective, and those written for the public as promotional material – and these shall now be considered.

Opportunities available for Liverpool in securing tourist industry investment

As explained, there is a range of data which focuses on the opportunities available for Liverpool's regeneration through tourism investment. The *Albert Dock Village* newspaper, written for new (and potential) investors in the Albert Dock, highlights the fact that a prestigious, well-known art gallery will be opening on the site:

> The Tate Gallery has long been exploring the possibility of opening a sister museum in the North of England. The Albert Dock will be the proud home of that new exhibition, which is planned to open in 1988. The Tate in the North will present one major exhibition every summer, as well as a programme of small shows throughout the year, bringing first-rate selections of modern art from the Tate's permanent collection (The Albert Dock Company (n.d.: 3 article 2).

This extract demonstrates how involvement in the Albert Dock's development is motivated through incentives such as the status of the Tate Gallery. By articulating the 'first rate' art, it implies an association for other developers that are willing to base their 'home' in the Albert Dock, that their work is also 'first-rate' by association. The imperative that other companies will have the same sensibility, by following the conduct of the Tate, is perceived. There is an implication made here of how the Albert Dock had to prove its credentials in order to secure the Tate Gallery of the North (now known as Tate Liverpool). Moreover, proof of the Albert Dock's excellence can be recognised in the implication that other places in the 'North of England' were also considered as sites, in the process positioning Liverpool (in particular the Albert Dock) as better than these other places. By discussing the status and capital of the Tate, it could be perceived that this can be negotiated, with the same meaning being transmitted to other companies considering investment in Liverpool.

Pride in acquiring the Tate Gallery's 'sister museum' in Liverpool's Albert Dock becomes a means of adopting an emotional element to Liverpool's future success. This success is implied as motivating potential developers to tap into their satisfaction as also having an opportunity to be involved in such honour. By reinforcing the pride for Liverpool in acquiring the Tate, it becomes a resource in constructing a meaning for the city's new art gallery.

This new meaning mobilises how Liverpool is coneptualised, and puts it on a par with the 'Tate's permanent collection' in London. Such a strategy encourages the audience (new and potential developers) to recognise the positive opportunities for Liverpool's regeneration through the Waterfront Redevelopment, in particular at the Albert Dock. Therefore the broader understanding of the significance in acquiring the Tate's 'sister museum' is presented through the greater appreciation of pride. Raising the consciousness of the advantages available to Liverpool in this manner implies the importance of acquiring the Tate, and why it should be supported, as appropriate development in Liverpool's Albert Dock. The appropriateness of redeveloping the waterfront encompasses not the fact that anything was willing to be located in the Albert Dock, but specifically a gallery with 'first-rate selections of modern art'.

Opportunities available for Liverpool in its regeneration are also given in the MDC's *Initial Development Strategy* 'Quality of the Environment' section, it is explained:

> Exceptionally, the historic dock area at the northern end of the South Docks offers an attractive and probably unique environment in which some fine buildings and many features could be revitalised by new investment in commercial, recreation and residential use. The development of the County Council of a Maritime Park at Mann Island is now recognised as being a significant first step in recreating a new identity for this area. Both commercial and public bodies can build upon this initiative and establish at the heart of Merseyside a major centre for tourism and public enjoyment (Merseyside Development Corporation 1981: point 3.14).

As a strategic document, it is evident that the manner in which support is to be garnered for the regeneration initiative is through highlighting how a positive representation of place can be promoted, founded on the transformation of the built environment. The advantage frame focuses on the economic potential of the site, with the aim of motivating developers involvement and investment in the site. The resources produced and made resonant to motivate involvement are those of a shared common interest – that money can be made by investing at the site. A number of benefits are concentrated upon that can be found at the site, they include the 'fine building with many features', other development already taking place ('of a

Maritime Park at Mann Island'), and the development of a strong tourism function. These benefits become opportunities to actively participate in the redevelopment of the 'South Docks'. As opportunities, they are perceived to provide excellent possibilities, as the situation highlighted, is what should occur. Potential for such a positive circumstance is accentuated, with it introduced as 'a major centre for tourism and public enjoyment'.

Such a situation aims to discuss more than only the financial benefit of investing in the area, as it is also perceived to be a public good. This becomes a 'selective incentive' (Snow and Benford 1988) as the moral good of the developers becomes linked to the public good they can achieve. By mentioning how the area has the potential to become a place of 'public enjoyment, there seems to be an attempt to idealise the development as an admirable investment. Therefore, in terms of seeking to motivate developers to invest, it portrays the opportunities available for capitalising on the development financially, but also implies such conduct as being of benefit to the well being of the public. By linking the financial and social opportunities available for investors, there is an attempt to demonstrate how holistic the waterfront is, and that therefore developers are relating to society's needs. Such investors can be perceived as admirable, in their regard for more than the financial opportunities available, as they care for the satisfaction of those in Liverpool. Bequeathing social benefit onto the future, thus transforms the argument of what the opportunities available should mean to those who invest. Although the argument aims to influence developers around the financial opportunities, it also accentuates the potential of the social impact: that investment will be positive to all.

Consequently, both these quotations demonstrate the importance of illustrating the opportunities available, how they are framed in order to motivate involvement however, entails a variety of strategies. In this section, I have only given extracts where the audience are potential developers, rather than the general public. By focusing on the developers, it is specifically how motivation for action is presented which has been discussed, and as can

be noted, has concentrated negotiating meaning in redeveloping the built environment.

Public support of a tourist-orientated regeneration approach

As explained in the earlier section, which explained how opportunities available was framed, the means in which developers are urged to invest and become involved in regeneration is undoubtedly the most important factor in this era (see Chapter Two). Overall support from the public however, also seems to be a requirement in the motivational frame, and will now be discussed. There are examples of motivating the public (in general) to be supportive of the regeneration in Liverpool (the Waterfront Redevelopment), by focusing on the opportunities available, in a similar manner to that used in the extracts given earlier. Specifically, another manner in which such support is desired for the approach taken at regeneration, is through quoting endorsement for the approach from local/national celebrities. For example, the *Albert Dock Times* employed well known celebrities of the day to comment on the potential success of the Albert Dock project; endorsements from the singer, Gerry Marsden and broadcaster, Noel Edmonds are presented thus:

> It was Gerry's idea that filming should take place at the Albert – the
> location he says [Gerry Marsden] of "a very exciting and impressive
> project with lots of potential." He is confident the Albert complex will
> attract the necessary business investment, and emphasizes: "The
> situation is perfect, the space available is fantastic and the prices are very
> reasonable. And anything that does any good for Liverpool I'm behind all
> the way" (*Albert Dock Times* 1984: 1 article 3)

Celebrities become resources to be drawn upon in order to shape the reader's opinion of the regeneration approach. Here, the audience is not only potential business investors at the Albert Dock, but also the general public. Through focusing on the positive factors of the 'Albert complex', this element constitutes part of the 'advantage frame' due to the attempt made to highlight the positive in the opportunities available. The positive opportunities relate to the value of land through the 'space available' and the prices being 'very reasonable'. Awareness is given to the fact that a transformation of the site has happened (see diagnostic framing, discussed in Chapter Five) through 'a very exciting and impressive project'. This

consciousness becomes an opportunity to alter an understanding of what the site represents, and the hope it gives Liverpool. The site is no longer only a project regarding redeveloping land, but is amplified into a crucial component in the future of the city. Through amplifying the meaning of the project in this manner, it conditions how the reader understands the transformation. This transformation is altered to highlight that something worthwhile can be done in Liverpool, and thus deserves support.

By disseminating the message that 'business investment' attracted to the site, is what will be 'good for Liverpool', there is an attempt to connect such a discourse to the audiences understanding of the city. This connection becomes a collective 'advantage' in the way it is framed, due to the purposefully vague and pluralised concept of 'Liverpool' that is being propagated ('good for' *all in* 'Liverpool'). Such connectedness legitimises the assumption that the regeneration approach being followed through the Albert Dock redevelopment is appropriate and well founded. It becomes appropriate and well founded, through the terminology employed – the project has 'potential', Gerry Marsden is 'confident' and the 'situation is perfect'. Gerry Marsden is a singer, not a developer or regeneration adviser, however, the fact that he is well known by the public in general can be perceived as validating his opinion. This validation authorises the transformation of the 'Albert complex' into a well informed endorsement of the regeneration approach followed in Liverpool. In this instance, the behaviour of those reading the newspaper (the public and potential investors) is assumed to entail a response of acceptance and support for the 'impressive project'.

The extract discussed in this section illustrates how the 'advantage' frame attempts to gain support in the data. From examining this example, it is possible to recognise how support for the regeneration approach is sought from both potential 'partners' and the general public. As argued, this support is framed to function as a prompt to developers to invest in Liverpool. At a different level, when explained to the public, the advantages imply that the

approach taken is sensible and well thought out, and therefore the regeneration approach should be supported.

Successful regeneration: Emphasising continuity between existing and on-going projects

As explained, support for the regeneration approach taken is sought through focusing on the advantages around it. There are instances when the advantages are claimed to present successful regeneration and demonstrate how the 'necessity of a transformation' has been met favourably.

In concordance with the 'necessity of a transformation' frame discussed in detail in Chapter Five, there is recognition in the literature of the time that there are a variety of problems which need transforming. In a similar manner, the concept of success, which will motivate different audiences, also takes into account the variety of problems. The negative representation of Liverpool, highlighted in Chapter Five as being partly related to the built environment, has been successfully transformed according to the *Albert Dock Times*, and is presented as a reason for developers to be engaged in future (phase two – see Chapter Two) regeneration work carried out at the Albert Dock.

> The first arcade of shops, the ground floor of the Maritime Museum extension and the Albert Pierhead buildings – including the restored and authentically re-furnished Piermaster's House and working cooperage – will all be ready and looking shipshape by August 1, when the re-born dock plays host to some of the big ships taking part in the race, their crews and the thousands of visitors expected to flood in to see the spectacular show (*Albert Dock Times* 1984: 1)

The success discussed here is perceived in advance of the actual opening of the first phase of the 're-born' Albert Dock. By focusing on the potential as an accomplishment, it closes any discussion on whether or not the expectations are a regeneration success. Targeting an understanding of success around both a redeveloped built environment and visitor investment manages to imply that the regeneration is inter-connected. Therefore, by mentioning how both earlier problems (see Chapter Five) have been met, the approach taken to successfully regenerate, is implied to be a practical direction for regeneration to pursue. Highlighting this practical approach to

regeneration thus attempts to motivate an assurance that future regeneration will also be supported. Additional support is imperative here, particularly due to the fact that it will be another four years until the second phase of the Albert Dock redevelopment will be completed. Due to such a timescale, there is a need to ensure that momentum persists. In this case, by demonstrating how successful the first phase has been, there is a need to continue this momentum, in order to motivate support for the later work.

The amount of detail given in this extract of how successful the regeneration has been, implies that the work carried out has been of a great significance. This amount of detail also transforms the action taken by the MDC, and developers into achievements which will impact the general public. The impact of the transformation focuses on actual, specific schemes, with the intent of presenting how successful is this approach to regeneration. Not only is this approach successful, it is also introduced as relevant to people's lives. Such relevancy can be noted from the manner in which the redevelopment is discussed around an array of infrastructural aspects related to the tourism and leisure industry. This includes shopping, arts and heritage, architecture, and themed events. By being of relevance to people's lives, there is also an intent to garner motivation for future regeneration, by alluding to the grandeur of the redevelopment, and how proud the audience should be that so many ('thousands of') visitors' will be attending the opening ceremony.

It is not only the end result of developing a new tourism infrastructure which is recognised as successful regeneration, but other problems mentioned in Chapter Five – of local governance are also transformed. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the problems of local governance are deemed to halt successful regeneration from proceeding, due to the tension between local and national government and a focus on the 'old' industry, rather than regarding the tourism industry as offering a viable solution. Consequently, the creation of the MDC, is discussed as a successful means of managing regeneration. During the Environment Committee 1982-83, a comment is

made by Dr Boaden (from the Faculty of Social and Environmental Studies, University of Liverpool), asked to give evidence on the MDC's attempt to deal with the 'urban' problems. When asked to explain how the MDC operates, and why the panel should support its work, it is explained that:

> I think it is not a model for running operational, day to day services: housing, education, social services, police and whatever. They require a mode of public relation and a mode of politics which is quite alien to the character of the appointed, Development Corporation type agency. What they are good at is the rather finite kind of task with a very clear geographical remit with a fairly bounded kind of intention like a reclamation and development task in a specific area (House of Commons 1982: 169).

This extract indicates how regeneration is understood by the MDC, with Dr Boaden implying that focusing on specific tasks may not be adequate. The significance of the MDC is highlighted however, and it is made clear how successful such management can be for regeneration. Therefore, this success does not aim to declare that the MDC are attempting to transform all of Liverpool's problems (see Chapter Five). Instead, as explained here, it is the specifics which are declared, of [land] 'reclamation and development'. By not making grand claims of regeneration, declaration of the success achieved becomes more believable. In not overstating the success, it can be perceived to motivate others to recognise success in a more rationalised manner. Such motivation therefore occurs from distinctively separating parts of the problem, as it is understood in Merseyside, and finding a successful solution to one issue. The issue of land 'reclamation and development' was perceived as one of the main problems however, as explained in Chapter Five.

Specifying a successful solution is in direct contrast to how the solutions were framed in Chapter Six. Reasoning for this may be due to the audience of this document. As discussed in Chapter Four, members of the Environment Committee panel, and readers of the report were very much involved in urban regeneration – on a general, political level, and some of them, specifically with Merseyside. For this reason, there had to be clarification of the impact of the MDC, that did not overstate their ability. As overstating their potential would have entailed further committee reports to

answer such allegations. Therefore, by clearly stating realistic successful regeneration impacts, it becomes possible to ensure that decision-makers in regeneration – at both national and regional level, would further support management of land 'reclamation and development' in the future.

There is another element to focusing on land 'reclamation and development', which reverts to the analysis given of the 'necessity of a transformation' frame, discussed in Chapter Five. In Chapter Five, I argued that the 'necessity' of transforming the built environment was discussed in relation to much more than land redevelopment. Linkages were made between redeveloping the built environment and social regeneration. Therefore, in the same manner, although the claims made, are in order to ensure further support for solving problems of a 'geographical remit', without giving any evidence, they become linked to social and other problems. This linkage, although not mentioned in the extract, engages with a more well known, and accepted discourse that a pleasant built environment impacts on human emotion, through civic pride and so on. In this instance, Dr Boaden, has managed to ensure that whilst the impacts are answerable and realistic, at the same time, they are able to motivate future success, through the general associations made. The fact that Dr Boaden is an academic member of staff at the University of Liverpool and has an academic title furthers the influence of such impact.

As can be noted from these two very different documents mentioned in this section, success is deemed as an established fact, although, only possibly confirmed in the future. From a framing perspective it indicates how ideas emerge around 'success', and therefore how urban regeneration is understood.

Summary of the Waterfront Redevelopment case study

Overall for case study one, in the 'advantage' frame, there is a range of motives presented for supporting and/or investing in the Waterfront Redevelopment. The motives combine both practical financial incentives

with flattery: of either how investors are behaving in a principled manner, or that the public in general should feel proud of the characteristics included in the regeneration approach. See Figure Nine for a depiction of motivation framing in Case Study One.
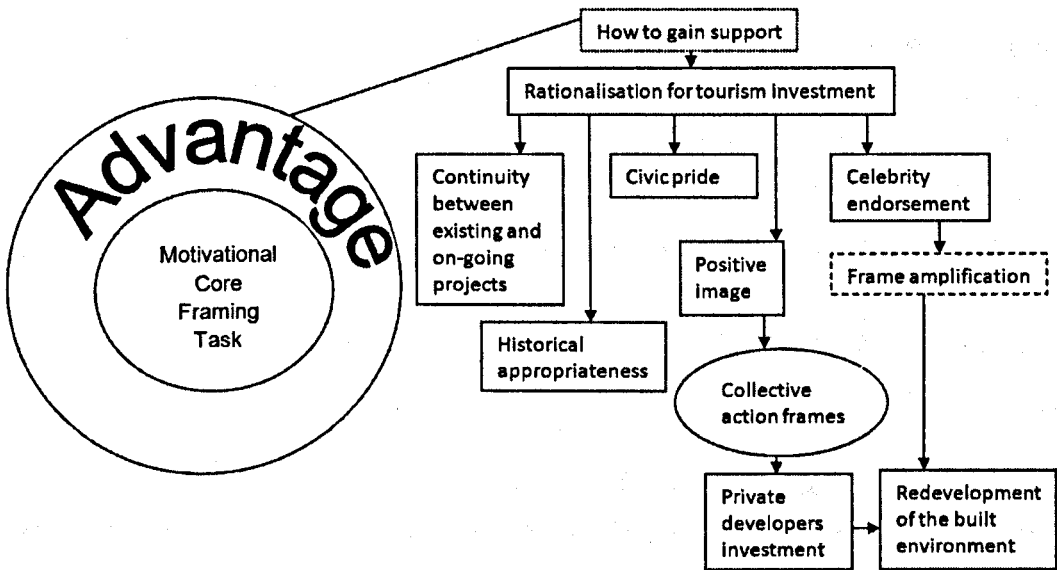

Figure 9: Motivational framing in Case Study One.

Chapter Three discussed 'how some people remember', and there is a need to return to this in relation to the analysis made of the 'advantage' frame. When analysing interviews, it must be noted that as the interviews were carried out nearly thirty years after the event, then the long-term focus on tourism investment in Liverpool must be recognised. Therefore, although motivation for tourism investment is rationalised specifically for me during the interview, and not to other regeneration organisations or the general public, it does seem plausible however to also have been a public discourse in the 1980s. For example, when the senior member of the MCC was discussing how Liverpool's historical involvement in tourism could justify the 1980s approach to regeneration, in this extract, the flow of the belief that tourism was an appropriate method for Liverpool's regeneration gives the impression of being well rehearsed. Therefore, I would believe that this argument had been presented to others (organisations and the general public) since the 1980s. This can be assumed through how promotional material of the time emphasises the earlier influence of visitors to the city – for example the

consideration given in a 1982 guide book explaining the history of Liverpool and how "... fortunately slaves were replaced in the 19th century by fare-paying passengers emigrating to the USA..." (Merseyside County Council 1982: 1).

Case Study Two – European Capital of Culture 2008

Case Study Two examines how urban regeneration was presented around the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) status given to Liverpool in 2008. Other projects are included as they are also portrayed as a part of the regeneration solution for Liverpool (see Chapter Six). As explained in Chapter Three, the data for this case study relates to documents written from 2003 onwards, when Liverpool's bid for ECoC08 was made public. Since the process of bidding for ECoC08, the narratives presented to the public have concerned acquiring public support for the initiative. This need for support both from organisations and from the public acquired a new meaning by June 2003, following a visit by the judging panel. As a result of this official visit, Liverpool's success in becoming ECoC08 was further framed around garnering support from the public. One of the quotations given in the press was from the Department of Culture, Media and Sport document, *Report on the short-listed applications for the UK nomination for European Capital of Culture 2008.* In this report, Sir Jeremy Isaacs, in his role as Chairman of the Advisory Panel, describes Liverpool as: "a city whose people are wholly and enthusiastically committed to a year of culture in 2008" (Isaacs 2003: 7), and he summarises the recommendation with "Liverpool's bid, crucially, best combines strong central direction, civic leadership with wholehearted public participation" (*ibid*). The recommendation thus describes how (and why) support for a specific action is imperative for a solution. Such attempts to motivate can be found in the themes (given as sub-sections) of 'branding uniqueness: intangible qualities and inclusivity in regeneration' and 'a winning approach to regeneration'. The 'advantage' frame unifies these themes, as will become apparent through the analysis. For the ECoC08 case study, five sources are drawn upon, two interviews with senior members of staff from regeneration agencies, and three strategic documents.

Branding uniqueness: intangible qualities and inclusivity in regeneration

While the manner in which attempts are made in public and strategic documents to motivate support depends on the audience of the document, in the interviews it is the process taken in promoting Liverpool which is explained. This process of selling Liverpool's advantageous characteristics is clearly described during an interview with a senior member of staff from the Mersey Partnership (TMP):

> By focusing on the Beatles the city can claim its uniqueness, however, overall Liverpool has a good claim on most assets, it has a World Heritage Site, the Tate, and the independent attributes are recognised by their peers as 'outstanding' in awards. There is a *Liverpool First* book, and although all of claims in the book could be used, there is a need to keep them in a context, not to overplay them; need to be careful of how they are used without being over hyped, but it also involves working with businesses to make sure that the offer lives up to the claims and it's difficult to bottle up the experience of Liverpool, it's still regarded as a 'risky' city, it has a reputation and a past (Interview 4).

The advantages that Liverpool comprises of are recognised as attributes to be employed in order to share a positive message about the city. The extract demonstrates the need to be assertive in the competitive discourse of urban regeneration, as the 'claim' on 'uniqueness' needs to be made. It is not whether the claims need to be made that the interviewee has reservations about, but rather *how* such claims are made, with such claims being met through the 'assets' used (WHS, Tate, award winning, and the 'experience of Liverpool'). This demonstrates, especially with the linkage made to 'working with businesses', how entrepreneurial is the promotion of Liverpool. The understanding given of how there is a need to be strategic in the 'claims' being made, as "you need to keep them in a context, not overplay them, need to be careful of they are used without being over hyped" gives the perception of having experience and knowledge of how city promotion should work; it arguably suggests maturity in how entrepreneurial concepts are used in urban regeneration and how a variety of resources are gathered together to promote the city. Not only are the claims appropriately selected, but they are also verifiable: the book *Liverpool First* exists, and 'the offer' is checked.

These assets, used to describe Liverpool include the Beatles, World Heritage Site (WHS), and Tate, 'independent attributes', risky, and with 'a reputation and a past'. Listing such broadness implies a means of being inclusive in how Liverpool is being promoted, that it can include everyone. Such inclusivity conforms well to the notion of gaining support and motivation. It demonstrates how extensive Liverpool's characteristics are, which can be supported by a variety of stakeholders and the public in general. The broad list of assets can be considered credible due to the recognition made of the more negative aspects of the city's characteristics - that it is a 'risky city, it has a reputation and a past'. It is this representation of Liverpool's characteristics (as a 'risky city' with a 'reputation and a past'), intangible and elusive – the opposite of the Beatles, the WHS and the Tate - which is imperative in gaining credence from the public: local, tourists and decision-makers. This reference to Liverpool assimilates the history of the city with self esteem for the inhabitants when presented in promotional material to the public. The pride being implied however, in the 'risky' past, contradicts the managed and strategic approach taken to promote Liverpool.

There is also recognition of the difficulty in managing this promotion, as by admitting that 'it's difficult to bottle up the experience of Liverpool', another attempt is made to garner support - that as the future will be challenging, there is a need for assistance. Although this extract is from an interview, similar claims are made in the documents, for the public and for other regeneration partners: that Liverpool's characteristics are edgy, risky and so on. Thus, it is by complimenting the behaviour of Liverpool's inhabitants historically, in expressing themselves as apart and unique, that will give Liverpool its uniqueness *now*. In this, there is also the idea that as the promotion of Liverpool will be grounded on the inhabitants' characteristics, they should also support the focus chosen. Claiming the difficulty in promoting Liverpool also attempts to ensure that other partnering stakeholders in Liverpool's promotion assimilate their promotional strategy with the one being put forward by TMP. The 'experience' being presented

attempts to ensure a positive direction for Liverpool's promotion, whilst at the same time, it engages with the past.

Similar 'assets' for promoting Liverpool are mentioned during an interview with a senior member of staff from Liverpool Vision. When describing the development of Liverpool's brand, a hierarchy is given of how specific attributes are incorporated:

> From a Liverpool Vision perspective it's the built infrastructure projects – Liverpool Arena, the waterfront (including the Cruise Liner Terminal and the canal), the commercial district, the science park, universities and Liverpool One. The brand is something that all this can sit in which is a new brand identity with these offerings. Supporting this then are the same attributes that other cities also discuss – the workers, the airport and that type of thing. You also need to look at the phrases that can be used for selling Liverpool – edgy, sparky and so on, as they can also be attributes for marketing the city (Interview 1a).

Not only does this quotation advocate a comparable approach to promoting Liverpool to that given by the interviewee from TMP, but it also gives a more detailed account of how investment is sought. Liverpool Vision's perspective differs to that of the TMP as its aim is primarily concerned with business investment. Therefore, this focus on the 'built infrastructure projects' demonstrates how the need to gain confidence in developers through giving prominence to new development is integrated into a brand for everyone. It clearly illustrates how the confidence deemed necessary from developers is linked to the other reasons for branding the city, i.e. other forms of investment (for example image enhancement for tourism promotion). Thus, the new built infrastructure projects function as a branding tool to motivate investment. There is recognition implied however that there is a need to incorporate more to the brand, in order to motivate developers and other investors, and this is the 'phrases that can be used for selling Liverpool'. Including such 'attributes' as 'edgy, sparky and so on' exhibit the complexity of brand formation. The need for additional, intangible characteristics implies that more than the requirements of developers need to be met when branding a city. It also recognises the problems attributed to branding cities, of the similarity of places.

If Liverpool Vision is following the advice given by central government, that of marketing the city through a strong brand, there is an attempt made here to do *more* than is advised. The advice given by the Office for the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM – now known as the Department for Communities and Local Government) in the *Urban Regeneration Company Policy Stocktake, Final Report* focuses only on the built environment in order to acquire developers' confidence. As explained by the ODPM, central government considers Urban Regeneration Companies (URCs – initiated in Liverpool, known as Liverpool Vision, and later adopted as an examplar for other cities by central government), as appropriate for coordinating investment in local authorities. The recommendation given was that: "URCs aim to make a difference to the economy, environment and prospects of an area, principally through a large programme of physical projects" (ODPM 2004b: 12). Therefore, as the extract demonstrates, the perception presented is that investment from the private sector is only possible by also including the inhabitants' characteristics. Mentioning the inhabitants' characteristics is thus a means of complimenting them in an attempt to gain their support (as per earlier extract), and also it gives an extra layer of distinctiveness to Liverpool's brand. It demonstrates how although the focus is on the built environment, there is a felt and expressed need to mention other intangible characteristics positively in order to gain support.

The need to include 'everything' to indicate the uniqueness on offer can be identified in an attempt to motivate support from other regeneration agencies, in the Vision Statement for the ECoC08. The *Vision Document* begins with an explanation of how:

> Liverpool's identity is unique – an edgy city, sometimes disrespectful and sometimes irreverent, famed for
> - the character of its people – their wit, chat, story telling, friendliness and opinions;
> - its extraordinary artistic creativity – performance, writing, new media, film and comedy and its eclectic mix of cultural organisations;
> - its architecture – its World Heritage status;

- its maritime and industrial heritage and significance – one of the worlds [sic] former major ports – influencing the city's tendency to look outwards to the west rather than inwards to the rest of the country;
- its diverse communities;
- its sporting passions;
- and its musical vibrancy (Liverpool Culture Company 2006a: 2).

What we have here is a list of 'advantages' which rationalises focusing on image enhancement through promoting Liverpool's positive attributes. There is an attempt to include aspects of a city's characteristics, as a call to everyone to advocate what the city has to offer. By defending the city's characteristics, it also encourages recognition that such positive attributes can also be employed for city promotion. To enable certain characteristics to be regarded as positive, there has been a transformation given to certain aspects of the city's history. The process of transforming how the city's history is understood is through obscuring the historical context by employing the term 'unique' to describe the city's 'identity'. This promotion of Liverpool as unique includes a mention of the city's 'disrespectful' and 'irreverent' identity. Mentioning this aspect of the city's identity implies that this has relevance with how people, both in Liverpool and outside of the city, regard the place historically. In Chapter Five it was argued that exactly some of these characteristics, of the city being 'disrespectful' and 'irreverent', were the reasoning for a 'necessity of a transformation' to how Liverpool was represented (the diagnosis). However, the city's historical (negative) representation is approached from another perspective in this extract, in an attempt to inspire enthusiasm and advocate the promotion of Liverpool in any way possible. The intent here is to negotiate a new meaning to the 'problem' (as discussed in Chapter Five), in order to validate how certain stereotypes have an important position in what people know and remember. It exploits the history and identity of the city, by transforming stereotyped characteristics into detail on what Liverpool is 'famed for' and what it should continue to be represented by.

These stereotypes emerge in the beginning of the *Vision* document, and are clearly adopted to promote Liverpool. By changing the meaning of the negative past into characteristics which can be organised around a positive statement for the future, the intent is to negotiate a new meaning to earlier accounts of history. They are enthusiastically re-negotiated in order to promote the city. Renegotiation of the past is presented through linkage with the people (mentioned subsequently in the list quoted) and all the positive attributes of the city. It exploits history and identity, not only due to the desperate attempt to appear unique, as a component of competitive regeneration. It can also be perceived that this gives a modern approach to dated perceptions of the city. This new positive perspective attempts to achieve a shared meaning, through the honesty shared on the (problems of the) past, which will compel anticipation and involvement in the future 'vision', as the strong statement on the negative history makes the extract more reliable, and thus greater claims can be made of the future.

This reference to the intangible is developed by mentioning the popular 'character[istics] of its people'. As discussed earlier, it is this need to link personal and personable characteristics to the promotion of the city which combines the people with investment opportunities. Whilst the other quotations given have focused on the city in general as being 'edgy' and so on, here the need to include the inhabitants is manifested through positive generalisations. The stereotypes given of having 'wit, chat, story telling, friendliness and opinions' imply a need to complement them. Again, this entails exploiting the local population, in a search by the Culture Company for a unique global aspect that will give Liverpool a competitive advantage. The need to find a function for the stereotypes (positive and negative) held of Liverpool, and this demonstrates the desperate need to include everything about the city as a unique selling point. It contradicts the strategic organisation of aspects to be used given by the TMP, and instead it displays how, in order to ensure support from a variety of organisations and individuals – a variety of characteristics need to be included.

The other characteristics mentioned in this extract attempt to focus on the global, that the architecture has 'World Heritage status', that by being a port, it has influenced 'the city's tendency to look outwards to the west rather than inwards to the rest of the country', and the 'diverse communities'. By mentioning how international Liverpool is, there is an attempt to present the perception that Liverpool's global advantages are already secure. In explaining aspects of the city in a particular way, there is an acknowledgement that what the city is 'famed for' is the fact that it is already international. Therefore, there is an attempt to familiarise competitive regeneration as a logical means forward and motivate support from the reader. It also, focuses the audience on how established the claims of uniqueness are – that the city is already 'famed for' such attributes. Authenticating the city's history and current characteristics by speculating that such uniqueness will promote Liverpool sufficiently, closes opportunities for other notions of the city to be presented. This portrayal of Liverpool confirms that (even with a negative history) the comparative (competitive) advantages on offer are remarkable (with the city's indigenous assets regarded as a strength), and thus should be supported, and exploited for the city's future.

A winning approach to regeneration

Presenting the opinion that if one method of urban regeneration has begun, then it is only fitting that such as approach is pursued can also be found in the *Local Area Agreement* written by Liverpool First:

> The City is at a crucial stage in its urban and economic renaissance. The legacy of decades of decline was an obsolete and degraded physical environment. The last decade has witnessed some dramatic improvements that are helping to create a modern urban fabric. The City Centre and key business and residential areas have been revitalised as vibrant and attractive locations with updated transport infrastructure. But profound challenges remain in the inner core of the city, in some of our residential estates and particularly in North Liverpool. The large injection of public funding in the last decade is increasingly being replaced and outpaced by significant private investment which will be vital to the next stage of the city's modernisation (Liverpool First 2008b: 5).

Presenting the perception that the economic situation of Liverpool 'is at a crucial stage' of being revitalised pressurises the audience. The audience for

this document are other organisations involved in Liverpool's regeneration, as the role of Liverpool First is to ensure the involvement and cooperation of both the public and private sectors in urban regeneration (see Chapter Four, where the agencies analysed are mentioned). To ensure such involvement and cooperation, the influence of this document relates to guaranteeing that all sectors behave appropriately. Therefore, the urgency of the 'crucial stage' guides the reader into a sense that no time can be wasted on creating new projects for the city's future, and that the current approach should be followed. By reasoning that a continuation in the same manner is appropriate due to the timescale, and that the 'improvements' already carried out are positive, there is an attempt to create a collective action of trust in this approach. The extract only considers the transformation occurring to the built environment and takes the reader (audience) on a journey of change. Chapter Five and during the analysis of the Waterfront Redevelopment case study in this chapter discussed the 'necessity of a transformation' frame and revealed the significance of the built environment, and here, by mentioning the 'obsolete and degraded' former situation, the positive outcome of negotiating change is emphasised. Various elements of the transformation to the built environment are adopted in this extract as demonstrating the exceptionality of the work already carried out. By integrating so many elements of the built environment and the need to focus on this, the extract attempts to gain support from all, as the intent is articulated positively and inclusively.

The positive transformation to the built environment in 'the city centre, key business and residential areas', is linked to the aspirations for the 'inner core of the city, in some of our residential estates and particularly North Liverpool'. This extract therefore highlights the danger for the 'inner core of the city, in some of our residential estates and particularly North Liverpool' of not having a positive transformation, unless the same approach is followed. Regarding the 'inner core' and 'particularly North Liverpool' in this manner pressures the reader into subscribing to the validity of a specified action – of continuing this focus on the built environment. The threat that these areas will not also be

transformed into 'a modern urban fabric', 'vibrant and attractive', forces partners in regeneration to recognise this as the solution. The fact that, as mentioned in Chapter Four, the remit of Liverpool First was to coordinate the partnership of public, private, voluntary and community organisations, their process of doing this is evident here: by accentuating the positives of regeneration, a diverse set of organisations anticipates the same opportunities and success, for the rest of Liverpool.

The overall success story is implied as being about how the built environment has been transformed. However, the real positive result rests in the 'significant private investment' gained. This again corresponds with the initial problems set out in Chapter Five, and in this extract it is the process in which a positive transformation occurs which is highlighted. By highlighting the positive transformation, the aim of motivating other organisations to carry on with such a method of urban regeneration becomes apparent. This indicates how support from a diverse set of partners is secured on a focus on the built environment.

This need to remain embroiled to a certain approach in urban regeneration is further highlighted in the minutes of a meeting of the Capital of Culture Scrutiny Panel. Following a question from Cllr. Dave Hanratty, on the impact of cancelling the fourth grace (a development by the architect Will Alsop along the waterfront, also known as the 'Cloud'), and how it may result in illustrating a negative impression to developers (see Chapter Five), the answer given by Cllr. Mike Storey is that:

> Developers 10 or 15 years ago would only come to this City and do development if they had Government funding. The Swallow, as it then was in the Crown Plaza, wasn't built because some developer thought "Great we'll build a hotel there". We gave them Objective 1 money to build those hotels. Developments you could have in this City because you have GAP funding. Urban Splash weren't putting up there [sic] loft apartments without GAP funding. Now that's changed because the market in the City has changed. Developers are coming in and putting up developments e.g. Princess Dock, St Paul's Eye Hospital with no grant money at all and that is the change that is happening because of all the factors we talked about in the past and the developers are not scared away because of the particular scheme that went pear shaped, they are queuing up to get in here (Liverpool City Council 2004a: n.p. meeting held on 18/10/2004).

The same viewpoint is presented again in this extract, that there needs to be a continuation on the method of focusing on the built environment, due to the success identified. The narrative style of this quotation begins by giving the history of Liverpool's failure in enticing development (the 'necessity of a transformation' frame). The middle section details the change[14], while the narrative ends by illustrating Liverpool's success, rationalising the action positively, with the aim of gaining support for further similar accomplishments. Through detailing Liverpool's successful regeneration by focusing on how development has transformed how Liverpool is represented, the logical conduct for the audience is to consider the appropriateness of this approach. In this respect, the hope is that such a transformation will bring further investment to the city. By adopting a linear approach to how investment in the city has progressed, it implies the naturalness of this transformation, and therefore that it should be pursued as a future strategy too.

Whilst gaining developers cooperation in Liverpool is acknowledged as having been the long-term goal from 15 years ago (when '[w]e gave them [EU] Objective 1 money'), the motivating factor is how 'developers are ... queuing up to get in here'. This presents the idea that if developers are inspired, then the members of the scrutiny panel should also rationally support this way forward. The incentive put in place, in order to gain the approval of the panel, is financial well-being, without needing further government expenditure. Such financial security becomes an imperative for support, particularly as by 2004 Objective One funding from the European Union had finished (for Merseyside only, money was/is still available for the North West). Another reason why supporting developers' interest in Liverpool is essential, also relates to Objective One funding. The current success found in Liverpool is presented as only possible through how Objective One funding had been utilised for regenerating the city. Therefore, the extract also demonstrates how complimentary Cllr. Mike Storey is

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[14] It declares the 'role of self', and due to the successful outcome, their strategy of supporting developers was that of a 'saviour' (see Chapter six).

towards the strategic choices carried out by the city council since 1994 (when the first Objective One contribution from the EU was made to Merseyside – see Meegan 2003). Such compliments relate back to a time before he (Cllr. Mike Storey) became leader of the City Council (1998 onwards), but at the same time manages to suggest that future strategic choices will be as informed and effective.

Summary of Case Study Two: ECoC08

In Case Study Two, the resources used in order to mobilise support can be noted through how specific representations of Liverpool are maintained by demonstrating their appropriateness. Certain representations of Liverpool are presented which concern historical generalisations, and a focus on a positive transformation to the built environment. Through emphasising such a transformation as it occurs, there is an attempt made to ensure that future regeneration will also be carried out in the same manner. See Figure Ten for a depiction of motivational framing in Case Study Two.
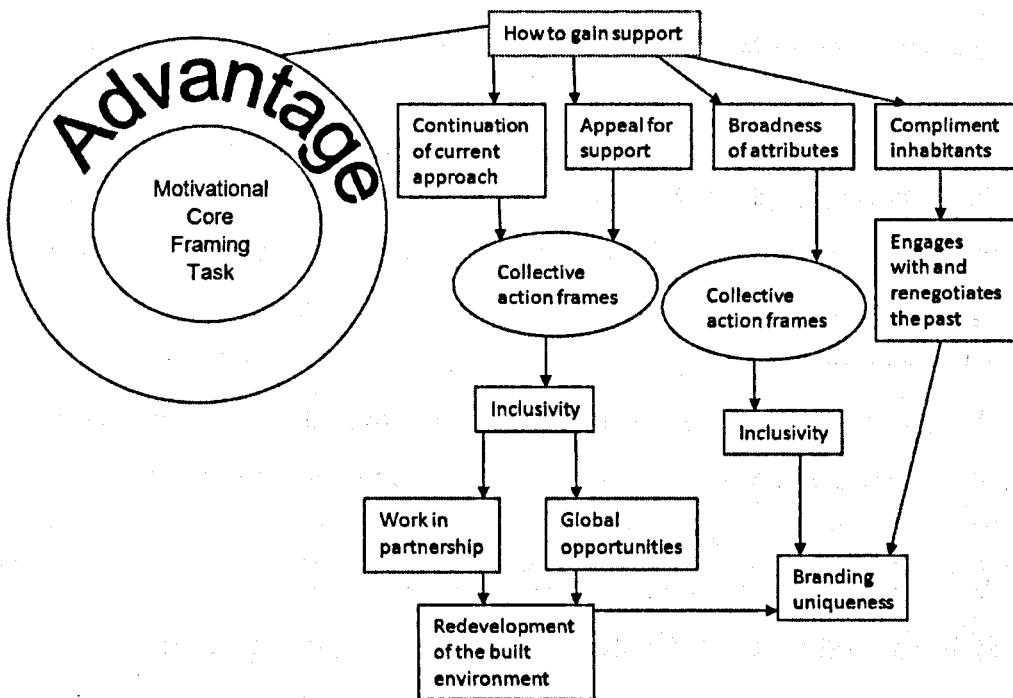

Figure 10: Motivational framing in Case Study Two.

Summary

This chapter has argued that the motivational role of the 'advantage' frame is to predominantly garner support for the regeneration approach taken in the

two case studies. It is only literature specifically written for potential developers that negotiates a positive meaning of regeneration, with the intent of convincing the audience of why *specific* actions must be taken. When the audience is more general, there is nevertheless an attempt to interact with them, and this is in order to construct a deeper meaning to the regeneration approach. The deeper meaning touches upon specific personal characteristics of the city, and these are raised, as relevant, for a positive interpretation. Such positive interpretations of the city's characteristics are strategically employed to gain support from the public. The type of characteristics alluded to in terms of Liverpool's inhabitants (wit, friendliness, and so on, as found in the ECoC08 case study) function emotively to ensure that they feel collectively involved. Such collective encouragement, although not required when attempting to gain investment, becomes valuable when promoting the positive effects to national government. The benefits of collective encouragement can be noted through how the regeneration approach is supported at a local level, and thus can be justified as worthy of investment.

In terms of the data sources, in the first case study, an interviewee from the MCC draws upon Liverpool's history as a means of orientating the listener (the interviewer, but as noted, this 'reads' like a justification made numerous times to others) to believe that Liverpool *can* be a tourist city. It presents the idea that Liverpool has always had a tourist infrastructure and therefore should play to its strength. In the documents however it is a combination of the need to motivate potential developers and gain support from the public which is made, with the positioning of Liverpool as better than other places (in the North), and comparable to London. This competitive 'advantage'/ edge justifies the need to ensure continuity in the approach taken at regeneration. In the second case study, the two interviewees work for regeneration agencies and focus on the process of marketing Liverpool's qualities, whereas the strategic documents call on the reader to trust the regeneration approach being followed. Between the two case studies, it has

also been demonstrated how notions of 'history', 'continuity' and 'transformation' are used in various, if conflicting ways to motivate action

How the motivational frame is affiliated to regeneration discourses given by central government has been touched upon in this chapter. However, there is a need to discuss how the advantage frame and the other frames have not only manifested themselves within political discourses, but also relate to the literature mentioned in Chapters One and Two. Therefore, the next chapter will discuss all the frames (necessity of a transformation, distance, saviour, role of self and advantage) and identify their significance to the overall attention given to urban regeneration.

Chapter Eight – Discussion

Introduction

Chapters Five, Six and Seven have applied the core framing tasks – diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing, as discussed by Snow and Benford (1988). This chapter identifies how particular arguments are arranged by decision-makers in order to justify and interpret a specific approach to urban regeneration. Such an analysis of how regeneration arguments are justified by stakeholders reveals how representations of Liverpool are constructed, maintained and mobilised. This chapter takes as its focus the wider characteristics of urban regeneration, rather than the core framing tasks examined in previous chapters. When analysing these wider characteristics of urban regeneration, the work of David Harvey, as discussed in Chapter One, will provide the primary basis for the conceptual framework adopted. The themes discussed in this chapter will be brought together with the data framing from Chapters Five, Six and Seven to inform the overall conclusion to this thesis (see the last chapter, the Conclusion).

As this chapter looks at urban regeneration narratives in a broader sense, the two case studies will no longer be discussed separately. Rather, the particular data that best illustrates the broader arguments around urban regeneration in relation to the literature will be discussed. As such, Case Study One, of the Waterfront Redevelopment in Liverpool, which incorporated the International Garden Festival of 1984 and the opening of the first phase of the Albert Dock (also in 1984), will be discussed with reference to the data, in conjunction with Case Study Two of European Capital of Culture status on Liverpool in 2008 and other regeneration initiatives happening simultaneously in the city and discussed by decision-makers and in the media in relation to ECoC08 (for example the retail development: Liverpool One, and the convention centre and arena: Echo Arena). The justifications for a specific approach to regeneration as given by decision-makers involved in these case studies subsequently demonstrate how a more central/shared meaning of regeneration has developed. Instances from

one or both case studies will be selected to explore how the data resonates with ideas in the literature. In this way, this chapter takes a top down approach. Inductive reasoning is employed as the literature drives the discussion, and the data analysed verifies or opposes the work of others. This approach is in direct contrast to Chapters Five, Six and Seven, where the data directed the discussion and arguments made.

The data incorporated into this chapter as examples that illustrate the process taken by decision-makers to evaluate and justify their choices, features material presented earlier in the thesis. In this sense, some of the quotations discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven are being requoted for the purpose of relating the overall arguments made to the academic literature. This entails examining the data discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven with a specific focus on thematic continuities (and departures) based on other arguments/empirical findings made in the literature (particularly the work of Harvey 1978, 1987, 1989, 1990 and 1993). The key issues discussed by Harvey, and established in Chapter One, were: a conformity in the end result of how cities endeavour to demonstrate their competitiveness (1978), a shift towards cities attempting to regenerate in a neoliberal manner (1989): the significance given to the 'spectacular' under postmodernism (1990); and the social construction of place along with the fetishising of the 'power of place' (1993).

As this chapter examines the wider characteristics of regeneration, with linkage to other academic arguments, it considers the broader perspective – that is, it explores ideas around urban regeneration in general, not only the Liverpool experience. By examining the arguments presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, with a return to the literature presented in Chapter One, four key themes concerning urban regeneration become apparent. These four key themes are: 'Central government leadership in transforming the urban', 'Representing the urban', 'The intention of urban regeneration', and 'Learning from models of good practice in urban regeneration'. These four key themes have been created from recognising how the data analysed in

Chapters Five, Six and Seven, and references in the literature can be appropriated into these four main ideas.

Theme One, 'Central government leadership in transforming the urban' considers the role of central government in shaping urban regeneration narratives at the local level. It includes the ways in which decision-makers have framed the role of central government, as well as arguments apparent in the academic literature that central government guides the manner in which cities are transformed. Theme Two, 'Representing the urban' regards the meaning given by decision-makers to specific developments in Liverpool, and the ways in which other arguments have been suggested in the academic literature on how cities are being represented. Theme Three, 'The intention of urban regeneration' deliberates the actual meaning of urban regeneration, as understood by decision-makers in Liverpool and explores how academics have recognised the intention of urban regeneration in other cities. The fourth and final theme, 'Learning from models of good practice in urban regeneration' examines how specific expectations, knowledge and action become regarded as 'models of good practice' and therefore are encouraged by central government and local decision-makers as worth reproducing – based on the findings in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, and in comparison to other academic literature.

These four themes are not listed hierarchically, and it is important to note that the purpose here is not to indicate a stronger relevance to certain themes over others, but instead to understand them separately, and in detail. Chapter One details the rise in the significance attached to representation of the city in urban regeneration, and argues that the literature discusses the city as a commodity, based on symbolic representation, rather than a reality. It considers how an overall approach to urban regeneration is recognised in the academic literature and in policy documents, with good examples presented as appropriate for cities attempting to gain business and tourist investment. It is such arguments, as found in the literature review, that will be consolidated with my own analysis, with the foundational literature

compared and contrasted with the observations made from the findings discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. As previously stated, the four themes are generated from the literature and identified in the data.

Theme One: Central government leadership in transforming the urban

The analysis of this theme demonstrates, through particular examples taken from the Waterfront Redevelopment case study and from the ECoC08 case study, how regeneration has moved from a localised affair to a process clearly linked to the wider national economy. This is achieved through the importance given to transforming the value of land through development, justified as paramount in its ability to transform how place is represented. Chapter Two discussed the role of the Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC), as one of the first Urban Development Corporations (UDCs). It explained how their main objective of focusing on ensuring that the value of land would rise was made clear in the 'Local Government, Planning and Land Act 1980', where the establishment of UDCs was set out. This Act clearly indicated that derelict land needed to become economically 'effective', with UDCs given powers to be able to purchase land from Local Authorities (LAs) for development. To return to the data extract discussed in Chapter Five, the MDC's *Initial Development Strategy* illustrated this concern thus:

> Each project undertaken will be designed to improve the marketability of the area, and to attract private investment. The pump priming role will include: (a) land acquisition, dock reclamation, provision of infrastructure, environmental improvements, building refurbishment and the identification, assembly and marketing of suitable and attractive development packages... (Merseyside Development Corporation 1981: 24).

In this extract it is the process of re-organising the landscape for capitalist development that is being explained. Harvey (1993), using the concept of the political economy of place, discusses how construction under capitalism alters the characteristics of a place through speculative investment in land development, and that the geographical mobility of other forms of capital causes tension between the permanence of a location (place) and the mobility of investment. He argues that the process recognised through such

a tension, offers an explanation for entrepreneurs' attempts to shape certain activities in place, which mean that: "[o]ld places have to be devalued, destroyed and redeveloped" (p. 7) for development. In earlier work, Harvey (1989) focuses on entrepreneurial urban governance in the UK with UDCs, and in the extract above, it is the attempt to be entrepreneurial and encourage involvement of the private sector that is being explained. This entrepreneurialism includes the MDC negotiating their role, and justifying the expenditure as 'pump priming'. In this sense, through concentrating on 'marketability', the representation of place becomes paramount, and needs to lay the foundation for an 'attractive development package'. Harvey (1993) argues that this construction of place is evident in how cities are represented in discourse, and in how they become 'symbolic places' (p. 17). The land available by the MDC in Liverpool is thus materially appropriated (compulsory purchase orders were also within the remit of the 1980 Act) and symbolically appropriated in order to attract private investment. Appropriation of land in this manner is what can be noted with the Waterfront Redevelopment. It is this transformation in meaning that Harvey (1993) terms as 'spatial reorganization', with activities positioned in specific places in order to gain investment. These activities, in relation to Liverpool's regeneration in the 1980s, predominantly concentrated on tourism initiatives (as discussed in Chapter Six), and were focused on specific parts of the city (the waterfront), with representation of place focusing on the new value of land.

The quotation taken from the strategy (the extract above) predicts how a close collaboration with the private sector will come to fruition. Hall (1990) describes how following the Conservative victory in 1979, agreement was reached that urban problems would be dealt with by UDCs, who could bypass local authorities and instead work closely with the private sector. The House of Commons report, *Environment Committee Session 1983-84 3rd Report,* also from Chapter Five, clarifies why this approach is needed:

> The Government agrees with the Committee that reforms are necessary
> to simplify and make more effective the powers and responsibilities of
> public authorities and other agencies on Merseyside. [next point made
> regarding abolishing the Metropolitan City Councils]... On Merseyside,

as elsewhere, the Government's proposals will help overcome problems
caused by duplication of local Government powers and functions which
at present lead to local conflict (House of Commons 1984: 179 note
added for clarification).

The 'spatial reorganization' of a transformed meaning given to place,
discussed by Harvey (1993) can also be identified in this extract, as place
construction becomes represented in the current difficulty of 'local conflict'
due to 'duplication', and thus a differing of opinion in the direction which
should be followed in transforming the built environment (amongst other
problems – see Chapter Two). By transferring power from LAs to UDCs, the
discourse concerning the importance of reconstructing the value of land is
assumed to be in keeping with the need to simplify 'local government
powers'. Here, the role of the UDC will eradicate issues concerning 'local
conflict', as their function lies in a strong focus of working with the private
sector. This new representation of Liverpool as business friendly will not only
be employed in the reconstruction of the value of land, but it will also ensure
that only one focus is given in how the land will be represented. By only
focusing on the private sector (particularly developers' involvement, as
required by the MDC), local conflict is pushed to one side, under the pretext
that 'local' groups other than developers are no longer of assistance or
importance (what Harvey (1989) recognises as the move towards
neoliberalism – decreasing public sector responsibility whilst increasing
private sector prospects). This 'local conflict' is connected to what Hall
(1990) describes as the public consciousness of the 'inner-city problem' by
the late 1970s. Here the role of the London Docklands Development
Corporation (founded at the same time as the MDC) is recognised as
eminent in transforming not only how the problem was understood (land
value), but also how a favourable solution could be found in centralising
power and what Hall terms "planning as property development" (p. 354).
Such central leadership contrasts with 'local conflict' and, by transforming
how the problem is understood in this way, it can thus be rectified.

Through focusing attention on specific solutions, the regeneration narratives
presented both in the literature and in the interviews accentuate strategic

thinking. This is recognised by an interviewee who worked as an architect at Liverpool County Council in the early 1980s, and who from the late 1980s also worked with the MDC. As was discussed in Chapter Six in relation to the Waterfront Redevelopment, they explain:

> there was a strategic transformation by the MDC to bring Liverpool back to its waterfront. There was from then a new functional relationship with the river that included a new purpose with the service/leisure sector (Interview 5).

What the interviewee deems to be a strategic focus can also be understood as an active involvement by the MDC in political economic action. Meegan (1999) explains:

> In the first years of the MDC's life, urban entrepreneurialism was not on the political agenda. A fragmented local political base and a weak private sector undermined the development of the political coalitions that urban entrepreneurialism requires (p. 92).

Therefore, what can be noted in the case of the MDC is how the problems are identified. MDC had a leading role in driving an understanding of 'the problems' in Merseyside (specifically Liverpool) as being around how the city was being represented. Through employing Meegan's (1999) view here, that by not attempting to emphasise entrepreneurialism, image enhancement could be focused on through a linkage with tourism investment (similar to the Baltimore model of waterfront redevelopment). This initial focus on image enhancement therefore, could not only be regarded as a stepping stone, but as Chapter Seven argues, it also implies a social meaning to entrepreneurial opportunities.

This process of becoming entrepreneurial demonstrates how political economic action progresses, and that the interest of government to become entrepreneurial emerges over time. This capability of behaving entrepreneurially can be recognised in the Second Case Study, during an interview with a senior member of staff from The Mersey Partnership (TMP):

> By focusing on the Beatles the city can claim its uniqueness, however, overall Liverpool has a good claim on most assets, it has a World Heritage Site, the Tate, and the independent attributes are recognised by their peers as 'outstanding' in awards. There is a *Liverpool First* book, and although all of claims in the book could be used, there is a need to keep them in a context, not to overplay them; need to be careful of how they are used without being over hyped, but it also involves working with businesses to make sure that the offer lives up to the

claims and it's difficult to bottle up the experience of Liverpool, it's still regarded as a 'risky' city, it has a reputation and a past (Interview 4).

It is important to reiterate that the role of the TMP is to promote Liverpool/ Merseyside for investment. Nevertheless, it is the role of branding that is highlighted here as a means of such promotion. In this sense we can see how the 'power of place' has been fetishised, as the history of Liverpool and attractions available retain what Harvey (1993) terms 'causal powers'. This extract demonstrates the entrepreneurial governance noted by Harvey (1989): that economic efficiency is achievable through transforming certain 'assets' into a brand. Harvey argues that the transformation from managerialism to entrepreneurialism began in the 1970s in the US and the UK, with LAs and other public organisations in the UK finding it difficult to behave entrepreneurially. Although Meegan (1999) recognised this difficulty in Liverpool as being due to local governance, what is of note here is that in 2008, decision-makers in urban regeneration regard branding the city as completely natural behaviour. Paddison (1993) noted the rise of city marketing as core to the regeneration process since the 1990s, and it is the development of this by decision-makers involved in urban regeneration that can be illustrated through the extract given above: a shift from marketing to branding. This development of identifying the problems in Liverpool as being around the need for image enhancement (see also the discussion on the ECoC08 case study in Chapter Five) involves what can be regarded as a transformation – moving attention away from a specific land redevelopment focus towards focusing on branding a new *image* of the city – as evidenced in Chapter Two.

Through analysis of this theme: 'central government leadership in transforming the urban', two key aspects have been demonstrated. Firstly, that the direction taken is to focus on a national framework for urban regeneration; and, secondly, that there has been a transformation from an emphasis on land development, into branding an image of the city. In relation to the move from the local to the national, it is possible to observe how the notion of a new place is constructed, and how certain solutions are justified as appropriate for cities. This national appropriation of specific

solutions gives the impression of assuring success. In keeping with recognising the role of the national at a local level, advice by central government has continued to emphasise the value of land for urban regeneration, but this is presented (since the 1990s, see Paddison (1993)) in relation to how it can be utilised in branding the city. Whilst this theme has included a discussion on the role of central government in driving LAs attempts to be entrepreneurial, the manner in which significance is given to certain representations of the urban and employed in order to market the city entrepreneurially, will be discussed in the next section.

Theme Two: Representing the urban

Harvey (1987) argues the importance of bringing together Lefebvre's three dimensions of spatial practices (of 'material spatial practices and representations of space' and 'spaces of representation'). In this section it is the 'spaces of representation' that can be acknowledged, of how spaces are 'imagined'. In the ECoC08 case study, as Chapter Five demonstrates, a senior member of staff from The Mersey Partnership (TMP) explains how:

> [We were] Keen to focus on the location specificness of activities in the city. Parts of the city have been identified that have a distinct offering, now there is a need to work with other organisations in that place to work on the distinctiveness, e.g. Bold Street, Hope Street, Cavern quarter, and of course, the waterfront. It is the combination of distinctive areas that give the visitor a feel that they're walking though different areas. There is now also a need to have a stronger waterfront brand – with consistency to a geographic location that tells people they are by the waterfront (Interview 4).

Julier (2005: 874) describes how the term 'urban designscapes' incorporates not only "the built environment of a service delivery point but also the 'atmospherics' of the location". It is this understanding of the built environment as a *'service delivery point'* with characteristics which can be deemed as constitutive of a brand, that can be noted in the above extract. Moreover, Julier argues that meaning is given to design through regeneration, as can also be noted in the extract: the regenerated waterfront is presumed to have a greater meaning, due to its 'distinctiveness'. This improvement to the built environment is given greater meaning as the consistency of the location becomes associated with uniformity in the activities available. The perception of consistency in this manner constructs images of the waterfront into a brand

that becomes an 'urban designscape' due to the 'activities' available. This requirement to separate parts of Liverpool into consistent and distinctive areas implies an expectation that a different identity can be found in each place. In this sense, it presents the belief that place can be distinctively constructed to enhance the image and function of the city (Zukin 1989).

This construction of a new image and function for the city is what Harvey (1987: 266) argues can be found through 'spaces of representation'. He explains how they "are social inventions (codes, signs, and even material constructs such as symbolic spaces, particular built environments, paintings, museums and the like) that seek to generate new meanings or possibilities for spatial practices". Therefore, by 'walking through different areas', place can become interpreted in a variety of ways. Specialised areas emerge, *from which brand values can be designated*; and throughout what Harvey terms the 'domination and control of space' it includes organised spectacles, monumentality and constructed spaces of ritual, symbolic barriers and signals of symbolic capital – which, as can be noted from the data entails the process of conceptualising a new significance to how it (i.e. "parts of the city") is represented. The clear and controlled representation of the city in this manner gives a consistent message, what Evans (2003) terms the 'hard-branding of the cultural city'.

From a strategic perspective, this process of branding Liverpool is explained in the document referred to in Chapter Five from the ECoC08 case study, *Review of Liverpool City Region Tourism Strategy*:

> It seems [...] that there is still a lack of clarity and focus relating to a number of important brand related issues. There seems to be a tendency in the sub region not to grasp the nettle on some of the more difficult issues and to give more priority to political considerations than what makes sense to consumers...
> The following are some suggestions as to brand issues that a new strategy could tackle:...
> - Mersey Waterfront Regional Park. As the strategic masterplan for the plan states, it will not achieve its potential as a destination until it is given a name... and the brand starts to appear in the public domain... (The Mersey Partnership and Locum Consultants 2008: 60).

In this extract, it is not only the organisational aspect of the controlling element in attempting to apply a brand in Liverpool that can be recognised, but here, the argument made earlier (of ensuring new activities are available) can be developed further through the lens of Zukin's (1995) 'symbolic economy of cities'. The extract demonstrates what Zukin refers to as the transformation of public spaces, but, here, it is the move away from 'political considerations' towards what Zukin would term as a perception of 'civility' as it "makes sense to consumers". By attempting to move away from 'political consideration' towards the needs of consumers (or what Lefebvre (1991a) would term as 'users' in his discussion on 'representational space'), the idea of who space is for is transformed. Although this document is written with a tourism strategy focus, and regards areas in Liverpool as branded destinations, there is also recognition given in this extract to how at a sub-regional level 'political considerations' are an issue that LAs have attempted to control. Thus, whilst LAs accordingly recognise that there are more to places than being a destination brand, the advice given from a regional level is that the focus should be tourism branding. With such a focus in mind, the city is no longer for those who feel a sense of empowerment in considering sub-regional politics, as it does not match the requirements of those promoting a destination. Rather, the city, and in particular the waterfront, is deemed to have 'potential', and is to be represented through this symbolic image for consumers only – what Zukin would describe as the 'production of symbols' "which constructs both a currency of commercial exchange and a language of social identity" (p. 24). This production of symbols is deemed as prevalent, particularly as it relates to what the extract describes as the 'public domain'.

Zukin (1995) argues that the symbolic economy entails the transformation of public space into a brand, and describes how the parks in New York have become a representation of a middle class culture. It is precisely this that is being attempted in Liverpool, not specifically as a 'class' argument, but in relation to 'consumers': those who can afford to spend time in the city, or what Zukin describes as the commercialisation of public space. Similarly, returning

to the earlier extract from an interview with a senior member of staff at TMP, the need to define distinctiveness to 'Bold Street, Hope Street, Cavern Quarter, and of course the waterfront', classifies public space into what Zukin recognises as "culture functions as a mechanism of stratification" (p. 36), as each area is to be enjoyed by a certain style of consumer. To focus on the waterfront specifically here (as do both earlier extracts mentioned): it is the cultural identity from Liverpool's maritime history that will strategically become a brand that 'makes sense to consumers' or that 'tells people they are by the waterfront'. Goss (1996) suggests that the waterfront has become an important amenity for urban regeneration, due to its role in shaping nostalgia and in its symbolic appeal in offering hope of departure to new destinations and the mysterious, natural qualities of water. He argues that the waterfront acts as a boundary "where civilization and nature meet" (p. 239) which develops its role in naturalising the consumption opportunities available. Therefore, the representations of Liverpool that will become a brand (once the issues have been resolved through the strategy) are for such consumers, and it is they who have a potential to possess an understanding of its meaning, as the branding is directed at them.

This meaning given to the waterfront, highlighted in respect of the ECoC08 case study becomes significant through the process of branding, and it gives an economic strength to Liverpool globally. In this sense, the spectacular of the 'waterfront' can be employed to create what Harvey (1990) recognises as 'consciousness', as postmodernism fragments the meaning of images, by describing how "the image, the appearance, the spectacle can all be experienced with an intensity (joy or terror) made possible only by their appreciation as pure and unrelated presents in time..." (p. 54). In the Culture Company document specifically about the city's heritage, *Moving the Past Forward*, the stated purpose of Mersey Waterfront Regional Park to "create an internationally acclaimed waterfront to compete with cities like Sydney, Toronto and Bilbao" (Liverpool Culture Company n.d. b: 15). Historical meaning, thus, becomes a current resource that can be representational of potential future prosperity as it symbolises a new economy. This new

economy, as can be noted from research on the Waterfront Redevelopment case study, is that of the development of a tourism infrastructure along the waterfront. The manner in which this Waterfront Redevelopment of 1984 is later presented (in 2008), demonstrates the productive value of space as it is organised around a global context and becomes a symbol of consumer interaction. Competitive representation of Liverpool is, thus, presented to the public through opportunities for consumer interaction in a globally recognised place.

The ways in which this rise of a symbolic representation that portrays Liverpool becomes meaningful can be witnessed in the Waterfront Redevelopment (as discussed in Chapter Six), in an interview with a senior member of staff from Merseyside County Council:

> I received a Churchill Fellowship in [... year stated] to find out what lessons could be learned from American cities which had used tourism as a means for digging themselves out of decline. I spent a month travelling around cities and wrote a report on my return which I presented ...I think also that it took the success of Albert Dock, the tall ships and the garden festival, for there to be a realisation of the need to focus on tourism; until then, they [the council] were focused on industrial and commercial development. To pin all this on one person, it has to be Michael Heseltine and we need to give him credit for his role, plus his ability in bringing Arrowcroft and other developers to Liverpool. Without his intervention a lot of this would have withered on the vine. He [Michael Heseltine] occupied a central role, he had access to funds, the Government and to the law (Interview 3).

What is implied here is that tourism was the only appropriate industry for Liverpool and that focus had been 'on industrial and commercial development'. In Sacks' (1995) work on conversation analysis, the process of emphasising certain ideas as a prerequisite for a particular understanding of progress is explained. This process comprises what is described as the 'contrast class'. For Sacks, the manner in which an explanation is given illustrates what is to be observed, with 'credentials' becoming grouped into their 'appropriate class'. Such appropriation gives exclusivity to certain ideas as 'rules of relevance that decide what an explanation would be" (Vol. 1 – p. 357). When Sacks explains the opposition between 'applauding' and 'complaining', an acceptance is located in understanding what the problem is. In another lecture (also in Vol. 1 – lecture seven on 'Intentional mis-address;

Floor seekers'), Sacks furthers this rationale, explaining how relevance is made by reference to the action taken, being in contrast to a negative, inappropriate action. This opposition between the negative and positive, distributes parties (and their actions) in certain ways to demonstrate what needs contrasting. There is 'realisation on the need to focus on tourism', which needed the 'intervention' of Michael Heseltine. Thus, it can be noted how representations of the city are set up as a good/bad dichotomy, with the 'good' emerging from central government (Michael Heseltine) and the 'bad' from local government, with their 'focus on industrial and commercial development'.

It is such an attempt made here by the interviewee from MCC, to imply that the action taken by the MDC is appropriate (and in contrast to the work carried out by the City Council). The fact that nearly thirty years had passed between the action of redeveloping the 'Albert Dock, the tall ships and the garden festival' to when the interview was carried out ensures that the transformation can be appropriated as a 'success'[15]. Such 'success' can then be perceived as being in opposition to a focus 'on industrial and commercial development'. This demonstrates the separation of what needed to be contrasted: 'they' (the City Council) who were 'focused on' such ideas. The action of reference is therefore, not only negative, but also inappropriate for Liverpool's successful regeneration. Following Sacks' (1995) explanation of how a continuing justification of a belief is presented, here the role of 'Michael Heseltine' is given credence. Sacks explains how '[t]here's always somebody in your world who 'made it happen'" (p. 795) and, in the extract given, the significance of the transformation to Liverpool's waterfront is implicated as being due to the other (Michael Heseltine) which further discriminates against the 'they'. Consequently, Heseltine's involvement is not only an integral part of the success, but he is also distinguished as not among those who had the mistaken ideas on Liverpool's regeneration.

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[15] This is illustrated in Chapter Three in the section on how people remember, where Misztal's (2003) explanation of 'process of negotiation' demonstrates how memories of the past transform the understanding of the present.

The manner in which the action of investing in the redevelopment of the Albert Dock (in the Waterfront Redevelopment case study), is deemed as positive can also be noted from the data written contemporaneously. In the *Albert Dock Village* newsletter, written for developers and potential developers, a positive outcome is anticipated:

> By the end of the decade, the Albert Dock's unique partnership of family and exclusive shopping, entertainment, museums, art exhibitions, conferences and commerce will come to rich fruitition and bear proud testament to the strength of Liverpool's heritage and illustrate the depth of the revival at the heart of Merseyside (The Albert Dock Company n.d: 1 article 1).

This confidence in representing the potential of an urban regeneration project can be detected in documents relating to other regeneration initiatives. Anderson and Holden (2008) examine how 'hope' and regeneration are linked. The research for their paper applied Liverpool as a case study – that of ECoC08 (also the second case study in this thesis). Using media analysis, focus groups with communities and in-depth interviews with decision-makers in urban regeneration in Liverpool and Merseyside, they argue that hope is assembled around urban change, and demonstrates factors of what they term 'affective urbanism'. They explain that 'affective urbanism' is "an urbanism attentive to how various modalities of the more than/less than rational, including affects, emotions, and feelings, compose urban life" (p. 144). They describe the process of how 'hope' transpires through Liverpool receiving ECoC08 status and is assembled in three ways: 'as an advent' (symbolism of the title), 'as a crystallization' (the opportunity for change/regeneration through ECoC08), and 'as a blank' (the accumulation of a variety of inconclusive hopes that manifested themselves in the symbolism of ECoC08). The extract taken from the *Albert Dock Village* newsletter conforms to the aforementioned 'crystallization' construction of hope.

This crystallization of hope in the opportunities available for developers at the Albert Dock conveys the contemporaneous loss found at the site (and the potential available through investment). Anderson and Holden (2008) explain how 'crystallization' entails more than focusing on earlier problems, as it also consists of drawing "elements together around a focal point, in this

case a set of strategic re-imaginings of the future of Liverpool around a combination of entrepreneurial and communitarian regeneration strategies" (p. 151). It is an early approach to such entrepreneurialism that can be noted in the *Albert Dock Village* extract above. This attempt at entrepreneurialism in the 1980s, embraces the same approach as that argued in Anderson and Holden's paper: that strategies are focused upon and linked to potential which becomes 'actual' and 'virtual'. They describe 'actual' potential as encompassing consideration to understanding the 'social, cultural, economic or political conditions' (p. 143) for regeneration. Whereas, 'virtual' potential is founded on future, more general hope. What can be recognised however from the Albert Dock extract, is how the potential 'by the end of the decade' '*will* come to rich fruition' and can be illustrated not only through the 'exclusive shopping, entertainment, museums' and so on, but also becomes symbolic 'of the revival at the heart of Merseyside'.

This symbolic revival adheres to Anderson and Holden's (2008) 'process of possibilization' which encompasses "establishing the momentum for strategic projects that establish a determinate direction for future urban change" (p. 151). Not only does the Albert Dock redevelopment become an event of hope, it also clarifies the possibilities for the waterfront as a neoliberal space (Harvey 1989) through transforming local governance to have this involvement of partnership with developers. Such an understanding of the Albert Dock redevelopment (as also indicating a transformation in collaboration with the private sector) constitutes a significant factor in the intention of regeneration – the next theme to be discussed.

Theme Three: The intention of regeneration

The process of giving meaning both to how Liverpool is represented and to the approach taken at regeneration has been explained in the analysis of Theme Two. Theme Three centres on the actual meaning of urban regeneration. This section reflects on the second case study (ECoC08) and argues that this case is indicative of the way the 'past' (period of the first case

study – 1984) becomes a frame of reference to the 'newer' meaning of regeneration in 2008.

Smith and Fox (2007) argue that since the 2002 Manchester Commonwealth Games (at that time an innovative legacy programme), a distinction can be made between 'hard' and 'soft' regeneration in the use of events for urban regeneration. They argue that, until 2002, there was a focus on 'hard' regeneration, concerned only with physical infrastructure. The Commonwealth Games emphasis on a wider legacy becomes a marker (from 2002 onwards) of a shift away from the 1980s focus on developers' requirements. They claim that this shift towards 'soft' regeneration centres on civic pride. This emphasis on 'hard legacy' expectations, albeit incorporating a recognition of the 'soft legacy', is manifest during an interview with a senior member of staff from Liverpool City Council. In the following extract, it is the 'softer' aspects of regeneration that are presented as possible through bidding for European Capital of Culture status:

> the profile of the city has certainly changed since the end of 2002, when the bidding for European Capital of Culture 2008 began. The bid reminded the inhabitants of what they have culturally, which could then be related to civic pride, city image and positioning the city.
> In 2005 there was an evaluation of Creative Communities, during this evaluation the *Esmedune 2000: Vision or dream (a healthy Liverpool)* publication from 1988 was found, which discusses many of the regeneration aims that are discussed now with capital of culture such as linking health and other aspects to regeneration. Sometime between 1988 and 2002 such linkage seems to have been lost, but it has now returned as the vision of the city (Interview 3).

This transformation in the role of events incorporates economic and social legacies. The interviewee here does not regard economic and social regeneration as being in opposition to each other; rather, through the use of cultural events, they are considered to complement each other. There is the belief made clear in this extract that *until* the bid for ECoC08 status, Liverpool City Council's understanding of regeneration follows what Smith and Fox (2007) would term as 'hard', with a focus on economic change. However, the association made between the last pre-bid example of soft regeneration (*Esmedune 2000* in 1988) and ECoC08 serves to give some sense of continuity to a concurrent social focus.

Similarly, the 'softer' focus of how legacies from large-scale events are presented can also be adapted to expand on Philo and Kearn's (1993) argument on 'socialisation'. They argue that more than an economic justification is given for 'selling places', as place is also sold through:

> *socialisation* designed to convince local people, many of whom will be disadvantaged and potentially disaffected, that they are important cogs in a successful community and that all sorts of 'good things' are really being done on their behalf (emphasis in original p. 3).

According to the authors, included in this 'socialisation', is recognition that history is employed by LAs and entrepreneurs as a source of pride and inspiration in the present. Boyle (1997) furthers Philo and Kearns' argument on socialisation. Using the 1990 City of Culture event in Glasgow as a case study, he demonstrates how such an event (which he terms an 'Urban Propaganda Project' – UPP) adheres to three aspects of socialisation. Firstly, he argues that although UPPs engage on a global level, they also construct local identities for the inhabitants; secondly, UPPs attempt to entice pride in the local population regarding the progress made in regeneration; and, thirdly, UPPs offer a form of distraction from the everyday through emotional feelings towards the event held.

In the manner in which the interviewee from Liverpool City Council positions the role of bidding for ECoC08, we can see not only recognition of the 'softer' legacy being discussed, but also Philo and Kearns' socialisation argument. This social core of regeneration, through incorporating culture and cultural events, is a discourse recognised as having emerged since 1997 (Vickery 2007). Evans (2005), meanwhile, examines the contribution of culture in economic regeneration and how it has been measured as a success since the early 1990s. Certainly, much academic literature has been written on the subject of culture-led and event-led regeneration (again, see Evans 2005). In the interview extract above, as the interviewee links ECoC08 to Liverpool's 1988 social regeneration programme, the discourse of culture-led regeneration acquires a greater significance. Although Boyle (1997) describes cultural festivals of the 1990s as UPPs, Liverpool's regeneration

approach in 2008 can be distanced from this. The interviewee implies that bidding for ECoC08 has a tradition in the city, which links 'health and other aspects to regeneration' as it was similar to previous regeneration bids (such as *Esmedune*). This association with 1988 when the 'vision of the city' could be regarded as considerate to the needs of the inhabitants, is in contrast to the civic boosterism of UPPs, that propagate "solutions that legitimate the principles of capitalism and free market competition for investment" (p. 1983). Similarly, the interviewee asserts that the bidding process 'reminded the inhabitants of what they have culturally, which could then be related to civic pride, city image and positioning the city', and this statement could effectively be identified as the civic boosterism that Boyle (1997) describes. This down-playing of economic motivations, in favour of a focus on the role of culture displays a recognition of how and why the success of culture-led and event-led discourse has become prominent in urban regeneration. This emphasis however also raises questions about the extent to which culture is leading urban regeneration, and whether the softer legacies have any real significance (see Boyle 1997). In this sense, the attempt taken by the interviewee (earlier extract) to associate an example of social regeneration in Liverpool with the ECoC08 bid can be understood as an attempt to highlight how beneficial (for everyone) regeneration will be, as it can be connected to the city's traditions.

Obviously, there is not 'one' understanding of regeneration presented, since this is dependent on the data and on the particular part of a regeneration programme being discussed. Regeneration can imply different actions and solutions, as the analysis in Chapters Five, Six and Seven reveals. The extract given earlier from an interview with a senior member of staff from Liverpool City Council in 2008 demonstrates an attempt to focus on the 'softer' aspect and social intent of regeneration, yet during the same time period there is evidence of other, 'harder' elements being articulated. For example, while some decision-makers stress the importance of a social regeneration, others focus on the tax breaks for potential investors and other economic incentives. Therefore, there are often contrasting presentations of

regeneration initiatives carried out concurrent to ECoC08. For example, in the Liverpool Vision's *Creating a World Class City for Business*, the focus on economically redeveloping the built environment is paramount, as the extract given in Chapter Six demonstrates:

> The Liverpool City Region is attracting more visitors than ever before with a wealth of cultural and historical attractions. The iconic city centre waterfront has become an international visitor destination, and the physical change in the city centre is mirrored in regeneration elsewhere in the city. The new award winning Arena and Convention Centre Liverpool is bringing international artists and conferences to the city (Liverpool Vision n.d.: n.p.).

The shift in urban regeneration towards the city centre can be noted here. As argued in earlier chapters on the regeneration discourses of the 1990s, one aspect of importance (particularly to Liverpool) was Objective One funding and status. Objective One status had been given to Merseyside in 1994 (until 1999) and 2000 (until 2006). Objective One funding had been spent on large-scale development and re-development of land. Areas such as Speke (including Liverpool John Lennon Airport) and Garston were transformed through such funding (for more on this, see Evans 2002), with most of the programmes taking place on the periphery of the city. The contrast between focusing on the greater Liverpool area for Objective One funding, and attempting to create new spaces of entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989) in the locality, mentioned in this extract demonstrates how the rationale for infrastructural improvement to the built environment is presented in 2008 (this focus on attracting inward investment remaining in the city centre has also been noted in the work of Biddulph 2011). This creation of new spaces in the centre could be regarded as more central (due to their social input) to individuals lives, but also due to the fact that the second phase of funding for Objective One focused much more on the city centre.

This extract from Liverpool Vision demonstrates a move away from the approach taken through Objective One initiatives in regeneration. Not only was Objective One redevelopment on the periphery of the city, but it was also concerned with creating new spaces for development. In contrast to this, the extract discusses the *re*-creation of place: that it becomes an 'international visitor destination', that can bring 'international artists and

conferences to the city'. In this sense, the practical, industrial enhancement through Objective One funding has been transformed to a focus on well-known areas (the waterfront) via a symbolic image enhancement. As argued in Chapter Six, the attention given to the symbolic is evident in the second case study of ECoC08, however this does not occur in isolation, but in association with the built environment (what Smith and Fox 2007 would term as 'hard' regeneration). The symbolism of the city's international credentials are due to the 'physical change in the city', with the example given of building the 'Arena and Convention Centre'. This however is taking place in a location that is already recognised as 'iconic', with further development being justifiable as a part of the enhanced symbolic representation to be gained.

Jones (2011) demonstrates how iconic architecture has become a dominant discourse in urban regeneration with well known architects' buildings influencing place-marketing initiatives. Using the proposed 'fourth grace' project for Liverpool's waterfront during the bidding period of ECoC08 as a case study, he explains the tension between the bid's attempt to appeal to an international audience with visually 'radical' architecture, and Liverpool Vision's aim to provide the inhabitants with an opportunity to have a sense of belonging in the project. He argues that the later agreement to terminate the project reveals the problems surrounding plans for iconic architecture when the building lacks a specific purpose (this could also be noted with Urbis Exhibition Space and Museum in Manchester), other than an opportunity to brand a city. In this sense, whilst the Arena and Convention Centre (one of the buildings built instead of the 'fourth grace) may not be 'iconic', it does have a purpose, and this becomes prominent in how it is 'bringing international artists and conferences to the city'. Therefore, in a search for the iconic, it is the symbolic opportunities from mixing the old and the new that can be regarded as a safer option, particularly as it will not cause tension with the inhabitants.

Zukin (1995) recognises this attempt made to appeal to an international audience, and discusses the intention of representing the city through a

symbolic economy: a "symbiosis of image and product" (p. 8). As we can see from the above document extract, the representation here of internationalism is significant (the need to appear to be a global city has already been discussed in Chapter Six). Defining the place as 'international' becomes the intention of regeneration in this sense but, crucially, an 'internationalism' as manifested through the new – not the symbolism of the old, but of the 'award winning'. Although it can be argued that the 'iconic' waterfront with World Heritage Site status already has international associations, it is *future* internationalism that is imperative. This is how the city is to be represented – as more than the icon of the past, but with hope in becoming an icon of the future. Despite a move into 'image making', and the symbolic economy, such representations rely on actual physical spaces, so ultimately a new building remains a very important marker within the narrative. Thus the 'new award winning Arena and Convention Centre' are central to the narrative of a city going forward. This justification for redeveloping the built environment as a symbolic manifestation of regeneration has been discussed in Chapter One (and has been noted in the data analysed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven). However, from an overview perspective, what can be noted from this extract is not only the continual employment of the built environment redevelopment for symbolic purposes, but also the situation of the re-development in the iconic, urban core. As noted, the 'new award winning Arena and Convention Centre' was built next to historically iconic architecture with WHS status – in direct contrast to earlier large-scale development on the periphery (during the Objective One era) or on derelict land (e.g. the International Garden Festival of 1984). The approach taken to fetishise the power of place – the waterfront in the extract given above – invests the area with meaning beyond that of defining place as a social process (Harvey 1993).

This importance of constructing a symbolic redevelopment of the built environment can be identified within the data in a variety of instances. For example, a senior member of staff from Liverpool Vision described the

development of Liverpool's brand, revealing a focus on the built environment and how it is incorporated with Liverpool's other assets:

> From a Liverpool Vision perspective it's the built infrastructure projects – Liverpool Arena, the waterfront (including the Cruise Liner Terminal and the canal), the commercial district, the science park, universities and Liverpool One. The brand is something that all this can sit in which is a new brand identity with these offerings. Supporting this then are the same attributes that other cities also discuss – the workers, the airport and that type of thing. You also need to look at the phrases that can be used for selling Liverpool – edgy, sparky and so on, as they can also be attributes for marketing the city (Interview 1a).

Hannigan (1998) proposes that, in the postmodern era, symbolism can be found in 'flagship projects' that attempt to establish confidence in developers. In a similar vein, Harvey (1990: 92) argues that new urban spaces are being created as 'architecture[s] of spectacle' – that is, as spaces which create positive and high quality representations of place for cities under capitalism:

> Imaging a city through the organization of spectacular urban spaces became a means to attract capital and people (of the right sort) in a period (since 1973) of intensified inter-urban competition and urban entrepreneurialism.

What Hannigan and Harvey demonstrate is the importance of creating the new or *opportunity* for the new, in order to gain developers' interest. This again reinforces the argument made earlier – that symbolically reinterpreting the city requires redevelopment of the urban within established areas (waterfront, city centre, university area) for '*new* brand identity'. The extract above describes this process, which occurs through a form of 'hierarchy of requirements' (a concept explained in Chapter Seven). At the top is what the interviewee identifies as the 'built infrastructure projects', what Harvey (1990) and Hannigan (1998) would term as the spectacular. This interpretation of places such as the waterfront, commercial district and so on is made through the promise of the spectacular that has the potential to impress developers and give pride to the inhabitants (a mixture of economic and social regeneration – see earlier quotation from an interview with a senior member of staff from Liverpool City Council given on page 224, concerning the importance of bidding for ECoC08).

Whilst Harvey (1990) discusses the consciousness to be created through the spectacular, the interviewee from Liverpool Vision can be considered as

justifying such a creation, in order to control how the city is presented for branding. Of course, as has been discussed in Chapter Three, there are numerous regeneration narratives in circulation at any one time, and the interviewee has been clear to indicate that the comments made are '[f]rom a Liverpool Vision perspective'. What is clear, however, is that when it comes to attempting to regenerate a city such as Liverpool, neither the city's current representation nor the image of the existing built environment (even with its iconic status) are sufficient to create a brand on its own – that there has to be something else, something new to incentivise developers to invest. The possibilities presented to developers do not demonstrate 'spectactularism' – at least not in the examples given in the extract. It is in relation to this attempt to create 'place' which develops the 'historically' iconic that the work of Massey (1993) can be understood when she describes how the connections of individuals with place and the power between political, cultural and social relations articulate a construction of place. In the extract given however what is indicated is the issue of land control – exactly what was demonstrated in the Local Government Planning and Land Act 1980, where UDCs were established to assume control of LAs' land in the 1980s. This focus on land discussed by the interviewee from Liverpool Vision lacks any attempt to connect with individuals.

Thus, what can be noted in respect of 2008 is how the language of 'confidence' has changed. It is no longer about only being a transformed built environment per se (as could be noted in the 1980s), but presented within the specific need to brand a city for purposes of urban regeneration. Areas of the city already recognised as 'iconic' (such as the waterfront), nevertheless, are fetishised and redeveloped within the discourse of branding the city for successful regeneration. This concept of successful regeneration is the fourth and final theme to be discussed in this chapter, and concerns the notion that there is a model of good practice that can be followed in urban regeneration.

Theme Four: Learning from models of good practice

Chapter One argued that Harvey's (1989) acknowledgement that all cities attempt to regenerate in the same neo-liberal manner can be recognised in advice to follow tried and tested solutions for urban regeneration provided by the Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS), the Arts Council England and the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG). An earlier example has already shown how attempts at regeneration have adhered to other regeneration programmes that have been deemed a success. As the extract from an interview with a senior member of staff from Merseyside County Council (see Theme Two) explained, a Churchill Fellowship was received in order to "find out what lessons could be learnt from American cities which had used tourism as a means for digging themselves out of decline". More broadly, ensuring that funding is available to follow a specific approach to urban regeneration is something that can be noted from both case studies across the thesis analysis. Policy transfer can thus be interpreted through what is perceived as 'a model of good practice'.

How success is measured has not only been associated with policy guidance, but also with academic evaluation. The role of academia in advising both local and national government can be recognised in the two case studies. In the first case study of the Waterfront Redevelopment of 1984, it can be noted how 'specialist' verification for such a new way of working for urban regeneration is recognised as imperative for engendering the confidence of decision makers', investors and the public. For example, Dr Neil Boaden from the University of Liverpool was requested to advise the Environment Committee 1982-83 on the MDC's attempt to deal with 'urban' problems (see Chapter Seven), and Professor (now Sir) Peter Hall advised Michael Heseltine on urban regeneration in the 1990s (Times Higher Education 2001). These individuals (amongst others) are recognised as 'experts' and are employed in order to not only give legitimacy to urban regeneration initiatives, but also to research and acquire means of measuring success.

Another example, and of great relevance to the second case study of ECoC08, is the initiative commissioned by Liverpool City Council to be carried

out by the University of Liverpool and Liverpool John Moores University. This initiative comprised the years 2005 to 2010 (including retrospective analysis of 2002 and 2003) and was a longitudinal analysis conducted with the intention of enlightening local, regional and national considerations concerning cultural planning (Garcia, Melville and Cox 2010). Within the bidding process for ECoC08, the opportunities to learn from the event were highlighted as central, particularly around the concept of sustainability. Academia has thus two roles within urban regeneration initiatives, as the examples given above demonstrate; there is a formal, knowledge-based connection made between (local, regional or national) government and certain research institutions, but there is also the other role of academia embodied in the work of academics not involved with specific research projects, which tends to be much more critical of the approaches taken at urban regeneration. This academic involvement does, however, demonstrate how ideas around 'success' emerge, and the process of 'success' becoming measured and quantifiable for further use in urban regeneration.

Garcia (2004: 322) describes how there is "strong pressure among policy-makers and cultural practitioners to find the perfect model of action [for culture-led urban regeneration]". This section addresses not only how that 'model' is understood (based on the case studies – in particular the ECoC08 case study), but also how specific expectations, knowledge and action become regarded as 'models of good practice' and are encouraged by central government and local decision-makers. Reassurance both on a local and national level that the approach taken at regeneration is appropriate for Liverpool's future provides two key results. Firstly it gives confidence to those stakeholders involved regarding the initiatives chosen. Secondly it generates the belief that a shared vision of Liverpool's regeneration can be advanced and be justified due to being acclaimed as an established theory.

The Liverpool First document *Local Area Agreement* initiates following a 'new model' – as an approach to its shared vision, as was discussed in Chapter Five:

> Cities in the future will be differentiated not just by their physical
> environment but also by the quality of experience they offer. Liverpool is
> releasing its latent energies, moving completely away from old-style city
> governance to a new model where creativity is at the core of innovative
> regeneration, education, tourism and social responsibility...
>   For Liverpool, the process of change and transformation has
> already begun. We are a city willing to take risks and apply new
> approaches and solutions to our problems and challenges (Liverpool
> First 2008b: 6).

This concentration on a creative, risk-taking governance is in accordance with the advice of Florida (2004), who argues that cities should be vibrant, thriving, diverse and culturally alive in order to be able to successfully regenerate (thus that they should be spectacular in order to create consciousness – Harvey (1990)). The rationale presented by Florida has been acknowledged in the UK by central government, as the DCMS document *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration* demonstrates when discussing policy factors:

> Strong international advocacy of the importance of culture and creativity
> to economic and social growth. For example, Richard Florida in his
> acclaimed book, The Rise of the Creative Class, argues that cities will
> only thrive if they are able to attract the new breed of creative, skilled
> people who want to live in places with high quality cultural facilities
> (DCMS 2004: point. 1.2).

Thus, Liverpool First can demonstrate that through partnership, they are driving regeneration in a designated manner – whilst managing the resultant conflict with some decision-makers (and to an extent the public) caused by 'moving completely away from old-style city governance' and the following of a 'new model'. Instead, approval from central government can be announced, which justifies the transformation. Therefore, by following DCMS' advice, any conflict between the decision-makers can be eliminated, as the approach taken to regeneration is endorsed by a higher level of governance.

However, how such a new style of urban regeneration 'works' and for whom, also needs to be questioned. The 'old-style city governance' in Liverpool has been explained in Chapter Two where problems within the city council due to either 'short termism' or conflict with central government were discussed in detail. In this sense, stating that there is a 'move away' not only from the problems of the city council, but also from overall governance announces the new purpose and aims of not only the city council, but other partners in Liverpool's regeneration. Actions of the 'new model' are thus condensed into

ambiguity relating to 'creativity' and being different. The invention of a new ('innovative') approach to urban regeneration reveals similar factors to what the 'old-style' governance would have taken into account ('education, tourism' and the ambiguous concept of 'social responsibility'). What has changed however is presentation of this new approach, it is aimed at explaining *who* the partnership is governing. Responsibility is transformed to the 'quality of experience' for potential investors, including 'the creative skilled people' who would wish to live in Liverpool. Harvey (1990) explains how under postmodernism, the spectacle of 'the spectacular' is the sole criterion for judging the 'success' of regeneration initiatives – arguably, in practice, this means that initiatives are judged by the amount of interest they can garner from potential investors.

Much has been written regarding the transformation in LAs' behaviour. For example, Hubbard and Hall (1998) explain the difference between left and right-wing entrepreneurialism. They argue that left-wing entrepreneurialism focuses on co-operation with local communities, and the promotion of local identity and civic pride, whilst right-wing entrepreneurialism supports neo-liberalism, and the promotion of enterprise and hope in the private sector. In this sense, as Liverpool First states how '[w]e are a city willing to take risks and apply new approaches and solutions to our problems and challenges', the 'new model' seems to be that of right-wing entrepreneurialism, as it attempts to highlight the means of regeneration as being 'away from old-style city governance'. Therefore, as has been argued by MacLeod (2002) assistance and support is given to the private sector, whilst the public sector takes the financial risk. Supporting the private sector (in particular, developers) in this manner, and distancing the role of partners away from 'old-style city governance', indicates how the model of 'good practice' is 'good' for developers, rather than local communities. (This move away from 'old-style city governance' and towards focusing on the needs of potential investors has also been mentioned in other regeneration narratives. For example, as discussed within Theme Two, advice is given in the *Review of*

Liverpool City Region Tourism Strategy on the need to move away from political considerations, towards the needs of potential consumers).

Again, this need to work towards the needs of developers is stipulated by central government. For example, the Communities and Local Government (2009a) *World Class Places The Government's strategy for improving quality of place* states that:

> Some local authorities have embraced this role by confidently
> regenerating their centres, improving streets and open spaces, or
> working with developers to create well designed urban extensions or
> finding sustainable and creative new uses for historic
> buildings. However, others have moved less surely (p. 7).

This indicates the importance attached by central government to producing a benchmark of not only good practice, but also recognition of good, or appropriate, behaviour to be followed by LAs. Here, Liverpool is endorsed as a 'good example', with the (then) newly designed Liverpool One retail area on the cover of the publication. This endorsement protects central and local government against disputes related to building new 'places', by indicating that this is what 'confident' places do when behaving in a 'sustainable' manner. It again pronounces approval for 'working with developers', implying a warning to 'others [that] have moved less surely'. For Liverpool City Council to effectively be deemed as strong, confident and creative, the endorsement by central government confirms their conviction. Thus, good, appropriate, regeneration is defined in a certain manner. Regeneration that is acceptable is that characterised by 'working with developers' to transform the built environment.

The belief presented by various stakeholders in Liverpool, and also by central government, that models of good practice can be followed which focus on the built environment, is referred to in much of the literature on urban regeneration. There are a variety of interpretations given of what the 'Barcelona Model' entails, which demonstrates how specific aspects of it have been adapted and focused upon for urban regeneration. For example, Goodey (1994: 167) describes how "Barcelona has become the model for effective art and design generation and promotion for at least the next

decade". Marshall (2000) agrees and demonstrates the emphasis that such a model of urban regeneration places on architectural and landscape development. Beriatos and Gospodini (2004) also recognise the significance of the Barcelona model and, although they agree that design and the built environment are fundamental, they consider it to be 'the Olympic model' (of which the Barcelona model is regarded as the exemplar), and rather focus on how "big international events [are] used by large cities as a catalyst to overcome their spatial disadvantages" (p. 192), and transform the built environment within an agreed timetable. All these arguments can be observed within the data: of how change is urgent, how change 'has' to be performed in a certain manner and, most significantly, how change is focused on the built environment. Thus by following a model of good practice, the notion of 'what works', can be accepted as perfect and unquestionable. This is further validated by central government's endorsement (as discussed earlier). Therefore, the model of good practice is not adapted to a considerable extent (to manage aspects of place specificness and creativity) – as time becomes of an essence, a city such as Liverpool has to be 'ready' to welcome its visitors either by 1984 (as demonstrated in the Waterfront Redevelopment case study), or by 2008 (see the ECoC08 case study). This pursuance of a tried and tested model, however, employs the language of creativity and uniqueness.

Employing the language of creativity, uniqueness and risk is also noted in Martinez's research (2007), in respect of Antwerp's use of events in order to export a new, contemporary identity on the city. The process in which this role of creativity in transforming how the city is represented is developed by organisations on an international level, to demonstrate new, global values and dynamism, and also the process through which it becomes validated:

> ...the absorption of *avant-garde* fashion into urban image-shaping let the city be branded in accordance with the European *status quo* of 'dynamism' and 'cosmopolitanism' – concepts that are accepted as positive metropolitan brand values (p. 2462).

What can be observed, however, is how the symbolic image is created around creativity, uniqueness and risk taking, whilst the actual programmes

being completed are tangibly recognisable – constituting a safe and established model of 'good practice'. Thus, the contradiction between the symbolism of creativity and the predictability of the result seems hidden within the authorisation of creative behaviour granted by central government and other stakeholders. Such authorisation and validation seeks to appease worried stakeholders that their approach is appropriate (and risk free), whilst also assuring them they are acting in an exciting, fresh and innovative manner.

This concept of central government giving decision-makers at a local level confidence in their action links well with Theme One, and the discussion concerning the role of central government in regeneration. This concept also links well with Theme Two ('Representing the urban'), as further significance is given to the notion of being 'creative', 'edgy' and so on, this being repeated as an expression of approval by central government to LAs that are behaving 'appropriately'. Further connections in a broader sense will be drawn out in the Conclusion (next chapter).

Summary

This chapter has highlighted numerous perspectives from the narratives of urban regeneration that have been analysed in detail in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Rather than discuss the framing of urban regeneration, this chapter has focused on how the frames analysed in earlier chapters relate to the academic literature and in particular the work of Harvey (1978, 1987, 1989, 1990 and 1993). By drawing on the extant literature, it has been possible to identify how specific ideas have been presented in the data, and how they have also been observed in other research carried out. The chapter has identified three main issues emerging from the four themes discussed within this chapter: firstly, the role of central government in presenting an 'appropriate' approach to regeneration; secondly, the process through which meaning is given to successful regeneration; and thirdly, the role of culture in regeneration.

This 'role of central government in imposing an approach to urban regeneration' has been discussed within two of the themes, Theme One most obviously ('Central government leadership in transforming the urban'), but also Theme Four ('Learning from models of good practice'). In both these themes, what can be recognised is how while the problem may be regarded as local, a meaningful solution involves central government advice being given on how a transformation can happen. This advice consists of the following of a model of 'good practice'; and when local government is deemed to be implementing such advice, they become perceived as a good example, their activities honoured with descriptors of being 'creative', 'exciting' and 'risk taking'.

The potential positive action is presented in the future tense, and there is also the assumption that image enhancement (in the Waterfront Redevelopment case study) or branding (in the ECoC08 case study) will regenerate Liverpool with explicit reference to the tangible benefits of a particular representation or brand. An example of this is the use of the term 'international', used often within the second case study. The actual significance of having an international image is not clarified; rather, it is the fact that new architecture will *make* Liverpool gain an international representation which is celebrated (as is the judgement of being 'spectacular' as discussed by Harvey 1990). This international representation will be supported however by the city's past: the historical global connections of the city's former role in transatlantic trade, global recognition of the Beatles, and the architecture of the WHS.

Finally, this chapter has discussed how particular arguments are arranged by decision-makers in order to justify and interpret a specific approach to urban regeneration. Whilst the attempts taken at urban regeneration entail following a specific, tried-and-tested, model of good practice, the need to be creative remains dominant. In this sense, by discussing the cultural offer available as 'creative', risk taking and so on (as these are associated with the regeneration of Liverpool, due to the event of 'European Capital of *Culture*'),

the culture promoted can be creative, whilst the actual regeneration initiatives are not. Another role for culture is to bridge the gap between what has been termed 'hard' and 'soft' legacies of urban regeneration. In this sense, culture becomes a means of connecting the transformation to the built environment (much needed for developers interest), with the 'social', 'softer' requirements believed to be of importance for involving the local population.

Such key issues identified in this chapter will be explicitly connected to the core framing tasks analysed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven in the following chapter, which draws out the over-arching themes emerging from the research and forms the concluding section of the thesis

Conclusion

Introduction

Chapter Eight organised the analysis given in Chapter Five, Six and Seven to relate with the literature on the subject of urban regeneration and image enhancement. It discussed how the overall research findings both support and depart from the literature. The aims and research questions for this thesis were to understand how Liverpool has been represented in local regeneration discourse. Supplementary questions included:

1. Who have been the institutional actors framing regeneration policy and discourse in the periods under consideration?
2. Why did institutional actors focus on certain elements of Liverpool?
3. What specific characteristics of Liverpool's social and urban fabric have been prominent in regeneration discourse in the two periods under analysis (1984 and 2008)?

The particular approach taken to research the thesis augments the literature around urban regeneration, as the methods employed and interpreted using frame analysis demonstrated the different ways in which decision-makers think of urban regeneration. Through analysing the data it became evident how specific understandings of urban regeneration were being presented, and that these were around the importance of giving a positive representation of place, locally, nationally and internationally. More detail on how a representation of place became paramount to urban regeneration is given in this final chapter, as it sets out to bring together the analysis, literature and, specifically, the main arguments discussed throughout this thesis.

This thesis began by explaining that the literature related to urban regeneration recognises the importance of image enhancement and central government's guidance on urban regeneration. Although many authors have positioned their arguments along different aspects of urban regeneration, including the role of place, image and identity, the process by which characteristics of the city are constructed, maintained and mobilised has not

been fully addressed in the literature. Understanding the process followed by decision-makers to conceptualise the city helps explain *how* 'place' is constructed, maintained and mobilised. From understanding *how*, it is also possible to better determine *why* a certain approach to urban regeneration has become prominent. It is thus the conceptual processes involved in urban regeneration that are valuable to understand, and consequently it is such findings that will be discussed in this concluding chapter. In particular, how certain understandings of urban regeneration have come to the forefront in local decision-makers' narratives will be discussed, explaining how they have become prevalent, through the frame analysis carried out in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. This section will focus on aspects relating to the overall framing of the 'problem', 'solution' and gaining support ('motivation'). It will then consider the role of images of place and central government's advice and local control.

The research process

The literature concerning urban regeneration was presented in Chapter One and justified why I chose to begin the research for this thesis with 1979, the year of the Conservative victory in the general election. This year was chosen due to the change in style of urban regeneration under the Conservative government, as its characteristics followed the US approach of concentrating on improving the representation of place through promoting the free market. In the UK in the early 1980s, attempts to reconstruct the image of place focused on the built environment as the first case study demonstrates. This approach incorporates what Harvey (1973) identifies as the means of generating surplus value from urban space, through such processes as business and tourism investment, but also residentialisation of space. The second case study demonstrates how culture-led and event-led urban regeneration discourse has gained popularity since the 1990s, and perpetuates representations of place as somewhere that can be improved, through the cultural offer available, in conjunction with the redevelopment of the built environment. Again, this is in accordance with how Harvey (1993) describes the social construction of place, especially when linked to political

economy. In the attempt taken to differentiate one place from another, place construction which is based on capitalist production of space can be recognised in the form of competition between places. It is the process of providing a representation of place for such 'competitive' reasons that this thesis has demonstrated. Chapters Five, Six and Seven have analysed this issue by focusing on the core framing tasks discussed by Snow and Benford (1988) of diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing. In Chapter Five, how diagnostic framing is achieved was demonstrated through the 'necessity of a transformation' and 'distance' frames. Chapter Six indicated how prognostic framing could be detected in regeneration narratives, with the 'role of self' and 'saviour' frames. Finally, Chapter Seven revealed how motivational framing could be observed through the 'advantage' frame.

The analysis of central government's urban regeneration policies in two specific eras has been viewed through the lens of one city. Lefebvre (1996) explains how elements of the city need to be contextualised, and based within time and space, in order for the social and environmental factors to be understood. The city of Liverpool has provided an ideal case study area in which to address the extent to which representations of the city are constructed, maintained and mobilised by agencies driving urban regeneration through the instruction of central government. As argued earlier in the thesis, poverty and social unrest led to Liverpool becoming the testing ground for all urban regeneration projects controlled by central government in the last few decades (Couch 2003). As these attempts at urban regeneration in Liverpool have been scrutinised by numerous academics (for example, see Dawson and Parkinson 1991, Evans 1996, Lorente 2002 and Ellerton 2011) their findings have given me a solid basis from which the research for this thesis could be carried out (see Chapter Two); this earlier work has provided a context for the analysis employed in this thesis, as given in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight. In this sense, my own analysis has developed aspects that have been mentioned or recognised as problematic by these writers. For example, Dawson and Parkinson (1991) explain that the UDC managed to articulate central government's vision of city

regeneration in the 1980s: lending credibility to this belief, this thesis has demonstrated the process of articulation. From another perspective, Evans (1996) questions the ability of the cultural industries to provide Liverpool (and Merseyside in general) with a new and improved image. The second case study of ECoC08 demonstrates that 'culture' as an integral aspect of urban regeneration (including in relation to Liverpool) has become a conventional wisdom (a given of regeneration policy) less than a decade after Evans' expression of concern.

The two specific case studies for this thesis have considered the beginning of the Conservative government's lead on urban regeneration (through the Merseyside Development Corporation's leading role in the Waterfront Redevelopment of 1984) and New Labour's approach to urban regeneration. As explained in Chapter Two, the thesis has contextually considered the research question, as the local narratives can be understood within Liverpool's social, economic and cultural history. In Chapters Five, Six and Seven, by employing Snow and Benford's (1988) understanding of three core framing tasks, the frames discovered in the data could be analysed. These frames presented in concrete terms how urban regeneration is understood by those involved in implementing initiatives. For this reason, frame analysis was an appropriate method to recognise and examine the wide ranging meanings given and employed to justify the approach taken to regenerate a city. Investigating the research question through the interview narratives of key stakeholders, as well as documentary analysis of strategic documents, has given an opportunity for a greater understanding of the processes by which meaning is given to urban regeneration. The conceptualisation of a city's representation by decision-makers, as this thesis has established, is not carried out within a bubble, but done so within the wider context (and limitations) of central government policy. The limitation noted in Chapter Five – that a coherent set of strategies, tactics and targets could not be identified – is not an issue, as the breadth of discussion relating to diverse understandings of urban regeneration could thus be appreciated in its complexity.

The research findings

A key finding of this research is the constancy of the idea of 'image enhancement'. Harvey's (1993) question, concerning under what social processes place can be said to be constructed, can be answered thus through this focus on image enhancement – that is, rhetoric about, and attempts to, enhance the image of Liverpool to bring about a new construction of place which will acquire the required capital investment. The diagnostic framing carried out for both the 1984 Waterfront Redevelopment and ECoC08 case studies reveal how there is a 'necessity of a transformation' in the way that Liverpool is represented as a place, and the need to 'distance' urban regeneration narratives away from those that deal with actual problems found in the city (i.e. that are not image-based). The prognostic framing of the research, meanwhile, entails addressing the problems found in Liverpool by focusing on how the city is represented. Here, the prognosis is that there should be a positive conceptualisation of Liverpool presented, either by means of the Waterfront Redevelopment of 1984 or ECoC08. These two large-scale programmes are portrayed as an opportunity to transform the representation of place. The motivational framing suggests that the opportunities available in Liverpool through transforming the city's image will be beneficial to everyone concerned. By 'everyone' this includes all decision-makers in urban regeneration, but also the general public (where the intended audience is such). By attempting to involve everyone, the 'frantic' prominence given to "particular qualities" (Harvey 1993: 8) of place becomes ever more general and wide-ranging.

Problem, solution and motivation

It has been possible to ascertain how problems in Liverpool in need of a solution are presented. This has been observed through the 'necessity of a transformation' and 'distance' frames. Both these frames (and for both case studies) demonstrate how specific aspects of the city's needs are presented as problematic. For Case Study One, specific problems are noted by key stakeholders in the interviews and in the archival documents regarding high unemployment, lack of strategic thinking by the inhabitants (and local

council), derelict land, political conflict between central and local government, and lack of private sector investment. Here, the problems may be re-keyed, (Goffman 1986), amplified (Snow *et. al.* 1986), bridged (*ibid.*), extended (*ibid.*), and counter-themed (Gamson 1992). By re-keying, amplifying, bridging, extending and counter-theming the problems, these specific issues become a symbol of all that is wrong with Liverpool's representation. Thus, the problem is presented around the lack of a positive image of the city, which makes it difficult for Liverpool to gain any business and tourism investment as a result. In Case Study Two, the problems are less specific and relate to the more general need for a stronger 'Liverpool' brand and an exciting image, the need for new architectural development, and some recognition of education, health and unemployment concerns (see Chapter Five). Overall, however, the problem is reframed, to support the general need for image (and here, brand) enhancement. However, what can be noted in both case studies, is how the problems contended with are not those of local meaning, as the significant issue is whether or not the representation of the city can be successfully appreciated at a higher level: national, in Case Study One and global, in Case Study Two.

Snow and Benford (1988) discuss how the diagnostic and prognostic is usually linked, and this can be noted in the narratives under analysis. This linkage, however, only becomes noticeable for the Waterfront Redevelopment case study following frame bridging, extension, amplification, re-keying and counter-theming. In relation to prognostic framing, the wide ranging definition of 'urban regeneration' and 'place' can be recognised as valuable to the key stakeholders presenting a solution. It assists in promoting the adaptability of initiatives followed to solve the urban problems, and thus ensure they are supported. For both case studies, what can be noted is how the notion of successful urban regeneration entails following other models of good practice, redeveloping the built environment, and achieving a transformed relationship with place (linked to an emotional involvement). This becomes what Gamson (1992) would describe as an importance in framing: that it links to human experience, to 'socialisation'

(Philo and Kearns 1993) and human emotion. The chosen solution (the prognosis in both the Waterfront Redevelopment in 1984, and ECoC in 2008) is justified through associating human experience with economic targets, which can be met through a transformed representation of place.

The requirement for local decision-makers to justify and gain support for such an approach to urban regeneration is evident in Chapter Seven, which discusses motivational framing, in terms of the 'advantage frame' and how specific approaches are highlighted as appropriate. In Chapter Six and Seven, the urgency from which an approach to regeneration must be taken and followed is considered, as both initiatives are framed as a big opportunity that must be taken advantage of, for long term regeneration. The advantages presented for successful regeneration are made meaningful through the *potential* of the initiatives, linked to the *'authenticity'* of history. Thus, history is mobilised as a backing for urban regeneration narratives. This demonstrates that 'regeneration' is not articulated as a clean break from the past. As explained in Chapter Seven, in order to motivate support for initiatives, history is employed to justify later action – for example, in the Waterfront Redevelopment case study, with the idea that the transformation in Liverpool's industry towards tourism was not that great a departure for the city, due to its history as a port. Similarly, in the ECoC08 case study, when describing Liverpool's international status, the argument presented is, again, that historically Liverpool was an international hub and it could therefore reclaim this status. For instance, in the *Core City Prospectus* (Liverpool City Council 2003: 7), it is explained how the city has been "a gateway for economic opportunity for 250 years", continuing with the explanation that "Liverpool can once more offer Merseyside a capital city to be proud of; the North West the major cities which will provide the region with economic leadership...". This maintains a linear effect in how regeneration is presented, with the former glory associated with the 'making of Liverpool' in the here and now (discussed in Chapter Two).

The role given to representing place in urban regeneration narratives

In the introduction to this thesis, it was made clear that the main transformation in urban regeneration approaches over the last thirty years has been the greater focus on the representation of place. Harvey (1993: 4) explains how "place-bound identities has become more rather than less important in a world of diminishing spatial barriers to exchange, movement and communication". The thesis has given insight to how key players construct place entrepreneurially, and the consideration given to image enhancement in their narratives. Harvey explains how the ambiguity of defining 'place' is advantageous for including diverse "social, political and spatial practices" (p. 4). Similarly, the lack of a defining meaning being given to 'urban regeneration' is accentuated by the terminology employed to demonstrate how the city can be transformed. Urban regeneration is thus conducted for 'place promotion', 'place making', 'place marketing', 'place branding' and so on. Therefore, it is the individuals involved in constructing representations of the city which conceptualise a meaning and purpose to urban regeneration. Conceptualising re-imagings of the city has been associated primarily with the built environment. Architecture is already understood to have a role in transforming the representation of the city (see Harvey 1993 where he argues that "the realms of architecture and urban design, is precisely about the selling of place" (p. 8)), and this linkage can be found within the narratives from both case studies examined in this thesis. A focus on architecture for urban regeneration continues to be in the forefront of policies, although much more than the built environment is incorporated in the competitive approach followed in urban regeneration. This thesis has thus examined how representations of place are linked to the built environment in particular. These initiatives focus on the built environment as the main objective, but by mentioning other characteristics, they can signify additional aspects of urban regeneration, and thus justify the initiatives through the social and cultural. It is argued that representations of place are conceptualised in order to contend with more than the 'hard' objectives of the built environment.

Harvey (1993) explains how attributes around place promotion are founded on the need to appear unique and distinctive, and therefore representations of place focus on capturing uniqueness in comparison to other cities. What has been noted in this thesis however, is that not much, if any, detail is provided concerning the 'distinctiveness' on offer. Such a lack of detail opens up opportunities for personal beliefs on how Liverpool is distinctive to characterise this want. In this sense, conceptualising the city has been mediated in order to justify the new 'entrepreneurial' manner in which a solution to the 'urban problem' is sought. By the time of the second case study in 2008, this is associated with the direct attempt to work in partnership, and employs an understanding of the city through focusing on certain characteristics which intentionally bridge differing aims. Due to the need for key stakeholders to work in partnership with other organisations, however, not only must they justify the initiatives selected, but they must also incorporate a role for others to become involved. A transformed representation of the city is thus a tool employed in an attempt to unite everyone involved in the chosen urban regeneration initiatives.

Often the urban regeneration initiatives are justified as a means of enhancing the image of Liverpool, or in order to create a new identity for the region. Here, the image of 'place', and how it is to be promoted, becomes a way of achieving this objective. The following quotation, an extract from an interview with a senior member of staff from Liverpool Culture Company, clearly demonstrates the importance of European Capital of Culture 2008 for transforming Liverpool's image and is evidently responding to recognition of the political expectations of such events (Griffiths 2006):

> ...internationally and nationally, what we wanted to do, certainly more focussed nationally in terms of the depth of the message, but we just needed to take people on this journey that they don't know the renaissance that Liverpool's been through and if they did then they'd understand what a very different place Liverpool is. Now internationally most people haven't been here so we don't have to tell them that it's not bad, all we need to tell them is that it's different. And that's what the European Capital of Culture is able to do, it's able to... or it has been able to spark people's imagination and get them to realise that Liverpool is more than just the Beatles and football (Interview 2)

From this perspective, the interviewee justifies the approach taken at hosting ECoC08 as it will ensure a new image. The urban regeneration agenda in itself is not mentioned, but its overall aim in transforming the image of the city is accepted. It illustrates how the competition for visitor and business investment is at an international level. It privileges the global level of marketing above that of local requirements.

Central government's advice and local control

In the literature review given in Chapter One, it was argued that central government plays a significant role in shaping the approach taken for urban regeneration at a local level. As explained, Harvey (1989) argues that 'urban governments' since 1973 have taken a similar entrepreneurial direction, which is a 'shift' away from their former managerial role. This matter directed my research concern with how representation of place is carried out at a local level. Analysing the understanding of central government's policies at a local level acknowledges the responsibility of the Local Authority (LA) and other key stakeholders in urban regeneration. Although both case studies deal with large-scale projects which aim to transform the image of the city, it has also been possible to recognise how the discourse of urban regeneration is mobilised differently between them. In 1984, the tension between local and central government was evident (see Chapter Two). In contrast, by 2008, the relationship between local and central government had transformed dramatically, as the initiative was led locally, but followed central government's advice for successful urban regeneration.

As central government does not actually ascribe any absolute meaning to urban regeneration, the implication of the term affects audiences differently and can be employed to justify various initiatives. Negotiating a meaning to urban regeneration at a local level thus becomes a means for decision-makers to demonstrate their understanding of the problems, and also to interpret central government's advice. Whilst the problem, as can be noted in Liverpool, does involve social, economic and political difficulties in the city, the focus is on the negative representation of place resulting out of such

issues. Central government advice, as has already been explained, does guide LAs to focus on transforming the city's representation through large-scale initiatives. When such guidance is followed at a local level, praise is given for being 'creative', 'risk taking' and 'unique' in their approach. However, the pervasiveness of large-scale interventions along similar lines across the country implies that the LAs attempt at entrepreneurial risk-taking for a competitive advantage follows, instead, a safe, reliable method, which is rarely 'distinct', 'unique', 'creative' or indeed 'risk-taking'.

The case studies, as general examples of the focus taken by central and local government on how urban regeneration is presented as offering a solution to the 'problem of the urban', suggest how the role of the local has deteriorated. Although those interviewed for both eras of Liverpool's regeneration (1984 and 2008) discussed the importance of being 'place specific', this was presented using the language of promoting globally recognised attributes, justified as a means of demonstrating uniqueness. In the terms of motivational framing (discussed in Chapter Seven), this impacts on how initiatives are presented to the public and/or other key stakeholders, as justification is given that the approach taken is appropriate, with only the language of creativity and uniqueness being applied. For the 'advantage' frame, specific characteristics of the city are presented around the notion of being unique; however, the actual uniqueness and creativity portrayed is superficial.

How the research contributes to the literature

This thesis has been underpinned by David Harvey's work. Taking on his (1989) statement that in the era of late capitalism urban regeneration has become recognisable through new entrepreneurialism, which concentrates on place, this thesis has attempted to understand the process in which place is constructed within an entrepreneurial framework of urban regeneration. The entrepreneurial approach at urban regeneration related to the case studies involves carrying out large-scale projects in order to showcase a new, improved image of the city. The processes undertaken ensure that:

firstly, the inhabitants of the city consider themselves to be a component in the regeneration arranged, particularly through Philo and Kearns (1993) concept of 'socialisation' and the application of human emotion; and secondly, the value of partnership in urban regeneration (as discussed by Bristow 2005) is incorporated through the process of constructing representations of place. The images presented assure all involved in urban regeneration that the transformation possible will benefit them. As argued with regard to motivational framing discussed in Chapter Seven, the variety of representations available of a transformed place, through the initiatives chosen, highlight social, cultural, environmental and economic opportunities.

Exploring this need to unite everyone involved in a given regeneration initiative furthers earlier academic work which critically examines the lack of involvement available within large scale programmes (for example, see Hubbard and Hall 1998, and Loftman and Nevin 1995). However, any real opportunity for involvement needs to be questioned. Analysis of the data presented in this thesis demonstrates how real engagement on local issues is minimised as international attributes (particularly in the ECoC08 case study) are emphasised as investment opportunities. Although the narratives have presented the significance of culture, they have predominantly done so in order to justify investment in large-scale events, such as ECoC08. It is also unusual to reveal the value of culture without mentioning its role in repositioning the city for business and tourism investment, and this, in turn, being linked to the redevelopment of the built environment. This is where an important role is given to social attributes, as they provide a softer meaning to other, economically orientated narratives. In such instances, economic and community regeneration are discussed together, with culture being the means of linking the two. Whilst 'place' is primarily a social construct, it is regarded within narratives of urban regeneration as an economic construct. To this end, the thesis suggests how both the social and economic become interlinked. As identity is often referred to at the same time as discussing images of place, then the urban regeneration initiatives become associated

with that of image and identity.[16] Therefore, the language employed to describe specific characteristics of the city can be recognised as embracing the softer aspects of urban regeneration – particularly significant as the narratives have demonstrated that the purpose of culture in urban regeneration initiatives seems to be, to encourage business and tourism investment.

This need for a competitive framework within an entrepreneurial urban strategy is due to the transformation of the global economy from industry to a services-based economy which strongly relies on the representation of place. In this context, the representation of place concentrates on numerous attributes, and, as both case studies demonstrate, it incorporates the tangible of the built environment and the intangible of a created atmosphere. Harvey (1987) explains how symbolism is used in order to generate new meanings for spatial practices, but manages to separate the rhetoric of the symbolism, as it detracts from the reality found in the contemporary city. This is where images of place have a role in the urban, as they connect connotations of reality for the inhabitants, but can also be employed to personalise/humanise large-scale projects. However, such large-scale projects tend to focus public and political attention away from local concern – for example, in the advice given by an external expert to Liverpool City Council in relation to ECoC08, on how there should be a distancing from involvement in local affairs and a focus rather on enhancing the city branding internationally.

As the discussion in Chapter Eight argues, the main themes recognised around the framing of the two case studies all recognise features that are based on the work of Harvey and Zukin. As already explained, the work of Harvey has been the basis for this thesis, from questioning in his 1993 paper how place is socially constructed, to earlier work (1979) where he recognises

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[16] Brake and Harrop (1994), when defining 'image' and 'identity', explain that image contends with external perception, and can therefore be understood in relation to how intentional representation of the city is put forward for investment. 'Identity', meanwhile, contends with both the internal/personal and a shared understanding of place, and can therefore be linked with the social.

how the financial crisis impacts on the built environment. The work of Zukin (1998) has also been considered in this thesis, particularly in relation to the role of a city as a place to be consumed through the symbolic economy of such symbols as art, food, fashion and music. Both Harvey and Zukin recognise an alteration in the approach taken to regenerate cities; they identify a move towards commodification, and the impact of this on urban regeneration. They also acknowledge a shift in power relations, from schemes supported by central government towards greater private sector control. The framework Zukin advises for analysing urban consumption has worked well for the case studies. By involving the built environment, sociability and urban lifestyles, the manner in which representations of the city are constructed, maintained and mobilised can also be identified. From analysing the case studies, it can be recognised that support for the urban regeneration initiatives is galvanised through appealing to human emotion. Therefore, understandings of the 'sociability' discussed by Zukin (1987) and the 'socialisation' stated by Philo and Kearns (1993 – and recognised in the motivational framing of the 'advantage' frame), have been further developed through this thesis, as the appeal for support entails a strong human/emotional concern.

Areas for future research

There are suggestions which can be made for future research, particularly building on the approach taken to analyse the data. As the prognostic and motivational framing discussed in Chapters Six and Seven respectively demonstrate, the actual focus of large-scale urban regeneration initiatives is inclined towards ensuring that a positive image of place is presented, rather than actually transforming the lives of a city's inhabitants. Therefore, one area that could have been addressed in more detail, but, due to the specific focus of the research, could not be, relates to gaining a better understanding of not only decision-makers' role in urban regeneration, but also the role of those who live in the areas that are deemed to be in need of transformation. How inhabitants and communities regard their role in large-scale urban regeneration initiatives needs to be understood. Attempts to include the

inhabitants are evident, as in order to raise support for the initiatives, there has been a need to involve them. However, such involvement has not been made apparent through actual public consultation, but rather by incorporating local community references within the main rhetoric – in particular, by describing how the urban regeneration initiatives will benefit them too and assist them by building up their confidence and pride. For example in the Waterfront Redevelopment, the promotional material aimed at the public emphasises how honoured the inhabitants should feel that their city, due to its history, can now be regenerated through the Albert dock redevelopment and the *International* garden festival. Here the vague meaning of the term 'urban regeneration' becomes a means of denoting a sense of belonging and owning the transformed image of the city, but this is not necessarily reflective of community perceptions and aspirations at the time. In order to address this gap, how the inhabitants regard such inclusivity, and the extent to which they feel involved, needs to be understood.

Another issue which needs to be acknowledged relates to the lack of context-specificness in urban regeneration through the use of models of good practice. By employing tried and tested models, which have been declared by local government as successful either nationally or internationally, there is this overall belief that the formula of what works in one city, could work anywhere. Not only does this fail to acknowledge the importance of social, cultural, political and economic differences across cities, but it may also impact on why urban regeneration is unable to achieve its original aim of revitalising 'place', resulting instead in monotony in the images presented of cities. Whilst the outcomes of specific policies have not been analysed in this thesis, there is room for such research. By using the frame analysis research approach, how local decision-makers give meaning to the end result of following a regeneration model of good practice would clarify how the original aim is altered to contend with the perceived success.

The research for this thesis was instigated by an interest in how re-imaging the city has become prevalent in urban regeneration discourse. In actuality,

as urban regeneration can be interpreted in varying ways, the manner in which chosen representations of the city can be conceptualised is also open to endless possibilities. However, what can be noted from both case studies is that in order for representations of place to be constructed, maintained and mobilised in urban regeneration the narratives presented must focus on a specific function of the city. The specific function of the commodified city, as has been argued in this thesis, is around image enhancement in a bid to demonstrate distinctiveness and to invoke an emotional attraction to large-scale projects. There are however, other means by which certain characteristics of the city could be conceptualised in urban regeneration, and this could be the basis of an approach which genuinely aims to comprehend why 'place matters' to those who live and have invested in the city. Such an approach would give richness to the arguably empty claims of distinctiveness currently employed in promotional material. Therefore, frame analysis, incorporating the diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing employed in this thesis, could be utilised to understand how inhabitants and local communities become involved in smaller scale/community-led urban regeneration initiatives.

Further application of frame analysis

I have already discussed (when clarifying how the data was analysed using frame analysis – see Chapter Four) that frame analysis has also been applied to changing the use of community land (see Kaufman and Smith 1999). Other areas relating to urban regeneration to which the framing method could be applied concerns what is meant by entrepreneurial behaviour (which entails public-private partnership); of particular significance to this issue is how risk is interpreted (see the work of Hubbard and Hall 1998 and Harvey 2000). Another aspect related to this thesis that has the potential to apply the framing method is that of how alternative notions of a city emerge and become deployed in place-making. I have discussed in relation to the second case study of ECoC08, how, in order to gain support, all characteristics of the city (including those discussed as a part of the problem) are developed into characteristics capable of selling the city (see Chapter Seven). This aspect seems to have become prevalent by the time

of the second case study (of 2008), as Mooney's (2004) analysis of Glasgow's attempt to regenerate in its year as European City of Culture 1990; he argues that as the city was attempting to gain new investment, older aspects of the city's culture were marginalised.

Other features of urban politics and governance where frame analysis could be appropriate, that are not directly linked to this thesis, relates to the connection between government rhetoric presented in ministerial speeches, and actual policies concerning urban regeneration. During Chapter Three, when discussing how frame analysis has been employed in the past, I referenced work analysing the impact of various pressure groups on how pressure/interest groups influence policy making in Washington (USA) (an example of this is the work of Goldstein 1999). Similarly, and of a greater significance in the UK, is that of the consultation process in policy planning. Therefore, through applying the framing method, how various groups and individuals are consulted and their response could be analysed, and moreover how such frames are incorporated into the overall policy. Such an analysis would give insight on how policies are developed and how consultation attempts to influence the process. Finally, whilst the opportunities available for frame analysis to be applied in relation to urban regeneration are far and wide, some other aspects of great interest include how social, cultural, environmental and economic developmental requirements are framed.

Overall, this thesis has substantiated the work of Harvey (1989) in recognising that there is a focus on representations of place in the era of entrepreneurialism, and has clarified the process by which place is constructed, maintained and mobilised for urban regeneration. Harvey (1989) describes the transformation towards "some kind of entrepreneurialism" (p. 5) as starting from the 1970s, and whilst he does not elucidate what is meant by the term, he makes it clear that it does entail competition between cities. Through analysing the narratives given by local decision-makers how they negotiate a meaning to urban regeneration can be

better understood, along with how certain attributes of the city become privileged over others. The representation of place has been given a considerable role in the regeneration of cities over the past thirty years, and this must assume a greater significance at the local level, to truly impact upon the global competitiveness that is pursued.

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Zukin, S. (1998) 'Urban Lifestyles: Diversity and Standardisation in Spaces of Consumption' *Urban Studies* **35**(5/6): 825-839

Information on the International Garden Festival -
http://www.bbc.co.uk/liverpool/content/articles/2006/11/30/local_history_gard en_festival_feature.shtml

Information on Liverpool following the thirty year government rule on archiving information -
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-16361170

Information on the Local Government, Planning and Land Act 1980 -
http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1980/65

Information on Liverpool Vision and other Urban Regeneration Companies -
www.urcs-online.co.uk

Discussion on the use of the term 'three graces' -
http://www.yoliverpool.com/forum/archive/index.php/t-7125.html?s=b8cd964f6599bdc9babcc1d2bf01412a

Local Government and Planning Land Act 1980 -
http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1980/65/enacted

Liverpool 2008 It's Happening in Liverpool! 'About Us' section of the Liverpool Culture Company website -
www.liverpool08.com/about

Liverpool First website -
http://www.liverpoolfirst.org.uk/who-we-are

Media Impact Assessment -
http://www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08/Publications/Media_Impact_Assessment_part _2.pdf

Mersey Waterfront Website Regeneration and Recreation section -
www.merseywaterfront.com/strategy_regeneration.php

Mersey Waterfront Website Regeneration and Recreation section -
www.merseywaterfront.com/strategy_recreation.php

Appendix A

Dates of Interviews for Case Study One: The Waterfront Redevelopment

Interview number	Detailed information on the Interviewee	Date of Interview
Interview 1	Senior Member of Cabinet in the 1980s	02/02/2010
Interview 2	Planner at Liverpool City Council in the 1980s	15/10/2009
Interview 3	Senior Member of Merseyside County Council	13/10/2009
Interview 4	Tourism Officer at Merseyside County Council	11/09/2009
Interview 5	Architect at Liverpool County Council in the early 1980s, from the late 1980s also worked with the MDC	11/09/2009

Dates of Interviews for Case Study Two: European Capital of Culture 2008

Interview number	Detailed information on the Interviewee	Date of Interview
Interview 1a	Senior Member of staff from Liverpool Vision	08/05/2009
Interview 1b	Senior Member of staff from Liverpool Vision	14/11/2008
Interview 1c	Senior Member of staff from Liverpool Vision	07/10/2008
Interview 2a	Senior Member of staff from Liverpool Culture Company	19/01/2009
Interview 2b	Senior Member of staff from Liverpool Culture Company	19/01/2009
Interview 3	Senior Member of staff from Liverpool City Council	26/11/2008
Interview 4	Senior Member of Staff from The Mersey Partnership	21/04/2009
Interview 5	Senior Member of Staff from Business Improvement District	11/03/2009
Interview 6	Senior Member of Staff from Northwest Development Agency	07/05/2009

Appendix B

Consent form and Information Sheet

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

MODEL CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project:	The understanding of 'place': urban regeneration initiatives in the UK, from 1984 to 2008.
Researcher(s):	Menna Tudwal Jones

Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and have understood the information sheet dated May 2009 for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my rights being affected.

☐

I understand that, under the Data Protection Act, I can at any time ask for access to the information I provide and I can also request the destruction of that information if I wish.

☐

I agree to take part in the above study.

☐

_____   _____   _____
Participant Name   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
Name of Person taking consent   Date   Signature

Menna Tudwal Jones_____   _____   _____
Researcher   Date   Signature

The contact details of lead Researcher (Principal Investigator) are:

Dr Beatriz Garcia,
Impacts08, School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Liverpool, Bedford Street South, Liverpool, L69 7ZA 0151 7942540, bgarcia@liv.ac.uk

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Participant Information Sheet
Title of Study
The understanding of 'place': urban regeneration initiatives in the UK, from 1984 to 2008.

Invitation
You are being invited to participate in a research study. Before you decide whether to participate, it is important for you 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 either myself or my supervisor if you would like more information or if there is anything you don't understand. I would like to stress that you do not have to accept this invitation and should only agree to take part if you want to.

Purpose of the Study
This study is being carried out to analyse how regeneration initiatives from 1984 to 2008 have understood the concept of 'place' in the promotion of the city. It will be based on two case studies, the first case study is the 1984 waterfront redevelopment, which involved the International Garden Festival and opening up of the first phase of the Albert Dock, and the second case study is the 2008 status of Liverpool as European Capital of Culture. From examining the case studies, it will be possible to recognise how Liverpool has been intentionally represented for business and tourism investment and to grasp if there has been a transformation in how 'place' has been understood in urban regeneration initiatives covering this period.

The Researcher
I am currently a PhD student at the School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Liverpool.

Questions you may have concerning participation:
Why have I been chosen to take part?
You have been identified as a respondent that is relevant to the research, following discussion with PhD supervisors.

Do I have to take part?
You do not have to take part, however, rather than be contacting you again to remind of you my request, please let me know that you do not wish to be involved, you do not need to give an explanation.

What will happen if I take part?
A date will be agreed and arrangements made for me to come and interview you for about an hour.

Are there any benefits in taking part?
Whilst the benefits of involvement are mainly for my research, you may also find it rewarding in being given an opportunity to discuss aspects of your work that may feedback into practice.

Will my participation be kept confidential?
Your participation will be kept confidential, as your name and role in regeneration will be anonymous in any documentation related to the PhD. Data from the interviews will be kept on a password protected laptop and any paper copies will be kept in a locked filing cabinet.

Will my taking part be covered by an insurance scheme?
Yes, cover is given by the University of Liverpool.

What will happen if I want to stop taking part?
You may withdraw from this study and anytime, without needing to give an explanation. It will be requested however, if the data received to such a point may be used, or you may ask for all notes to be destroyed, with no further use made of them.

Who can I contact if I have further questions?
If you have any queries or any complaints, please contact either myself, or my Supervisor, Dr Beatriz Garcia:

Menna Tudwal Jones	Dr Beatriz Garcia
0151 7942981	0151 7942540
m.t.jones@liv.ac.uk	bgarcia@liv.ac.uk

Appendix C

Multidex Example (from Notebook application)

Author

This lists all the words
and how many
times they are used, from
clicking on the word, all
examples are listed and
from
clicking on the example, it
takes you back to the
original data

Contents

▽ Documents
▷ Albert Dock
▽ Department of the Environment
  ▷ Garden Exhibitions and the UK
  ▷ Evaluation Report 1989
  ▷ National Garden Festivals Press Notice
▷ Garden Festival
▷ House of Commons
▷ House of Lords
▷ Merseyside County Council
▷ Merseyside Development Corporation
▷ Interviews
▽ Multidex

Name of
documents,
the original and
the notes
section are
included.

All interviews and notes
are kept together here

From highlighting
relevant
sections, I could
choose an
appropriate keyword.
All
keywords are listed in
this section and from
clicking on the list, it
takes you back to the
original data.

Appendix D

Lexis Nexis Search for 'International Garden Festival' and 'Liverpool'

Appendix E

Documents for both Case Studies

Case Study One: The Waterfront Redevelopment 1984

Albert Dock Company Documents – Local stakeholder		
Document 1a	Albert Dock Times	Promotional Material for potential investors in the Albert Dock
Document 1b	Albert Dock Village	Promotional Material for potential investors in the Albert Dock
Garden Festival Documents – Regional stakeholder		
Document 2a	Festival Guide	Promotional Material for visitors
Document 2b	Festival Magazine	Promotional Material for visitors
Document 2c	Garden Festival News 1985	Promotional Material for visitors
Document 2d	Garden Festival Parade Souvenir Programme	Promotional Material for visitors
Document 2e	Oliver and James at the International Garden Festival	Promotional Material for visitors (children)
Merseyside County Council Documents – Regional Stakeholder		
Document 3a	Hello Tourist	Promotional Material for visitors
Document 3b	Tourism – A flagship for Merseyside. Consultation Draft Strategy	Policy Document
Department of the Environment Documents – National Stakeholder		
Document 4a	Garden Exhibitions and the UK	Policy Document
Document 4b	Evaluation Report 1989	Policy Document
Document 4c	National Garden Festival Press Notice	Policy Document
House of Commons Documents – National Stakeholder		

Document 5a	Environment Committee 1982-83	Legal Document
Document 5b	Environment Committee Session 1983-84 3rd Report	Legal Document
House of Lords Documents – National Stakeholder		
Document 6a	Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the London Docklands Development Corporation (Area and Constitution Order 1980)	Legal Document
Merseyside Development Corporation – Regional Stakeholder		
Document 7a	Festival Sculpture	Promotional Material for visitors
Document 7b	IGF Woolworth Festival Preview	Promotional Material for visitors
Document 7c	Initial Development Strategy	Policy Document

Case Study Two: European Capital of Culture 2008

Business Improvement District Documents – Local Stakeholder		
Document 1a	BID Business Plan	Strategic Document
Document 1b	BID Marketing and PR Strategy	Strategic Document
Culture Company Documents – Local Stakeholder		
Document 2a	08 Marketing Plans Report	Strategic Document
Document 2b	Business Plan 05-09	Strategic Document
Document 2c	ECoC08 Vision Document	Strategic Document
Document 2d	Executive Summary of the ECoC08 bid	Strategic Document
Document 2e	Liverpool 2008 Website	Information for Tourists
Document 2f	Media Strategy 2008	Strategic Document
Document 2g	Moving the Past Forward	Policy Document
Liverpool City Council Documents – Local Stakeholder		
Document 3a	Minutes of Capital of Culture Scrutiny Panel	Minutes of meeting
Document 3b	Core City Prospectus 2003	Strategic Document
Document 3c	Minutes of Cultural Legacy Scrutiny Panel	Minutes of meeting
Document 3d	ERM Economics Final Report 2003	Report

Document 3e	Strategic Regeneration Framework	Strategic Document
Document 3f	Unitary Development Plan	Strategic Document
Liverpool First Documents – Local Stakeholder		
Document 4a	Liverpool Cultural Strategy	Strategic Document
Document 4b	Local Area Agreement	Policy Document
Document 4c	Sustainable Community Strategy	Strategic Document
Document 4d	Working Protocols 2007	Strategic Document
Liverpool Vision Documents – Local Stakeholder		
Document 5a	Business Liverpool Website	Information for investors
Document 5b	Creating a World Class City for Business	Strategic Document
Document 5c	Introducing an Area of Expertise, Knowledge and Wealth Creating Potential	Strategic Document
Document 5d	Make no little plans	Report
Mersey Waterfront Documents – Regional Stakeholder		
Document 6a	Mersey Waterfront Website	Information for investors
NorthWest Development Agency Documents – Regional Stakeholder		
Document 7a	Action for Sustainability Programme 2000	Strategic Document
Document 7b	Regional Economic Strategy	Strategic Document
Document 7c	Strategic Marketing 04	Strategic Document
Document 7d	Strategy for Major Events	Strategic Document
Document 7e	The Strategy for Tourism in England's Northwest 2003-2010	Strategic Document
Document 7f	Tourism Research Strategy	Strategic Document
Document 7g	Website Information – Image, Marketing, Competitiveness	Information for investors
The Mersey Partnership Documents – Regional Stakeholder		
Document 8a	Destination Management Plan	Strategic Document
Document 8b	Digest of Merseyside Tourism	Report
Document 8c	Liverpool City Region Development Programme Report	Report
Document 8d	Merseyside Economic Review 06 Summary	Strategic Document
Document 8e	Review of Liverpool City Region Tourism Strategy	Strategic Document

Document 8f	The Liverpool City Region Contributing to the Northern Way	Strategic Document
Document 8g	Vision 2015 A Vision and Strategy for Tourism to 2015	Strategic Document
Document 8h	Winning Tourism	Strategic Document

Appendix F

Definition of the main frames for Case Study One: Waterfront Redevelopment 1984

Saviour – [Prognostic Framing (Snow and Benford 1988)] Individual (including self), organisation or a specific project, managing to rescue Liverpool's economic future. Economic success here explained as public sector involvement in urban regeneration projects and image transformation.

Role of self – [Prognostic Framing (Snow and Benford 1988)] Very descriptive of involvement in urban regeneration, either from an individual perspective, or the aims and objectives of an organisation. Differs from 'Saviour' as it does not relate the role to a successful situation.

Necessity of a transformation – [Diagnostic Framing (Snow and Benford 1988)] Concentrates on the negative image of Liverpool at a national level, and also the difficult economic and political circumstances in the city.

Distance – [Diagnostic Framing (Snow and Benford 1988)] Blaming others for the failure of urban regeneration. Unsupportive of working in partnership and other changes brought forward by the MDC.

Advantage – [Motivational Framing (Snow and Benford 1988)] Opportunities for urban regeneration likely to succeed due to the city's history and architectural heritage.

List of the main frames for Case Study One

	Saviour	Role of self	Necessity of a transformation	Distance	Advantage
Interview 1	X	X	X	X	
Interview 2	X	X	X	X	
Interview 3	X	X	X	X	X
Interview 4	X		X		
Interview 5	X		X		
Document 1a	X		X		X
Document 1b	X				X
Document 2a	X	X	X		X
Document 2b	X				
Document 2c	X		X		X
Document 2d	X		X		

	Saviour	Role of self	Necessity of a transformation	Distance	Advantage
Document 2e			X		
Document 3a	X				
Document 3b			X		X
Document 4a	X		X		X
Document 4b	X	X	X		X
Document 4c	X		X		
Document 5a	X	X	X	X	X
Document 5b			X	X	
Document 6a			X		
Document 7a	X		X		X
Document 7b	X				
Document 7c	X		X	X	X

Definition of the main frames for Case Study Two: 2008 European Capital of Culture

Saviour – [Prognostic Framing (Snow and Benford 1988)] Specific actions, conduct or projects managing to rescue Liverpool's economic future. Economic success here explained as public sector involvement in urban regeneration projects, image transformation and local pride by the inhabitants.

Role of self – [Prognostic Framing (Snow and Benford 1988)] Very descriptive of involvement in the processes and procedures chosen in an attempt to regenerate Liverpool. Includes aims and objectives of organisations and justification of chosen means of focusing on regeneration. Differs from 'Saviour' as it does not relate the role to a successful situation.

Necessity of a transformation – [Diagnostic Framing (Snow and Benford 1988)] Concentrates on the negative image of Liverpool at a national level, and how Liverpool lacks any recognition at a global level. Discusses the lack of private sector involvement in urban regeneration, how the city lacks a strong brand and is not competitive enough.

Distance – [Diagnostic Framing (Snow and Benford 1988)] Explanation on the lack of funding opportunities available for ECoC08. How the city lacks a strong vision, and that it needs to be promoted better.

Advantage – [Motivational Framing (Snow and Benford 1988)] Opportunities for urban regeneration likely to succeed due to the city's culture, architectural heritage and new development. That since ECoC08, culture is a strong brand in the city, and that there is a closer, more beneficial working relationship with the private sector and cultural institutions, which will continue into the future. Local pride from bidding (and winning) the status of ECoC08.

List of the main frames for Case Study Two

	Saviour	Role of self	Necessity of a transformation	Distance	Advantage
Interview 1a	X	X	X		X
Interview 1b			X		X
Interview 2	X	X	X	X	X
Interview 3	X	X	X	X	X
Interview 4	X	X	X		X
Interview 5	X	X			X
Interview 6	X	X	X	X	X
Document 1a	X	X	X		X
Document 1b		X	X		X
Document 2a	X	X	X		X
Document 2b	X	X	X	X	X
Document 2c		X	X		X
Document 2d	X	X	X		X
Document 2e					
Document 2f	X	X	X		X
Document 2g	X				
Document 3a	X	X	X	X	X
Document 3b			X		X

	Saviour	Role of self	Necessity of a transformation	Distance	Advantage
Document 3c	X		X	X	X
Document 3d	X	X	X		X
Document 3e		X	X		
Document 3f	X	X	X	X	X
Document 4a			X	X	X
Document 4b	X	X	X		X
Document 4c	X	X	X		X
Document 4d		X			
Document 5a		X			X
Document 5b	X	X	X		X
Document 5c					X
Document 5d	X	X	X	X	X
Document 6a		X	X		X
Document 7a		X	X		X
Document 7b	X	X	X	X	X
Document 7c		X	X	X	X
Document 7d		X	X		X
Document 7e		X	X	X	X
Document 7f		X	X		
Document 7g		X	X		X
Document 8a	X	X	X		X
Document 8b					X
Document 8c	X	X	X		X

	Saviour	Role of self	Necessity of a transformation	Distance	Advantage
Document 8d	X	X	X		X
Document 8e	X	X	X		X
Document 8f	X	X	X		X
Document 8g	X	X	X		X
Document 8h	X		X		X

For key to the documents – see Appendix E.

Appendix G

Highlighted map showing the Northwest, Merseyside and Liverpool City Region boundaries

Source of map: http://www.foodnw.co.uk/activities/aboutus/northwestregion/

▬▬▬ 'North West'

▭▭▭ 'Merseyside' and also later (by 2008) known as 'Liverpool City Region'