

**The Leaving of Liverpool: An Interpretation of the  
Processes and Experiences behind (Non)migration**

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# *Abstract*

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This thesis investigates the relationships between place, identity and (non)migration within a Liverpool context, set against a backdrop of continuous population decline stretching back to the second world war. To investigate these themes a narrative approach to data collection and analysis is developed, involving innovative use of both telephone and internet-based interviewing techniques.

In substantive terms the thesis is split into two halves. The first re-examines the impact that (non)migration has upon place and identity. Place and identity are shown to be interconnected, leading to a development of traditional identity theories to incorporate the impact that a (non)migration has on place and identity. In particular it is shown that place acts as the space in which identities are transformed and recreated, therefore making (non)migration a key element in identity formation. At the same time place is shown to be a subjective entity that is given meaning only when relationships and behaviours occur within the space it bounds, and hence acts only as a container for the people who occupy the space.

People who are associated with Liverpool are often categorised as being deviant. Another theoretical development presented in the first half of the thesis, therefore, is a redevelopment of Goffman's (1969) notion of stigma to suggest that stigma is by no means universal. Instead, people are marked as being from Liverpool through the acquisition and possession of 'visible' attributes that lead to stigma; as such it is these attributes, rather than place origin, that are interpreted and represented as deviant. Analysis of interviewee narratives reveals the variety of strategies adopted to mask these 'visible' stigma: by not associating / socialising with others who are marked (have the stigma sign), disguising or minimising their own stigma signs and most significantly migrating away from all associations with the stigma. A key policy implication arising from this analysis is that the Liverpool place identity is intrinsic to

the population stability of the city. In order to tackle population decline, the identity, the image and the perception of Liverpool will have to be addressed.

Having provided a conceptual framework from which to consider (non)migration, the second half of the thesis moves on to consider the interconnected issues that develop in relation to (non)migration decisions. Through narrative analysis the decision to stay is shown to involve a decision making process just as complex as the decision to leave. This finding brings into question the body of literature that focuses only on the decision-making processes of migrants (i.e. those who have decided to move). Building upon this argument, the thesis develops a typology aimed at exploring and interpreting the whole set of (non)migratory experiences, situating (non)migration decisions under five broad themes: education, employment, policy, personal and lifestyle factors. Not only does this typology move beyond the normal focus upon migrants only: it also moves beyond examining motivational factors to consider the outcome of the move, using three additional dimensions: search-space, satisfaction and permanence. In this way, the new approach offers a unique and wholly representative grounding from which to understand and explore contemporary population decline.

This thesis is dedicated in everlasting and loving memory  
to my most wonderful Gran and my truly adored Pop.

*This is to you.*

*This is for you.*

*And this is because of you.*

*Thank you.*

**Sadie Towell 1909-2004**

**Freddy Towell 1909-2004**

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## The Leaving of Liverpool

Fare you well the Prince's landing stage,  
River Mersey fare you well  
I'm off to California  
A place I know right well.

So fare you well my own true love,  
When I return united we shall be.  
It's not the leaving of Liverpool that grieves me  
But my darling when I think of you.

I'm off to California  
By the way of the stormy Cape Horn,  
And I will send you a letter, love,  
When I'm homeward bound.

Farewell to Lower Frederick Street,  
Anson Terrace and Park Lane,  
Farewell, it will be some long time  
Before I see you again.

I've shipped on a Yankee clipper ship,  
Davy Corckett is her name;  
And Burgess is the captain of her,  
And they say she's a floating hell.

It's my second trip with Burgess in the Crockett,  
And I think I know him well.  
If a man's a sailor, he can get along,  
But if not, he's sure in hell.

The tug is waiting at the Pierhead  
To take us down the stream.  
Our sails are loose and our anchor secure,  
So I'll bid you goodbye once more.

I'm bound away to leave you,  
Goodbye, my love, goodbye  
There's just one thing that grieves me,  
That's leaving you behind.

W. M. Doerflinger (1961) *The Leaving of Liverpool*, Heathside Music.

# Chapter 1

## Contextual matters

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### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THESIS

‘Liverpool is no stranger to insults. The Sun berated it after Hillsborough. And today, penitent Tory MP Boris Johnson is in the city to make amends for a Spectator article knocking the city’ (Vulliamy *The Guardian* Wednesday October 20, 2004).

I am from Liverpool and I have always lived in Liverpool. I suppose you could say I was ‘born-and-bred’ in the city (to coin a term from some of the respondents). And just as the above passage demonstrates, I have for as long as I can remember also been aware that Liverpool (both the place and the people) has never really been a ‘stranger to insults’. But what impact has this had? For some it makes them fiercely protective over their city, which in their eyes could do no wrong. While for others it makes them overly aware of the inherent problems that the people of Liverpool have been faced with. In a (non)migration sense this image might make people leave and it might make people not want to move to Liverpool. Whichever, the image of Liverpool has had, and will continue to have, a knock-on effect on population flows to and from the city.

The aim of this thesis is to explore the relationship between Liverpool, place identity and (non)migration. The pre-defined context within which this thesis has emerged from was to 'examine population decline within Liverpool'. Upon doing so a range of inter-connected themes were developed. Hence the thesis has expanded from finding out why people have left to examining the context in which a (non)migratory decision is made and how this impacts on place and identity understanding. In this way the processes behind a (non)move have been examined and interpreted to encompass interconnected issues surrounding place.

Central to the processes and experiences of (non)migration are themes focused around place and identity. This thesis begins by setting the context of a (non)migration by examining issues to do with place and identity. The notion that a place and the people of the place impact upon a decision to (non)migrate are contextualised when I explore the relationships between place and identity. It is argued that place and identity are intertwined to produce a related and connected set of images and stereotypes about the place and the people who inhabit the place. It will be argued that this place identity impacts upon (non)migration in that a stigmatised identity produces low rates of in-migration coupled with high rates of out-migration.

The second half of the thesis will explore the issues to do with the processes behind a (non)migration and also the experiences of (non)migration. The focus on this part will be on the decision-making process behind a (non)move and the outcome of the (non)move. That is, why and how people decide to (non)move within a Liverpool context. This will be contextualised within a new typology. I will argue that previous

(non)migration research fails to encompass the multifaceted nature of the (non)migration decision-making process.

This thesis aims to challenge interpretations that lay emphasis on who is leaving in terms of their socio-economic characteristics. Instead I will redress this in favour of an interpretation that focuses upon the processes behind a (non)move and the experiences of a (non)move. This will contextualise a (non)migration within the realms of a typology of motivations and outcome behind a (non)migration. I stipulate that it is not the actual result of a (non)migration that is interesting and will inform questions such as '*why are people leaving Liverpool?*'. Rather, it is the process behind the decision that will enable the nature of the (non)move to be evoked and thus inform the connectivities between Liverpool, place, identity and (non)migration.

Given these aims, the purpose of this chapter is to present the background to this research and to situate it within context. First I will acknowledge the theoretical and contextual groundwork by means of a review of previous (non)migration theories. I will also provide a list of classifications used to group (non)migrants. The terminology presented here will be used throughout the thesis. Finally a detailed thesis outline will illustrate the themes that the research will cover, within the framework of place, identity and (non)migration.

## **THEORETICAL AND CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK**

This section will position the research within a theoretical and contextual framework. A brief definition of (non)migration will be presented along with an examination into



the selectivity of (non)migration. Previous (non)migration theories will be examined and contextualised against the framework within this research context.

*(Non)migration: a definition*

The term 'migration' may at first be thought of as being relatively simple to define. However it is not straightforward and migration literature is replete with discussions over the best way to define 'migration' (see for example, Lee 1966; Hagerstrand 1969; Willis 1974; Kosinski and Prothero 1975; Champion 1992; Boyle et al. 1998). For instance, various qualifications need to be considered when defining who migrants are and who they are not. Once this has been defined, further distinction is needed between the various categories of a migrant: 'how far have they moved', 'how long did they move for', 'are the social and cultural circumstances of the origin and destinations considerably different', *et cetera*.

In order to define the term a consideration of the bounds of the research project needs to be taken into account first and foremost. For instance, Champion (1992) defines a migration broadly as being a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. But how would this definition fit in with this research? There is no restriction placed upon the distance of the move or upon the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act, or between external and internal migration. By this, a migrant then may be someone who has moved, simply, from one street to another in the same town. How would – or could – the experiences of this migrant compare to the experiences of another migrant as being someone who has moved from, say, Ireland to Liverpool?

For this research I am not considering migrants in terms of a move from one road to another road within Liverpool. Instead I am examining a) people who leave Liverpool, b) people who move to Liverpool, c) people who return to Liverpool and d) people who have never left Liverpool (though they may have moved many times within the city). I will be examining migration as pertaining to a move across a boundary: the boundary between Liverpool the place and elsewhere places. I will consider the Liverpool boundary to be subjective to each person and their experiences. In this way, I interpret the boundary between Liverpool and elsewhere to be subjective to each individual.

The (non)move did not have to be permanent. The only criterion was that the person – (non)migrant – must have inhabited Liverpool at some point and the period of residence had to involve a period of three-or-more months in which the person lived at an address within Liverpool. For migrants this would also involve a period of residence for the same minimum timescale outside Liverpool. The timescale was purely to determine (non)migrants from those who were only away (at a different location) for short periods. Incidentally, I did interview one person, a leaver who left Liverpool only six weeks before (and hence did not fit into the criteria of having to live outside Liverpool for more than three months). However the respondent left Liverpool because of a permanent job opportunity and the accommodation that he inhabited outside the city (in Somerset) was on a six-month letting contract. Therefore it could be presumed that his move would be for a minimum of six months.

A migration in this research context is therefore considered as being a permanent or semi-permanent move of three months or more:

- (a) From (a subjective) Liverpool to (a subjective) elsewhere and/or
- (b) To (a subjective) Liverpool from (a subjective) elsewhere

### *Terminology*

From the above criteria, four *types* of respondents were identified:

1. *Leavers*: those who have left Liverpool
2. *Stayers*: those who are immobile within the (subjective) Liverpool boundary
3. *Arrivees*: those who have moved to Liverpool from elsewhere
4. *Returnees*: those who have returned to live in Liverpool after living elsewhere

The above four types of (non)migrants can also be categorised into two broad and general distinctions: migrants or movers (encompassing leavers, arrivees and returnees) and non-migrants or stayers (encompassing only those who have always lived in Liverpool). The terms '(non)migrant' and '(non)mover' will also be used as collective terms to represent the diverse range of categories. These classifications of (non)migrants will be used intermittently throughout this thesis.

Likewise, the categories, 'Scousers' and 'Liverpudlians' are also used intermittently. Broadly the terms refer to people who were 'born-and-bred' in the city. Usually I refer to people as 'Scousers' if they refer to the term themselves and use it to categorise themselves.

*The selectivity of (non)migration*

Migrants are not a random selection of the population at the origin. That is, the characteristics of migrants have been shown to differ from those of the population as a whole (Lee 1966; White and Woods 1980; Greenwood 1985). Lee (1966) attributed the selectivity of migration to the different responses of individuals to the pushes and pulls at the origin. Similarly, White and Woods (1980: 12) suggest first that migrants are not a random selection of the population of the place of origin and second that migrants do not form a random cross-section addition to the population of the place of destination. In this way migrants, according to White and Woods (1980) are therefore differentiated from the mass of the populations at the origin and the mass of the populations at the destination.

I decided to examine both migrants and non-migrants. In order to produce an exploration into the processes behind why people are leaving – and have left – Liverpool, I felt that I had to also understand the processes behind why people did not leave, that is, why they stayed. I consider staying, or a non-migration as being a decision. In other words, just as people who migrate decide to move, people who do not migrate decide to stay. The decision to stay or go is not juxtaposed at oppositions because the same processes are involved in the decision. It was only by examining all types of (non)migratory decisions and hence all types of (non)migrants, that a comprehensive and thorough investigation into the processes and results behind a move away from Liverpool could be contextualised.

This research adopts a narrative approach whereby the representation – or text – of one person is just as important as that of one hundred (see for instance Miles and Crush 1993; Ni Laoire 1997). Hence I will not be considering how representative the sample is. Rather, the criterion for selectivity is that there is at least one narrative to represent the experiences of each of the four types of (non)migrant.

## **FRAMEWORK**

How can the act of (non)migration be generalised within a theoretical framework? (Non)migration research is not always set within a framework. For instance, Findlay and Graham (1991) argue that migration researchers only started to include their theoretical standpoint since the upsurge in theoretical questions within population geography. Similarly, White and Jackson (1995) argue that migration research has tended to overlook debates of this sort.

Nevertheless, although not always explicitly or implicitly stated, the framework used can usually be inferred from the research. In this way White (1980) states, using Kuhn's (1970) concept of research methodology, that the methods adopted are governed in some way by the theoretical position of the researcher. Hence an understanding of the methods is inferred from theoretical positions. Drawing from the work of Harvey (1969), White (1980) claims that these philosophies direct the researcher to particular methodologies. The philosophy or theory is a belief that concerns first the questions that are to be resolved and second the lines of enquiry (or research methodologies) that will resolve the questions (White 1980).

*Migration theory: an overview*

Lee (1966) has argued that since Ravenstein's 'Laws of Migration' (1885 from Grigg 1977) there has been no comparable departure into migration theory. In the 1930s, the field was still largely underdeveloped so that only general differentials in (internal) migration were established: migrants were young adults (Lee 1966). Influential migration theories in the mid-twentieth century were restricted to audiences in America, such as Bogue and Hagood's (1953) paper 'An approach to the theory of differential migration' and Duncan's (1956) essay 'The theory and consequences of mobility of farm population' (Bogue and Hagood 1953 and Duncan 1956 from Lee 1966).

Migration researchers have given attention to migration and distance variables, such as distance-decay relationships whereby the volume of migration is said to be inversely related to distance. Zipf (1946) and Stewart (1948) demonstrate this relationship using their gravity models (from Boyle et al. 1998). This was later refined by Lee (1966) who illustrated that migration is determined by intervening opportunities between the origin and destination.

Economic differentials were generally acknowledged as being central in the migration explanation. For instance, using Ravenstein's (1885) 'laws of migration' and Lee's (1966) 'push' / 'pull' theory, Zelinsky (1971) devised the mobility transition model. This model identified the importance of transitional sequences in economic and political change while encompassing migration, or movement.

### *Migration behaviour*

Migration behaviour theories can be divided into two broad interpretations: conventional theories and neo-Marxist theories. Conventional theories are more prolific within the literature and have been used in the works of Sjaastad (1962), Wolpert (1965), Lee (1966) and Todaro (1969).

Lee (1966) offered a general theory of migration that refined the idea of migration as being a move between two places as a response to various 'pushes' at the origin and 'pulls' at the destination. Alternatively, Wolpert (1965) offered an environmental paradigm to Lee's (1966) 'push' / 'pull' theory. Instead of pushes and pulls, Wolpert considers the utility of different environments. If the utility of the origin environment is thought to be lower than the utility of another environment then a migration occurs. His theory implies that a (non)move is rationally assessed by comparing life chances at the origin to life chances at potential destinations.

Conversely, neo-Marxists argue that migration behaviour is directly associated with structural processes. Therefore according to this standpoint, (non)migratory decisions are recognised as being predetermined or manipulated (Shrestha 1987). However (non)migration is a systematic process and cannot be explained by these terms alone.

### *Sociological theory*

Pahl (1980) acknowledges that sociological approaches towards the study of (non)migration have usually focused on social relations, emphasising the importance

of kinship and social networks as determinants of (non)mobility. Sociological theorists stress that the unskilled and the less affluent will be less mobile than other households because their kinship and social networks are likely to be stronger and more spatially constraining (Kitching 1989). This is because, according to Kitching (1989), the more deep-rooted a household becomes in terms of kinship and social networks, then the less likely it will be that the household or a member of the household considers a migration.

### *Migration determinants*

There would be few(er) population problems (in terms of population increases or declines) if the determinants of (non)migration were specifically known. Early migration theorists have considered the determinants of migration. Sjaastad (1962), for instance, argues migration research has to concentrate on explaining the *causes* behind a (non)migration: ‘migration research has dealt mainly with the forces which affect migration and how strongly they have affected it, but little research has been done to determine the influence of migration as an equilibrating mechanism in a changing economy’ (Sjaastad 1962: 80). Harris (1980) similarly contextualises migration research and says that while researchers know that movement occurs, they do not however know why a move has occurred.

This is important within this research agenda. It is already known that people are leaving Liverpool. But why are they? And similarly, why are people moving to Liverpool, or not moving to Liverpool? Or staying in Liverpool, or not staying in Liverpool? What are the processes behind their decisions? And importantly what are



the results (the outcome) of the decision? In order to contextualise these questions – or the answers to such questions, a typology of motivations and the outcome is contextualised.

I will not examine a (non)migration in terms of those who move and those who do not move: a (non)migration cannot be explained through binary oppositions. Instead I provide a framework to consider the processes behind the decisions and behind the outcome. It is not important to state that people are leaving Liverpool. That much is known. What is important is to look behind their motives, or (non)move and to examine why a (non)move occurred. And if so, then what was behind the decision? Thus instead of considering movers and stayers and juxtaposing them at opposition, I will explore the connections, processes and outcome of the (non)migration.

## **THESIS STRUCTURE**

There are two themes to this thesis: the first contextualises Liverpool as a place and argues that both place and identity matter. This provides the framework from which to explore (non)migration. Hence the second half examines the processes and outcome behind a (non)migration. Chapter 2 sets the scene for this research by contextualising the socio-economic and political (at times) distinctiveness of Liverpool from other places. The methodology section is represented in chapter 3 and is applicable to both strands of the research. I justify the chosen methods and position them within the framework and I provide an example of ‘doing narrative analysis’ so that the limitations and advantages to using this method of analysis can be

rationalised. Various methodological considerations are discussed, the possible implications of which are considered within context.

The theoretical chapter (chapter 4) will allow for an understanding of how influential theorists such as Giddens, Goffman and Foucault have discussed identity and identity formation. The focus for this chapter will not be on (non)migration but will be on issues to do with identity that arise from living in a specific place or from not living in a specific place. The attention is centred on identity so that the complex processes between place identity and (non)migration can be better understood. This chapter sets the scene for subsequent discussions of how identity can impact upon population flows in terms of high rates of out-migration and low rates of in-migration. Specific attention will be given to identity formation according to place and how a place impacts upon identity: identity is not static and will shift and alter according to specific places (and hence (non)migrations).

The two following chapters (chapters 5 and 6) will present the empirical results and will each be related back to the theory chapter. Chapter 5 will deal firstly with evidence to suggest that identity is related to specific places. This chapter will examine how place is contextualised and its relationship with identity by exploring the construction of place. Hence the aim of this chapter is to explore aspects to do with place such as attachment to place and place identity. By doing so, the contexts within which people (non)migrate and construct a place-based identity can be understood. The concept that a Liverpool place identity is unique will be examined and acknowledged instead to be a component of 'place' as opposed to unique place identity characteristics.

Chapter 6 draws on a theme that runs throughout the previous two chapters: place identity. I will explore and deconstruct the stigmatised Liverpool place identity and will argue against the rationale that the media is to blame for the stigma attached to Liverpool. The chapter will thus interpret the impact that this stigma has and will suggest how and why this is attached to (specific) people from Liverpool. I will argue that the stigmatised Liverpool place identity has had a direct impact upon population flows to and from the city: high rates of out-migration coupled with low rates of in-migration.

By presenting an examination into the complex themes related to a (non)migration, such as place identity and attachment to place, this first half of the thesis will provide the framework for the rest of the study. It will therefore be an exploration into the impact of a (non)migration upon identity, a stigmatised identity, place and place attachment. The second half will develop these themes by examining the interconnectivities between place, identity and (non)migration. The aim for this half is to present a typology of (non)migrants within a Liverpool context.

Chapter 7 deals with the decision-making process behind a (non)move. The chapter will focus on the decision to stay because it is not often considered as a decision. As such, movers and stayers will not be juxtaposed as oppositions. Instead an examination into the processes and networks involved in the decision to (non)migrate will be used to suggest why they should be considered along a continuum of decision making. In this way, this chapter will support the context of the typology.

Chapter 8 will present the main body of empirical evidence for this section and will represent the processes behind a (non)move. This chapter provides a multi-dimensional typology behind the decision-making process. This will illustrate first the motivation behind a (non)migration and second the outcome of a (non)migration. The typology is determined in terms of the circumstances of the (non)migration and the decision-making process. It is argued that different dimensions can be used to investigate different aspects of (non)migration. The chapter presents a tool for a complete (non)migration typology that encompasses the multi-faceted nature of the (non)migration decision.

Finally I will use the evidence collected to present a summary of the main findings and conclusions to the research. By drawing together the two halves of the research, place and identity and (non)migration, I will synthesise the interconnectivities between the two strands. This chapter will also provide a preliminary examination of (non)migration within an actor-network theory (ANT) framework and will introduce this as a grounding for future (non)migration research. Hence chapter 9 offers a summary of the main findings to the research and can be used as a guide for future research.

## *Chapter 2*

# Liverpool matters

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### INTRODUCTION

In the period 1701-1851, the population of Liverpool grew three-and-a-half times every fifty years, leading Abraham Hume to predict a population of over 1,250,000 by 1900 (Hume 1858: 31-32 from Belchem 2000: xi). However, this estimate was never realised and in 1911, Liverpool's population was 746,421, peaking in 1937 at 867,000 (Lawton 1982). Since then, the population of Liverpool has displayed almost continuous decline, to 790,838 in 1951 (Lawton 1982), 503,727 in 1981 and 439,473 in 2001 (ONS 2001).

This peak and decline is mirrored in Liverpool's economic performance over the same period: for instance the city reached its economic pinnacle in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Paterson 2001). The magnitude of trade during this time is evident: 'By 1906, £146,701,650 was entering... ships were getting bigger and bigger' (from Paterson 2001: 18); whilst Belchem stated that Liverpool was a 'city state' in its Victorian heyday, defining itself against industrial Manchester and in rivalry with commercial London (2000: xi). However, since World War II, the city

has experienced marked changes exacerbated by de-industrialisation resulting in the loss of thousands of manual jobs. Certainly, Lawton (1982) estimated that the use of the port and its labour force declined sharply in the 1970s: from 28.0 million tonnes in 1967 to 15.8 million tonnes in 1979 whilst the labour force fell from 23,000 in 1963 to 9,541 in 1972.

This chapter will concentrate on how the population of Liverpool has changed over time and relate this to national trends and secular shifts. The aim is to illustrate the socio-economic changes over time in Liverpool and how these changes may have shaped the image of the city and contributed to the place-based identity of Liverpool and Liverpool people. Therefore this chapter will present evidence that will support the following place identity and (non)migration chapters.

## **COMPARATIVE POPULATION DECLINE**

Liverpool's population in the period of 1971 to 2001 declined from 609,039 to 439,473 – a loss of 27.84%. The most rapid decline was experienced in the decennial period from 1971-1981, seeing a loss of over 105,000 people (17.29%). Population loss slowed between 1981-1991, to just over 23,500 (4.67%), but by 1991-2001 had increased again to 40,500 (8.48%).

When comparing Liverpool's population change with that of other English cities in the same time period (see Table 2.1) it is evident that Liverpool is not the only urban area experiencing large scale population decline. Indeed, the population decline in Manchester over two inter-censal periods (1971-1981 and 1991-2001) surpassed that

of Liverpool. However, it is also clear that, Manchester aside, Liverpool is experiencing more acute population loss than other cities in England, with loss in the latest inter-censal period being almost three times more than that experienced by Sheffield or Birmingham.

**Table 2.1 Comparable population change**

	1971	1981	1991	2001	1971- 1981 Change (%)	1981- 1991 Change (%)	1991- 2001 Change (%)
<b>GB</b>	<b>53,969,143</b>	<b>53,555,853</b>	<b>56,202,844</b>	<b>58,789,194</b>	<b>-0.77</b>	<b>4.94</b>	<b>4.60</b>
<b>Liverpool</b>	<b>609,039</b>	<b>503,727</b>	<b>480,193</b>	<b>439,473</b>	<b>-17.29</b>	<b>-4.67</b>	<b>-8.48</b>
Manchester	542,612	437,660	437,716	392,819	-19.34	0.01	-10.26
Newcastle	308,376	272,924	277,716	259,536	-11.50	1.76	-6.66
Sheffield	572,755	530,844	528,700	513,234	-7.32	-0.40	-2.93
Birmingham	1,098,712	996,365	1,005,760	977,087	-9.32	-0.94	-2.85

*Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via 1971-1991 LCT, 2001 Casweb*

But why has Liverpool's population declined? First it is important to rule out the notion that Liverpool's population loss could be a consequence of natural change, that is, deaths exceeding births. In the thirty year period between 1971 and 2001, the only time deaths exceeded births in Liverpool was between 1971 and 1981 (ONS 1971a, 1981a, 1991a, 2001). Here there were slightly more deaths than there were births, making a negative natural change of 0.70% for this decennial period. Between the latter two inter-censal periods, conversely, there was a positive natural change of 1.31% (1981-1991) and 0.06% (1991-2001). Instead, the main cause of Liverpool's population decline can be identified as net (out)migration as people have left Liverpool to live elsewhere.

It is evident that migration flows were almost constant for the period 1971-1991, though the inter-censal period, 1981-1991 had slightly higher in and out migration flows. Indeed, Table 2.2 illustrates that during this twenty-year period there was a

significant net loss of population, with out-migration levels considerably higher than in-migration levels.

**Table 2.2 Migration trends in Liverpool, 1971-1991**

	<b>Population (1% sample)</b>	<b>In- migration (%)</b>	<b>Out- migration (%)</b>	<b>Net migration (%)</b>	<b>Gross migration (%)</b>
<b>1971</b>	4,861				
		13.35	21.00	-7.65	34.36
<b>1981</b>	4,212				
		14.29	22.96	-8.67	37.25
<b>1991</b>	3,610				

*Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via ONS 1971, 1981, 1991*

To establish migration rates, data from the National Health Service Central Register (NHSCR) has been used. However, the Migration Statistics Unit at the Office for National Statistics were only able to provide this data source from 1975 (until 2001) as this is when the internal migration system was established. Examining aggregate internal migration flows from 1975-1995 (Figure 2.1) and 1971-2001 (Table 2.3), illustrates just how severe Liverpool's population decline – due to out-migration – was during this time period and identifies the peak out flow period as 1975-1980. Liverpool has faced a substantially higher migration loss than migration gain, with an overall net migration flow of 131,426.

**Table 2.3 Net migration trends for Liverpool**

	<b>1975-2001</b>		
	<b>Inflow</b>	<b>Outflow</b>	<b>Net Migration</b>
<b>Liverpool</b>	386,053	517,479	-131,426

*Source: NHSCR (1975-2001), accessed via ONS Migration Statistics Unit*



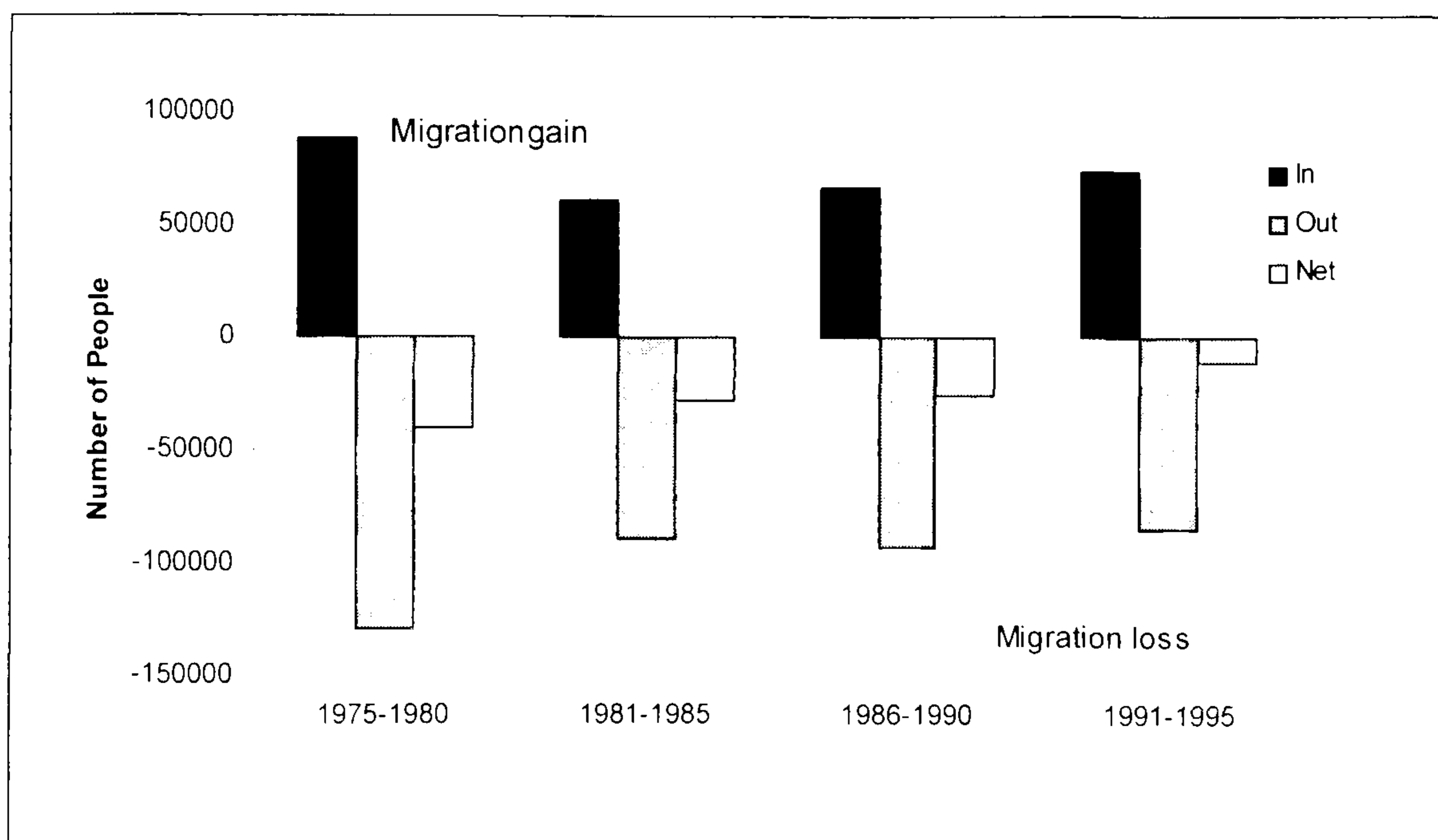


Figure 2.1 Internal migration for Liverpool, 1975-1995 (Source NHSCR 1975-1995, accessed via ONS Migration Statistics Unit)

After establishing that natural change is not the root cause of Liverpool's population decline it is necessary to explore the social and economic factors which have contributed to the current situation and place this in context with national trends. This will be used to contextualise out-migration from Liverpool.

## ECONOMIC FACTORS INFLUENCING POPULATION DECLINE

'Cities are creatures of economics. They survive as communities if they can cope with the vagaries of economic change. Once economic decline sets in, every aspect of their life is threatened. Liverpool is the perfect illustration of that process, for decline has eaten into the city's economy, society and politics' (Parkinson 1985: 9)

In Liverpool the decline of its economy that began in the post-war years had turned into collapse by the 1970s. According to Parkinson, the collapse began because the economy was reliant on the 'wrong kind of economic activity' (Parkinson 1985: 9) –

the port. Since the early 18<sup>th</sup> century the port dominated the city's economy and was central to the slave trade. When this was abolished the port became a major importer and exporter of raw materials. In 1914 the port in Liverpool was second only to London (Parkinson 1985).

However, since then the port has been in almost continuous decline and therefore a major contributing factor towards the city's economic crisis. For instance, in the 1960s and 1970s total imports and exports almost halved from 15% to 8% and at the same time unemployment rose by 14% (Parkinson 1985). This in turn led to a collapse of the city's manufacturing economy. Between 1981 and 1985, seven of the largest firms in the city had shed 30% of the 47,000 people employed in the manufacturing sector (Parkinson 1985). At the same time, because of the dominance of the port on the labour market, the workforce in Liverpool was mainly semi-skilled, unskilled, casual, irregular and poorly paid (Parkinson 1985). Consequently, Liverpool was also lagging behind other cities in attracting growth in the service sector; the trend in this sector for jobs declined while nationally numbers increased.

The collapse of the port, the declining manufacturing sector and the slow growth in the service sector meant that between 1971 and 1985, total employment in the city declined by 33% while nationally the figure was only 3% (Parkinson 1985). Unemployment in Liverpool in the 1970s was 20% and by 1985 the figure had risen to 27%, double the national average. Parkinson (1985) draws upon evidence from the length of time people have been out of work to demonstrate how economic decline, to the extent experienced in Liverpool, impacts upon every aspect of people's lives. For instance, unemployment in Liverpool lasted longer than anywhere else:

‘In 1979, 37 per cent of registered unemployed people in Liverpool had been out of work for more than a year compared with only 24 per cent nationally. By 1985 the national figure was 39 per cent, but Liverpool’s was 53 per cent. This is crucial since after one year, people go off unemployment benefit on to social security and the money they get and can spend drops significantly, depressing the local economy further’ (Parkinson 1985: 13).

Parkinson suggests that economic decline impacted upon the city’s infrastructure and all aspects of city life. Along with economic polarisation came social polarisation. For instance, in 1981 the ‘Toxteth Riots’ escalated after much tension in the inner-city area of Liverpool and disturbances turned into full-blown rioting, looting and arson. The threat to social and public order that was caused by the economic crisis in the city meant that after the riots the Conservative Government at that time appointed Michael Heseltine as special Minister for Merseyside. His role was to support the Merseyside Task Force which was aimed at devising strategies and projects that would impact upon the city’s long-term economic and social problems (Parkinson 1985). However by 1985 Liverpool was in crisis and the public were sceptical of the Conservative Government.

Indeed, the Conservative Government was a contributing factor behind the social and economic problems in terms of the net income that they were providing to Liverpool. In 1979 when they first took power, central government was providing 62% of the city’s net income. However by 1983 the Conservatives had altered the contribution to only 44% (Parkinson 1985: 10). As a direct result of the decline in economic resources in terms of government financial support, economic failure became fiscal crisis and Liverpool came to the edge of municipal bankruptcy (Parkinson 1985). At

this time, politics of the emerging Militant-led city council used this crisis to challenge the Conservative Government. Within the Militant-fraction, two key figures emerged: Derek Hatton and Tony Byrne. In 1983, the Labour city council, led by Hatton and Byrne, forced a public debate on the slashed financial assistance by the Conservatives. In 1984 there were no Conservative MPs left in the city. However, the Militant-takeover failed to turnaround the city's fortunes and in March 1986, 47 members of the Militant-Tendency were expelled from the Labour party by the District Audit for failure to set a rate.

This section will examine economic data and compare Liverpool's economic history to the economic history of five other English cities: Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Manchester and Sheffield. Investigating economic trends and comparing them to other major cities will go some way to understanding why population decline in Liverpool has not been matched by any other English city. For instance, if employment proportions decline and unemployment increases people may move elsewhere to find employment. Conversely, people might not be attracted to a city where there were too few jobs and unemployment figures were high.

### *Changing employment structure*

There have been far-reaching transformations within Britain, such as the nature of work and of the skills of the workforce and in particular the emergence of a service-dominated economy all of which have impacted at different scales. There has also been a shift in the gender composition and a marked increase in the level of skill in

the overall workforce associated with technical change and the growing complexity of work processes (Gallie 2000).

One of the main catalysts of the shifts described has been de-industrialisation. This began in the late 1960s and focused primarily on net job losses in the manufacturing sector. In Britain, between 1967 and 1978 there was a net reduction, of 1,066,500, in the number of people employed in manufacturing (Lovatt and Ham 1984). As a direct consequence, unemployment increased from around the mid-1960s and by 1985 figures were twice the national average.

England's major cities have also undergone a prolonged period of population loss which has consequently seen a parallel decrease in the size of the working age population (see Figure 2.2). Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham have experienced the largest falls in working age population. This suggests two things: first that people are leaving these cities to seek gainful employment elsewhere and second that the employment structure of cities has changed so that fewer people are employed. In turn this clearly illustrates the declining fortunes of these provincial cities. Conversely, Leeds has experienced an increase in the working age population in the period of 1981 to 2001 after a fall from 1971 to 1981, while the working age populations of Sheffield and Bristol have fluctuated and are currently only slightly below 1971 levels. This suggests that these cities have retained a level of attractiveness in the job market to support their relatively stable working age populations.

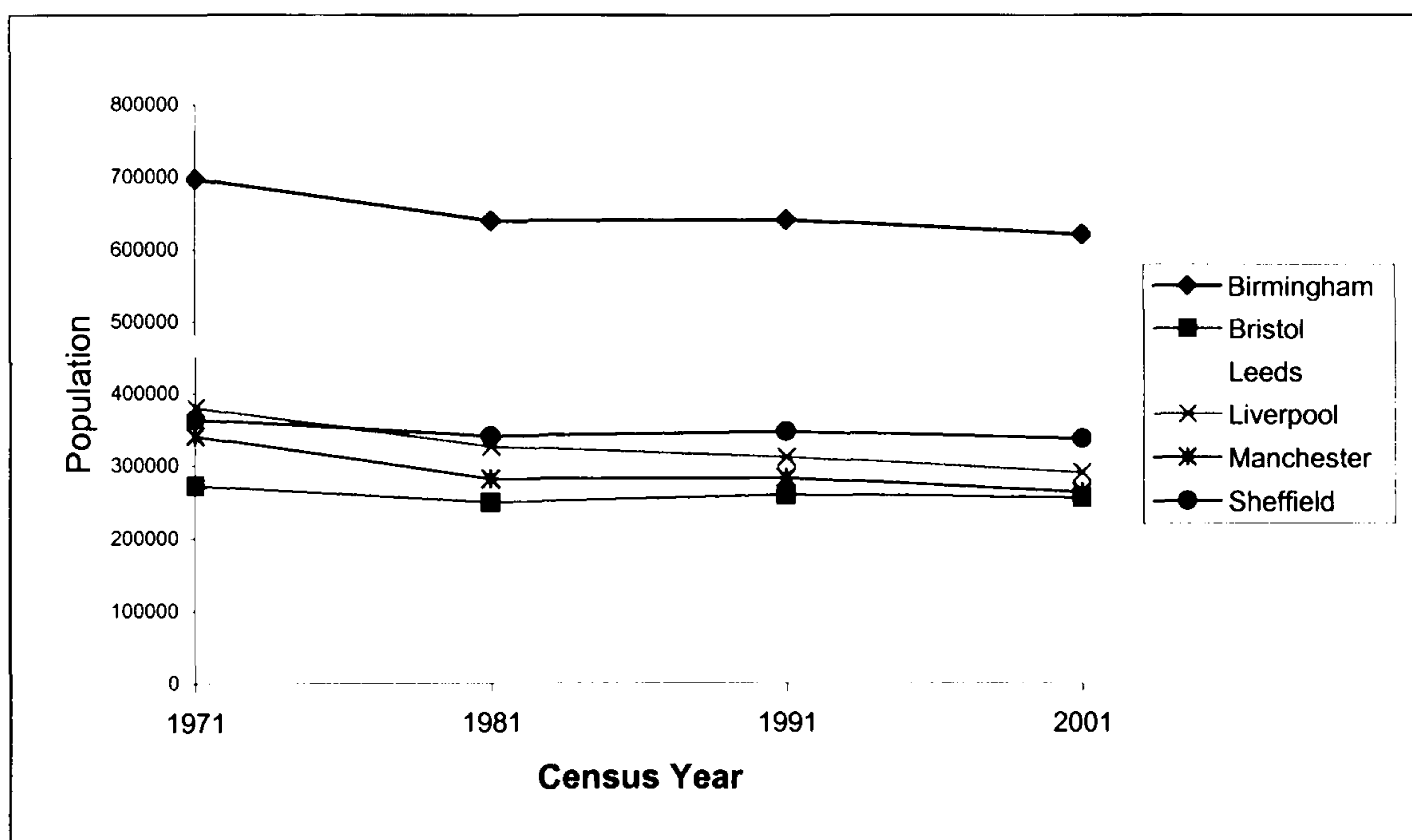


Figure 2.2 Working age population (Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via 1971-1991 LCT, 2001 Casweb)

Compounding (and an effect of) this wide-scale decline of working age population, in the period from 1971 to 1991 England's major cities experienced a rapid expansion in the size of their unemployed populations (see Table 2.4). However, there is a sharp decline in the numbers unemployed in the decennial period 1991 to 2001, which suggests an up turn in the fortunes of England's major urban areas. Birmingham experienced the sharpest relative rise in unemployment. After starting from a similar unemployment base rate to Liverpool in 1971 (24,795 and 22,932 respectively), Birmingham's unemployed population trebled in the 20-year period (1971 to 1991) and grew to a high of 78,159 people with Liverpool reaching a much lower high of 53,444. However, it is worth noting that the population of Birmingham is considerably larger than the population of Liverpool (in 2001 the working age populations were 620,146 and 290,034 respectively).

Liverpool's unemployment high in 1991 was still far in excess of that of Manchester which peaked at 41,805. Despite having a smaller population than Leeds and

Sheffield, Liverpool's unemployment level remained considerably higher. In the period between 1991 and 2001 all cities have seen a reduction in the size of their unemployed populations with the steepest falls being found in those cities that had experienced the highest levels of unemployment. In Liverpool and Manchester the impact of these falls in employment has been most dramatic with 2001 unemployment levels (19,421 and 14,136 respectively) lower than those experienced in 1971 (22,932 and 15,491 respectively).

**Table 2.4 Unemployed populations in England's major cities**

	Unemployed Population			
	1971	1981	1991	2001
Liverpool	22932	43044	53444	19421
Birmingham	24795	66656	78159	38826
Bristol	8030	17465	24191	8599
Leeds	14415	31081	39788	17280
Manchester	15491	30584	41805	14316
Sheffield	9327	25032	38929	15637

*Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via 1971-1991 LCT, 2001 Casweb*

Due to the differing population sizes of each city, to gain a better understanding of the proportional effect of unemployment over the past 30 years for each city it is necessary to examine the percentage unemployment rate at the same census based time intervals (See Table 2.5). Table 2.5 clearly illustrates that the proportion of unemployed in Liverpool in the 20-year period of 1971 to 1991 far exceeded any of England's other major cities. This suggests that while Birmingham may have suffered a higher *volume* of unemployment, the actual *proportion* of the working age population in Liverpool that was classified as unemployed was much higher than Birmingham. This demonstrates that the problem of unemployment was more concentrated and most severe in Liverpool.

Throughout each decennial period (from 1971-2001) investigated, Liverpool's unemployment rate has remained the highest of all England's major cities, although, the gap is now closing. In 2001, Census data indicated that Liverpool's unemployment rate currently stands at 6.7% – a rate which is only 0.44% higher than that of Birmingham and only 3.34% more than Bristol. This relatively small gap stands in contrast with the 1991 figures which showed that Liverpool's unemployment rate was 4.69% more than Birmingham's and 7.86% more than Bristol's unemployment rate at that time.

Bailey and Turok (2000) highlight the trend of increasing unemployment and state that the rise is directly related to de-industrialisation and the decline of the manufacturing sector in particular. Indeed, they argue that 'the manufacturing sector has exerted a powerful influence on trends in total employment in the cities after many years' (Bailey and Turok 2000: 632) and has meant that Britain's cities have lost nearly twice the rate of the rest of the country (Bailey and Turok 2000).

**Table 2.5 Unemployment rates in England's major cities**

	Unemployment Rate (%)			
	1971	1981	1991	2001
Liverpool	6.05	13.24	17.14	6.7
Birmingham	3.56	10.43	12.18	6.26
Bristol	2.95	7.01	9.28	3.36
Leeds	3.09	6.94	8.41	3.66
Manchester	4.55	10.9	14.76	5.44
Sheffield	2.57	7.36	11.21	4.64

*Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via 1971-1991 LCT, 2001 Casweb*

These unemployment figures can be contrasted with levels of actual employment in England's major cities to further uncover the problems faced by their respective populations. Table 2.6 illustrates the changing size of the employed populations of England's major cities. Following the trends uncovered when considering



unemployment, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool have all experienced large falls in their employed populations in the period of 1971 to 2001. Conversely, the employed populations of Bristol and Leeds remain fairly stable, displaying only slight fluctuations.

The contrast in experiences during this period is well illustrated when considering the relative fortunes of Bristol, Liverpool and Manchester. In 1971 both Liverpool and Manchester (255,158 and 236,394 respectively) had larger employed populations than Bristol (189,227), however, just thirty years later (2001) Bristol's employed population (falling only slightly to 167,717) exceeds that of both Liverpool (146,218) and Manchester (132,145) despite both cities having larger working age populations than Bristol (see Figure 2.2). This provides a further illustration of Liverpool's declining fortunes compared with other English cities which it once outperformed.

**Table 2.6 Size of employed population in England's major cities**

	Employed Population			
	1971	1981	1991	2001
Liverpool	255158	190112	160366	146218
Birmingham	508915	402011	390442	351120
Bristol	189227	166251	176966	167717
Leeds	330338	298084	318195	306670
Manchester	236394	170509	152109	132145
Sheffield	257578	223601	218848	208251

*Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via 1971-1991 LCT, 2001 Casweb*

As with unemployment, due to the differing population sizes of each city, to gain a better understanding of the proportional effect of employment it is necessary to examine the percentage employment rate of each city (see Table 2.7). It is evident that all England's major cities have experienced falling employment rates in the period investigated (1971 to 2001). However, these falls have been more pronounced in certain cities. Liverpool and Manchester have experienced the largest falls in

employment rates, with both experiencing a decline of almost 20% in the period 1971 to 2001. It is demonstrated however that in the case of Liverpool, in the period 1991 to 2001, the pace of employment decline slowed dramatically, with a reduction of just 1.02% compared with a reduction of 7.05% in the previous decade.

This slowing decline compares favourably with England's other major cities which all recorded greater falls in employment rate in the same ten year period (1991-2001). Furthermore, 2001 figures demonstrate that Liverpool's (50.41%) employment rate has climbed above Manchester's (50.22%), suggesting that the employment market in Liverpool may potentially be showing signs of recovering when compared with England's other major cities.

**Table 2.7 Employment rates in England's major cities**

	Employment Rate (%)			
	1971	1981	1991	2001
Liverpool	67.31	58.48	51.43	50.41
Birmingham	73.04	62.88	60.86	56.62
Bristol	69.54	66.76	67.89	65.53
Leeds	70.78	66.53	67.22	64.99
Manchester	69.5	60.76	53.72	50.22
Sheffield	70.85	65.74	63.04	61.78

*Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via 1971-1991 LCT, 2001 Casweb*

### *Jobseekers Allowance (JSA) Claimant Counts*

The JSA claimant count records the number of people claiming Jobseekers Allowance and National Insurance credits at Jobcentre Plus local offices. Hence the JSA claimant counts records the number of people who are currently unemployed but are capable of working, available for work and actively seeking work. This data will illustrate the socio-economic position of Liverpool as compared to the socio-economic position of other cities, although data availability limits such an analysis to

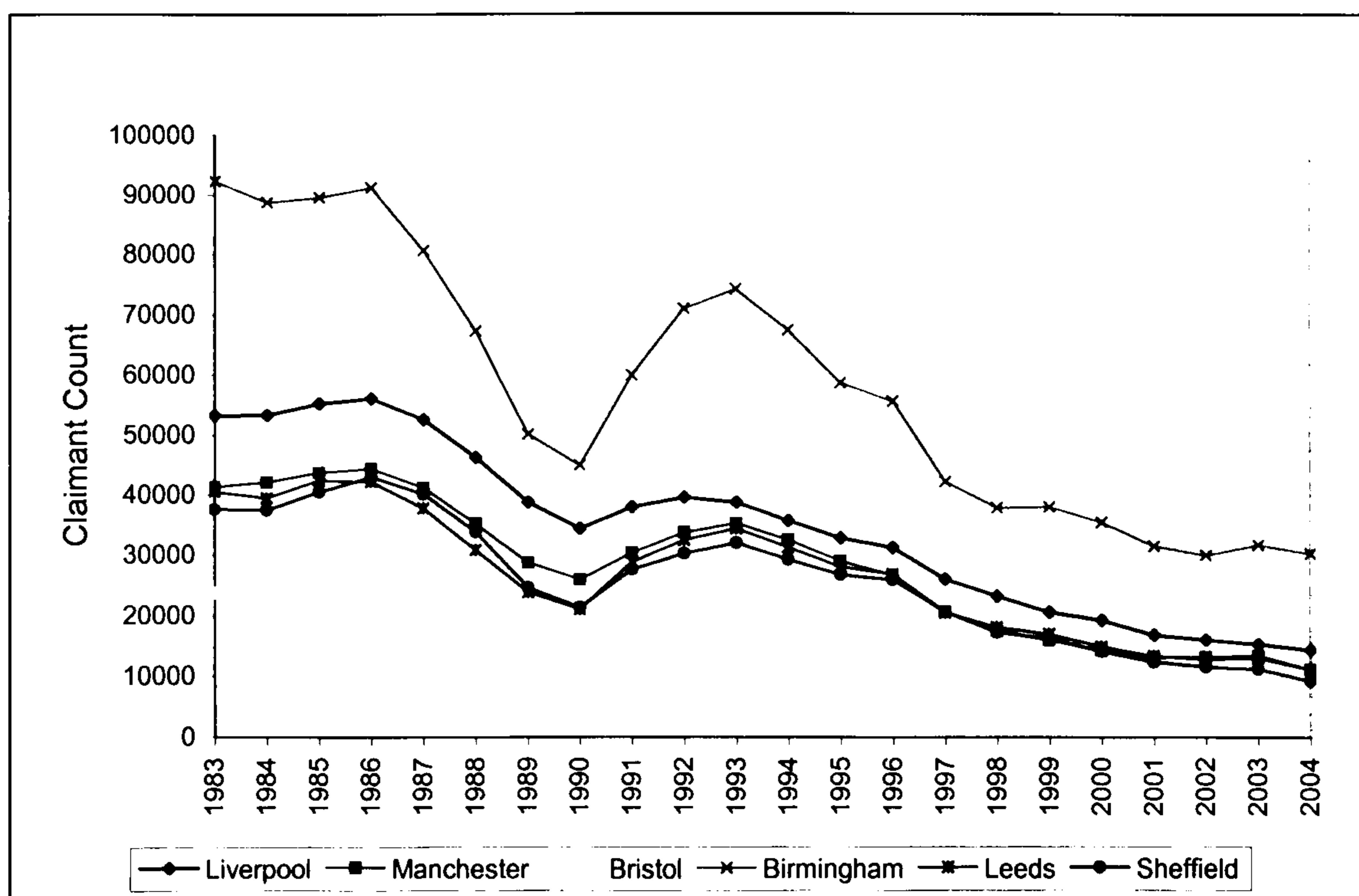
the period from 1983 onward. This is because data are released annually, providing a more detailed inter-censal picture.

As is evident from Figure 2.3, the claimant count in all of England's major cities has fallen substantially since the highs of the mid-1980s. From 1986 to 1990 a marked reduction in the volume of claimants across the country was observed and after 1990 there was a rebound in growth in the number of claimants. However Liverpool experienced the smallest and shortest rebound with a growth in claimants of just 4,267 in the period of 1990 to 1992, before its claimant population began to fall again. The other cities underwent a more prolonged increase in claimant counts from 1990 to 1993 before counts began to decline.

In this period Birmingham experienced the largest rise in claimants rising from 20,913 in 1990 to 34,255 in 1993. Bristol also saw a sharp rise in claimant counts in this period and it is evident that unlike the other cities, Bristol experienced its highest claimant count in 1993 (25,845), compared to the mid-1980s for the other cities. This lag in the peak of claimant counts in Bristol suggests that the city had a different employment base and economy which was not so much reliant on the manufacturing sector. Hence privatisation and de-industrialisation in the 1970s and 1980s did not have such a great effect on Bristol as cities whose economy was based on manufacturing. However, the recession of the early 1990s impacted nationally.

Between 1993 and 2004, all of England's major cities underwent a period of sustained decline in claimant counts, experiencing the lowest recorded levels by 2004. The inequalities between the best and worst performing cities have reduced tremendously

in this time. In 1983 Bristol had a low claimant count of 23,752 compared with Birmingham with 92,167 and Liverpool with 53,218, a difference of 68,415 and 29,466, respectively. By contrast in 2004 the difference between claimant counts in Bristol (5,421) and Birmingham (30,123) stood at just 24,702, and between Bristol and Liverpool (14,222) the difference was just 8,801. However this difference has to be considered and comprehended with reference to the comparative size of the cities under discussion. For instance, although Birmingham has the largest number of claimant counts it does have the largest population. In context, Liverpool has the second largest claimant counts but Leeds and Sheffield both have larger populations.



**Figure 2.3 JSA claimant counts (Jobcentre plus Jobseeker's allowance payment administration system) (Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via National Statistics, Nomis)**

*Socio-economic grouping*

To explore the changing socio-economic characteristics of the population of Liverpool, it is also important to consider how the proportions of different socio-economic groups (SEGs) within Liverpool have changed over time. Data referring to the SEG has been, for the purpose of the research, aggregated to be as follows; 1 & 2; 3 & 4; 5 & 6 and 13, 14, 15, 16 & 17 (see Table 2.8). This is because each SEG group was so specific that for some groups, if not aggregated, the figures would be indistinguishably small. SEGs within Liverpool will be contrasted to national trends. Unfortunately, because of a change in data classification, comparable figures were not available for 2001.

**Table 2.8 Aggregate SEGs and job type description**

Aggregate SEGs	Job type
1 & 2	Employers/managers in large/small establishments
3 & 4	Professionals: self-employed & employees
5 & 6	Ancillary workers, artists, non-manual: foremen, supervisors, junior
7	Personal service workers
8	Foremen & supervisors – manual
9	Skilled manual
10	Semi-skilled manual
11	Unskilled manual
12	Own account
13, 14, 15, 16 & 17	Farmers, agricultural workers & armed forces

When considering proportional change within each SEG for Liverpool it is illustrated that all groups have changed dramatically between 1971 and 1981 (Table 2.9). This is primarily as a result of major shifts that have occurred in the structure of employment:

ranging from a decline in the numbers of professionals and managerial positions, to de-industrialisation and increasing mechanisation.

Between 1971 and 1991 within Liverpool there were lower proportions of professionals (self-employed and employees); however the absolute decline in these SEGs (3&4) has not been as high as the decline within Britain. For instance, between 1971-1981 there was an absolute drop to 43.3% of people within Liverpool compared to 31.82% in Britain. After 1981, absolute numbers in both increased slightly which may be as a result of increasing proportions of women in professional / managerial positions (Bailey and Turok 2000).

Liverpool has higher proportions of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, which is linked directly to the prominence of the manufacturing industry centred on the port in the preceding decades. However, within both Liverpool and Britain, the proportion of these workers has fallen dramatically between 1971 and 1991 which is directly related to de-industrialisation and the associated declining manufacturing sector.

In Liverpool, looking at absolute numbers, skilled manual workers have declined most notably, and in 1991 accounted for only 18.68% of the 1971 figure. Equally, the share of people within SEG 10 (semi-skilled manual) and SEG 11 (unskilled manual) in the city has also declined and on a larger scale than Britain. Nevertheless, the decline of these SEGs is not unexpected and was as a result of factors such as the de-industrialisation associated with the decline of the manufacturing sector and the

resultant affect of this on the economies of Britain's major cities (Bailey and Turok 2000).

Conversely, proportions of ancillary workers, artists, non-manual foremen, juniors and supervisors (SEGs 5&6) have increased in Liverpool and similarly Britain. Over the twenty-year period between 1971-1991 the proportion almost doubled in Liverpool from 15.96% to 30.79%. People within this SEG have gone from being almost a minority, the least common jobs, to becoming by far the majority in just twenty years. Once again, this trend is related to secular shifts that have occurred since the 1960s, such as the expansion of the Welfare State – that is, job creation in the service economy (both public and private).

**Table 2.9 Proportional SEG change, Liverpool and GB**

SEG	Liverpool			GB		
	No. in 1971	1981 no. as a % of 1971 no.	1991 no. as a % of 1971 no.	No. in 1971	1981 no. as a % of 1971 no.	1991 no. as a % of 1971 no.
<b>1 &amp; 2</b> (Employers/managers in large/small establishments)	4,422	43	36	616,735	53	62
<b>3 &amp; 4</b> (Professionals: self- employed & employees)	1,286	43	46	325,585	32	37
<b>5 &amp; 6</b> (Ancillary workers, artists, non-manual; foremen, supervisors, junior)	8,591	85	74	828,182	102	105
<b>7</b> (Personal service workers)	1,125	153	92	76,724	198	154
<b>8</b> (Foremen & supervisors – manual)	2,296	29	14	200,272	38	25
<b>9</b> (Skilled manual)	14,290	33	19	1,332,055	39	26
<b>10</b> (Semi-skilled manual)	8,901	49	29	604,458	63	48
<b>11</b> (Unskilled manual)	6,798	40.38	24	340,205	54	44
<b>12</b> (Own account)	1,772	37	45	229,397	48	71
<b>13, 14, 15, 16 &amp; 17</b> (Farmers, agricultural workers & armed forces)	4,347	92	7	455,785	71	20

*Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via LCT*

### *Higher-level qualifications*

Another factor that is reliable to changes in occupational structure is the proportions of people with higher-level qualifications in Liverpool. It should be noted however that this analysis is based upon a 10% sample of census data.



Figure 2.4 illustrates that the proportions of people with higher-level qualifications has indeed increased in Britain and Liverpool. The increase however is greater for Britain for all four decennial periods while Liverpool also has a lower proportion of people with higher-level qualifications. Hence it can be concluded that with regards to academic qualifications, the people of Liverpool are generally less qualified than in other areas of Britain. Indeed, when comparing standardised relative proportions, it is clear that for all years Liverpool has proportionally far fewer people with higher-level qualifications, most markedly for 1991. The lower proportions of people with higher-level qualifications in Liverpool suggest that it is a city with proportionally more unskilled and semi-skilled workers than proportions within Britain (see Table 2.9). These factors can influence population flows. For instance, people with higher-level qualifications might leave Liverpool or not be attracted in to the city because it would not have the employment base to provide suitable employment.

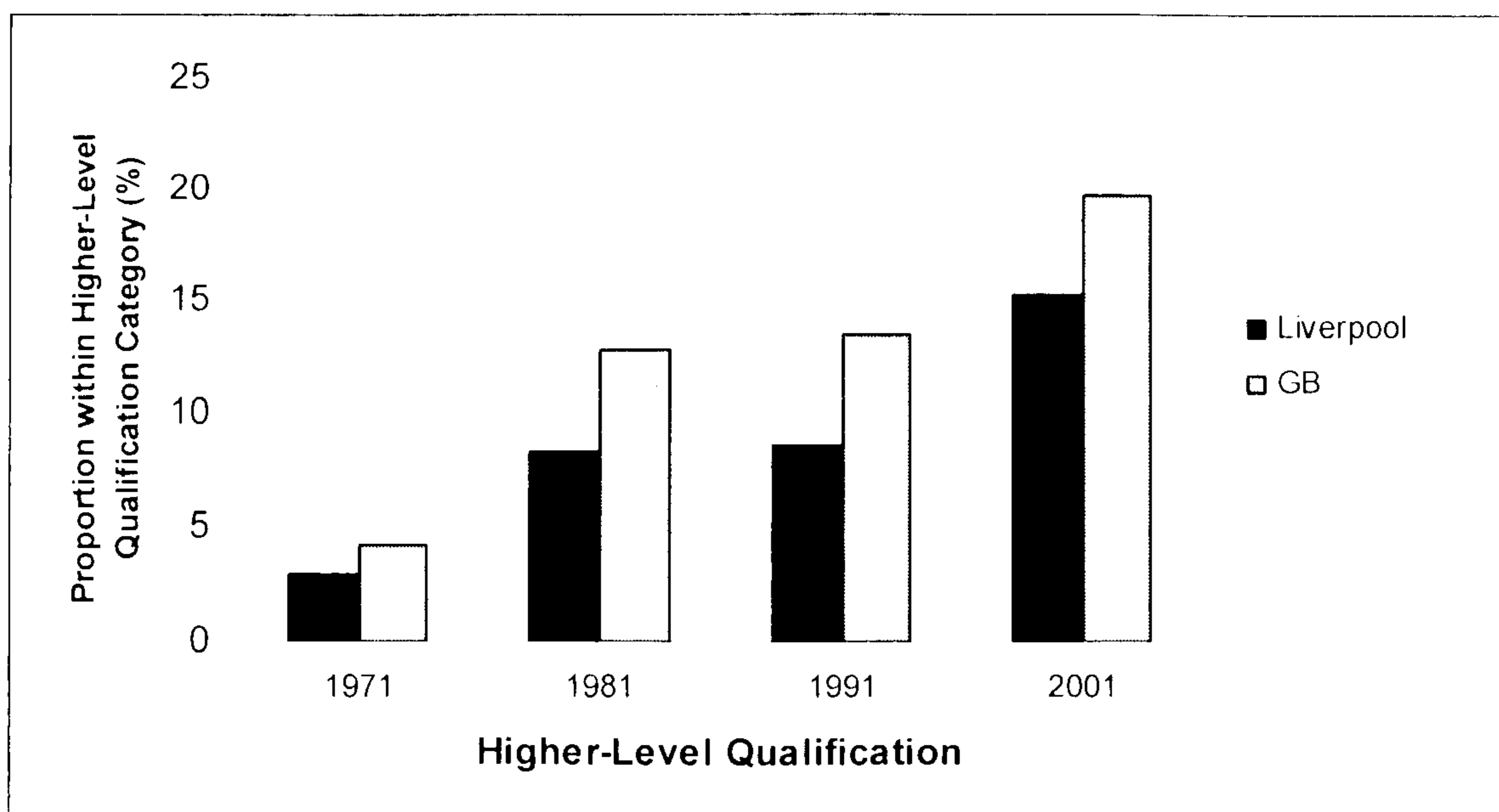


Figure 2.4 Proportion of people with higher-level qualifications, Liverpool and GB (Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via 1971-1991 LCT, 2001 Casweb)

## SOCIAL FACTORS INFLUENCING POPULATION DECLINE

It is well known that economic factors have an impact upon migration flows. However what is less known is the impact that social factors have upon migration. This section will examine social change (housing tenure, household composition and place of birth) at a national level and compare this to trends in Liverpool. Social factors can impact upon migration in a variety of ways. For instance, housing tenure impacts upon migration flows in a number of interlinked ways. Housing tenure is an indication of social change and wealth, hence high concentrations of public and Housing Authority tenure (social housing) may act as a deterrent to in-migration. Similarly, household composition can act as indicators of wealth, for example, higher concentrations of lone parenthood can be linked to poverty.

### *Housing tenure*

When examining proportional change within different housing tenure categories it is important to take into account policy change that has occurred since the 1980s. The Housing Act of 1980 which gave council tenants the statutory right to buy the freehold of their house or a 125 lease on their flat under the 'Right to Buy' (RTB) legislation has radically altered the distribution of housing types in the UK.

First, considering the categories within housing tenure for Liverpool, on the whole proportions of those who own or are buying their accommodation and 'other' tenure have increased between 1971 and 2001 (Figure 2.5a). The largest increase is within the former category which can be attributed to the changing housing policy. However

proportions in this category were far lower for Liverpool than Britain (Figure 2.5b). In fact, the proportion in 1981-1991 for Liverpool was almost equal to the earlier (1971-1981) proportion for GB. This is a clear indication that Liverpool is lagging behind the UK and can therefore act as a deterrent for in-migration and an incentive for out-migration.

The population change in Table 2.1 demonstrates that out-migration was considerably higher between 1971 and 1981. The population change for the 1981 to 1991 period was lower – which can be attributed to lower out-migration rates. Considering the housing policy changes in the 1980s may help to understand why population decline slowed slightly. The change in policy may have impacted upon migration rates. For instance, those who own their own homes may be less likely to migrate than those who do not (Kitching 1989). After the housing legislation, proportions who own their own homes increased while at the same time, the proportions who rent from public sector and housing authorities declined.

In Liverpool, the proportion of people renting privately has declined the most notably. Meanwhile, those renting in the public and Housing Authority (HA) sector within Liverpool first increased in proportion between 1971 and 1981, by 8.71%, then dropped by 7.73% and then 5.08% in 1991 and 2001 respectively. The proportions of people who were classified as having public sector rented accommodation in Britain were never as high as for Liverpool, although it did follow the same pattern, displaying an increase in proportions between 1971 and 1981 and then a decline between 1981-1991 and 1991-2001. This changing composition is as a direct result of the changing housing policy, most notably the RTB legislation. There were numerous

advantages for the majority who purchased; for instance, people were able to buy accommodation at substantially less than market value, rent had increased to above mortgage repayment levels and discounts were offered. Indeed, between 1980 and 1987, in the UK, nearly 800,000 local authority tenants purchased their homes under this legislation. This directly led to the increase in the owner-occupied sector from 55% to 62% of the total housing stock and to the decrease of public rented stock from 32% to 26% during this time (Balchin 1995).

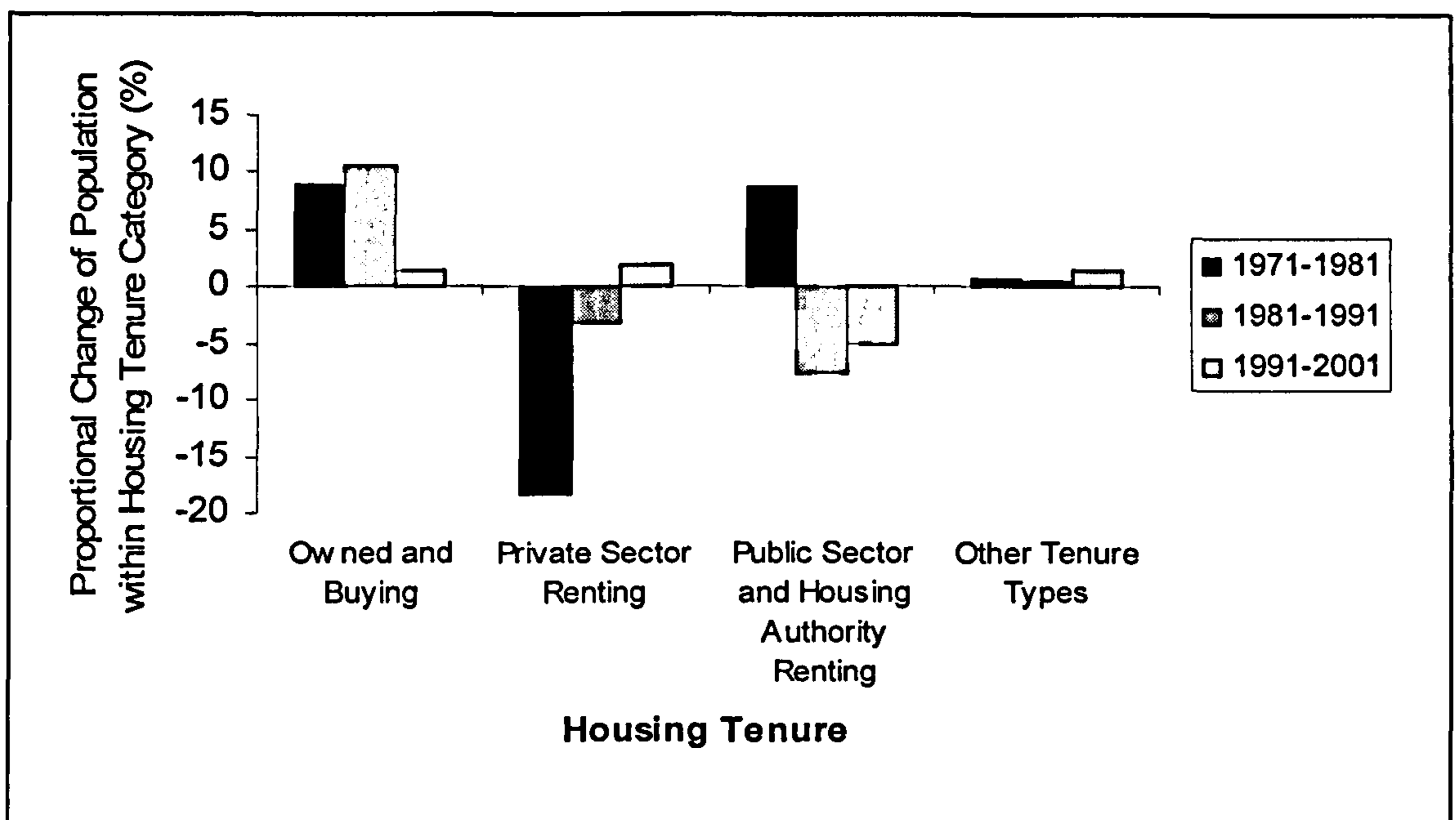


Figure 2.5a Proportional change of housing tenure within Liverpool (Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via 1971-1991 LCT, 2001 Casweb)

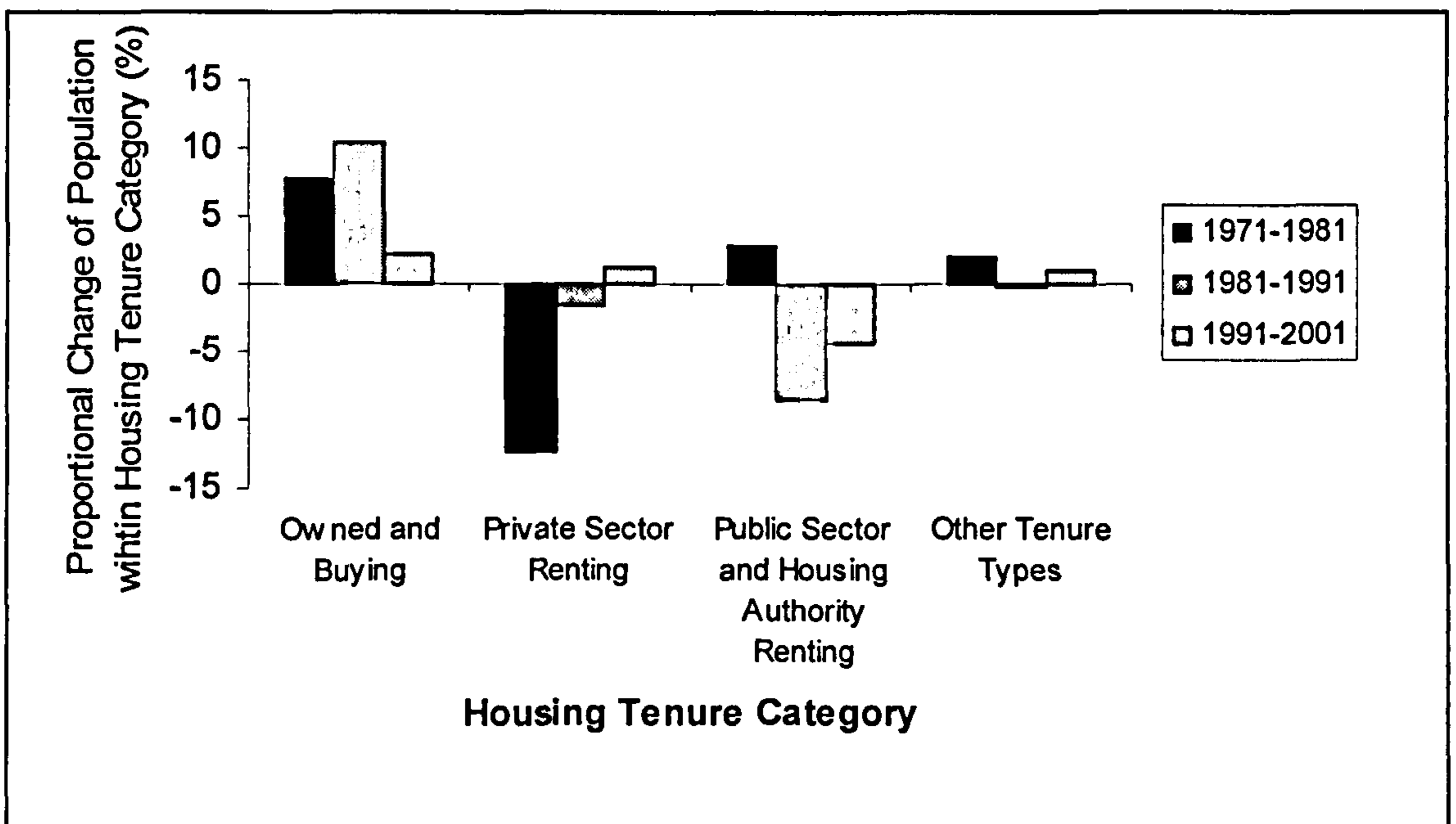


Figure 2.5b Proportional change of housing tenure within GB (Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via 1971-1991 LCT, 2001 Casweb)

### *Household Composition*

When analysing the data concerning how household composition has changed in Liverpool (Figures 2.6a and 2.6b), it is interesting to note that the types of households that have declined most rapidly are those which comprise couples with / without children. Equally, Britain has followed much the same trend, although the decline for couples with / without children has been slightly less than the decline of these categories within Liverpool. On the other hand, numbers of lone parents in both Liverpool and Britain have also increased, with the rise being appreciably greater for Liverpool than for Britain.

This change in household composition is associated with the societal shift in norms and values that occurred in the second half of the twenty-first century. The catalyst for this change may have been the transformation of the lives of women; with upwards trends in their participation in paid employment (Coleman 2000). This

(inadvertently) has led to the changing character of family life; an increase in delayed marriage, divorce, separation, cohabitation, a delay in childbearing, childlessness and lone motherhood. Indeed, the numbers of lone parents have risen to comprise 21% of families with dependent children were headed by a lone parent – nearly three times the 1961 proportion (Dilnot and Emmerson 2000).

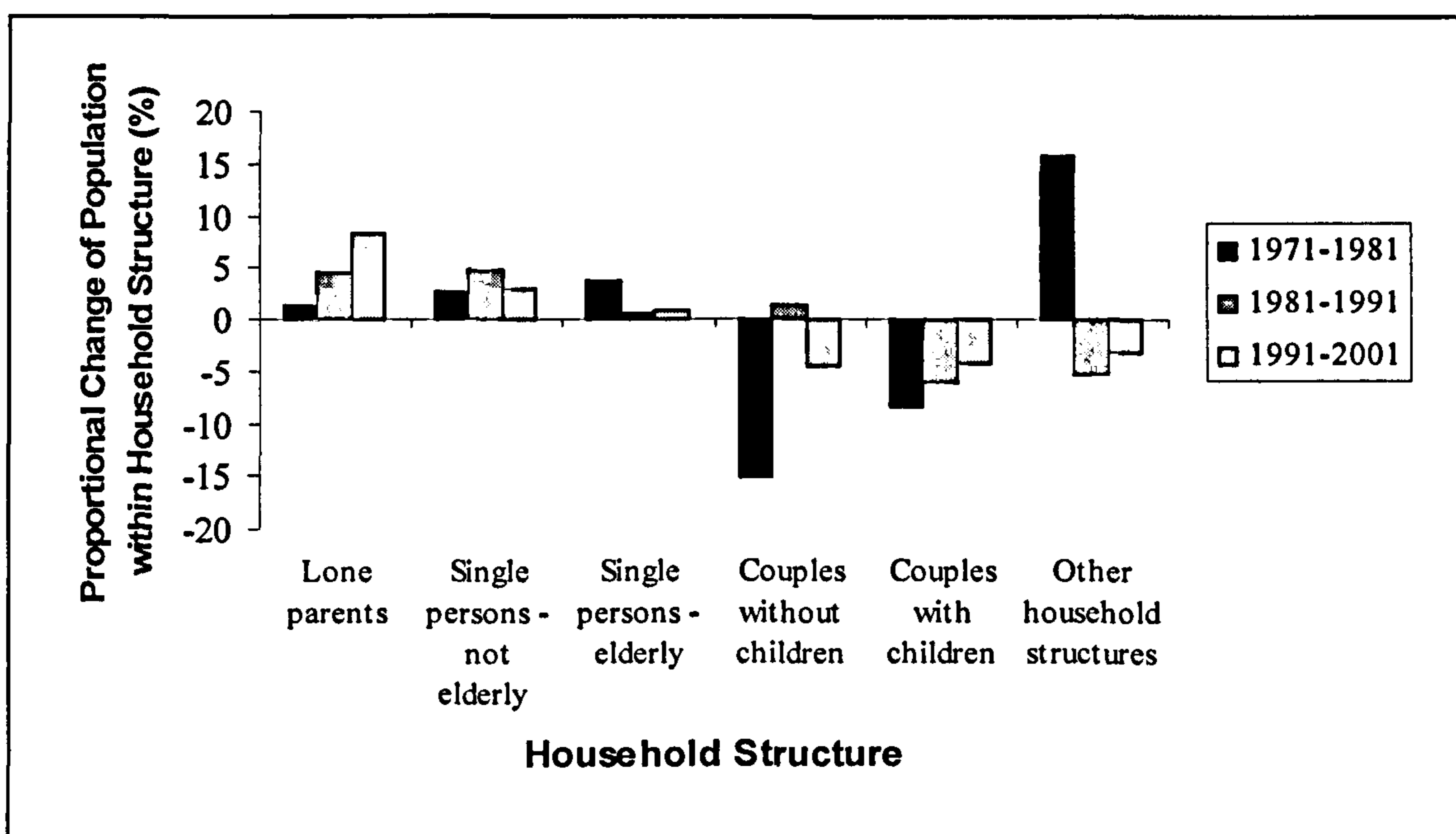


Figure 2.6a Proportional change of household structure within Liverpool (Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via 1971-1991 LCT, 2001 Casweb)

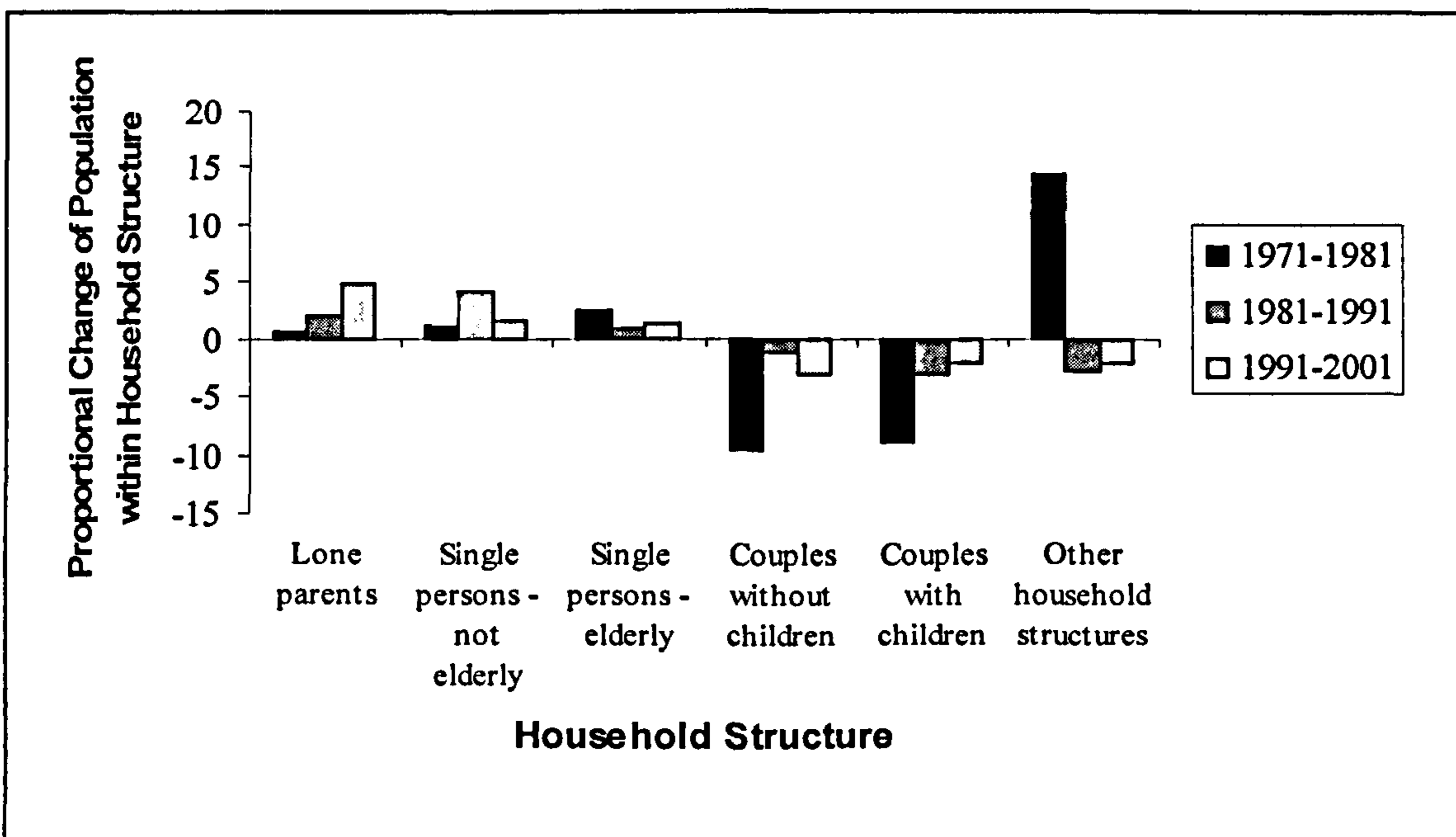


Figure 2.6b Proportional change of household structure within GB (Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via 1971-1991 LCT, 2001 Casweb)

*Place of birth*

Throughout the thirty-year period (1971-2001) while the vast majority (over 95% for each decennial period) of people who lived in Liverpool were born within the UK, there has also been a steady increase in the proportion of the population born outside of the UK (Table 2.10). Whilst the proportion of those born elsewhere in the European Union (EU) has marginally declined between 1971-1991 (although by 2001 proportions were seen to be increasing), the proportion of the population born outside the EU has increased continuously. Indeed the 2001 proportion was almost double that of 1971. Comparatively, the proportion of the non-UK born British population has increased. However growth of non-UK born population has been much larger than in Liverpool, suggesting that Liverpool is also losing out in the international migration market.

**Table 2.10 Place of birth, Liverpool and GB**

Origin at birth	1971		1981		1991		2001	
	Liverpool	GB	Liverpool	GB	Liverpool	GB	Liverpool	GB
UK	96.42	94.13	96.66	93.73	96.71	93.10	95.26	91.66
Elsewhere in EU	1.82	2.49	1.55	2.30	1.32	2.29	1.47	2.22
Outside EU	1.76	3.38	1.80	3.97	1.97	4.60	3.27	6.12

*Source: Census data, Crown Copyright, accessed via 1971-1991 LCT, 2001 Casweb*

**CONCLUSION**

Liverpool's population change and the changing characteristics of the people who live in the city does at times follow national trends (in terms only of shifts of declines and increases). However the evidence presented confirms that Liverpool continues to fall

behind 'development' elsewhere in the UK. The most significant impact has been the decline of industries associated with de-industrialisation. When proportions within this sector declined in the UK as a whole, the decline was proportionally far greater in Liverpool. Combined with the decline of jobs within the manufacturing sector, the rise in unemployment rate in Liverpool was also proportionally far greater than within the UK.

Hence the economic history of Liverpool is more turbulent than that of any other major English city. The economic collapse has led to social problems such as unemployment, poverty, a dependence upon government financial assistance, a high concentration of public and Housing Authority tenure and at times, social and political unrest. This in turn has impacted upon migration rates with people leaving the city to find employment elsewhere and others not wanting to move to the city because of its economic, social and political climate.

Liverpool has displayed great change and instability over recent decades. This has been demonstrated by a continuously declining population, higher unemployment rates, lower employment rates, higher claimant counts and a more dramatic decline in the manufacturing sector than most other cities within the UK. Liverpool is also lagging behind the UK in terms of the proportions of professions and those with higher-level qualifications. Along with the economic changes there have also been secular shifts. For instance, household composition has changed with lone parenthood and a reduced emphasis on living alone becoming far more prevalent in Liverpool than nationally.



These factors have had a direct effect on the population of the city and there have been proportionally higher unemployment rates in Liverpool than in other English city. The socio-economic environment of large proportions of unemployed, claimant counts and a proportionally more dramatic decline of the employment rates have impacted upon population flows to and from Liverpool (high rates of out-migration coupled with low rates of in-migration). That is, people do not want to move to the city because of the social and economic environment while at the same time, people are leaving because of this.

As will be argued in subsequent chapters, the economic collapse in the 1970s triggered social decline and political difference and brought a sense of separateness, of differentness and of alienation to other places. Drawing upon the economic and social (claimant counts, unemployment rates, length of time out of work) distinctiveness here this thesis will consider the impact that 'Liverpool' as a place has upon the decision whether-or-not to stay or go. By examining the meaning of 'place' I will consider what it means to live in (and to leave) Liverpool. Drawing from this empirical evidence I will produce a typology behind the motivations for (non)migration and the outcome of these decisions.

## Chapter 3

# Methodology matters

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### INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the methodology that I have used for data collection and analysis. I will present the philosophical and theoretical background to (non)migration research in order to position the chosen data collection and analysis methods in developments in this field over time. The main section of this chapter will focus on the two stages in my data collection: *stage one* whereby narratives were collected via face-to-face and telephone interviews and *stage two* whereby the Internet was the medium through which the narrative was collected. I will present the sampling techniques that were used and will offer justifications for the chosen methods. After the methods have been discussed I introduce the narrative technique and will provide an examination into the advantages of using this. Emily's narrative is used as an example of narrative analysis. Her text is presented to contextualise how life stories interplay to uncover a breadth of rich and detailed information on the processes behind a (non)migration. Finally I will discuss a methodological consideration about how my positionality as being Liverpool 'born-and-bred' has impacted upon my research agenda and influenced my approach.

## **PHILOSOPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Migration research in the past has tended to focus on a positivist conceptualisation of migration (see for example, Greenwood 1985; White 1980; Molho 1986 and Halfacree and Boyle 1993). This philosophical stance regarded migration to be considered as measured characteristics of both the physical and cultural environments (White 1980). Hence positivist migration researchers studied the effects of differences in economic advantages between the origin and destination: examining migration by associating flow data with regional differences. By effectively focusing on environmental differences, important social processes are ignored and therefore positivist migration researchers taking a positivist approach would fail to consider the way that a migrant may view the environment.

As a result, macro-analytical techniques were emphasised. Within this tradition, migration researchers were interested primarily in large-scale flow matrices. The matrices would provide a summary of aggregate movements and search for 'laws of migration' (see for example Ravenstein 1885 and Lee 1966). While this tradition has continued to mature (Halfacree and Boyle 1993) the focus for contemporary migration research however has emphasised the individual and human agency. Within a micro-analytical framework, behaviourally and deterministically orientated research considers the mechanisms behind individual acts of migration. However, within this approach, the migrant receives little consideration because the emphasis here is on the act of migration.

Developments have since centred on a contextual paradigm (Halfacree and Boyle 1993), which considers a migrant in his/her everyday social setting and is used to understand the role of (non)migration in society (Ni Laoire 1997). Emerging from this has been a humanist strand of migration research, focusing upon building up migrant life histories, or narratives. Greenwood (1985) described life histories as the leading edge in migration studies. As such, geographers examining the social side of migration (as opposed to the statistics attached to migrants) have adopted the narrative approach to data collection. According to Halfacree and Boyle (1993) and Miles and Crush (1993), this type of approach can provide a way of understanding the relationships between (non)migration, society, human agency and identity (Ni Laoire 1997). Therefore in adopting a narrative, or life history approach, the role of human agency and social structures can be understood in the context of a (non)migration decision.

## **METHODOLOGY**

I will now turn to the methodology and will explain why I used particular research methods. The aim was to undertake a study within a Liverpool context of how (non)migration – or the processes behind impact upon the lives and consequently the place identity and attachment to place of (non)migrants.

A narrative approach considers the chronological ordering of events. Take Adam, a leaver. Adam born in 1963 leads to Adam in 1994 (when he leaves Liverpool) which leads to Adam at the time of the interview (2002) in Norfolk. A narrative approach to data collection and interpretation will therefore best encompass the processes behind a

(non)migration. By adopting such a methodology I will conceptualise the processes and materialities that form networks which then lead to unique biographies, or narratives (within a (non)migration context). Hence this approach will allow for an exploration into the multifaceted nature of the (non)migration decision and the context in which a (non)migration occurs.

I decided to use qualitative methods because I wanted to interpret the relationships that account for place, identity and (non)migration rather than focusing on the numbers and characteristics of (non)migrants. Therefore it would have been almost impossible to use quantitative methods to investigate issues of the processes behind a (non)migration and consequent attachments to place and emergent place identities (see Kneafsey 1997). I also wanted to interview people who were not usually considered to have made a (non)migration decision (non-migrants) and therefore examine the 'local voice' (Kneafsey 1997: 49). This voice is often lost in migration research. The fieldwork consisted of 40 interviews completed in two stages and took place between May 2002 and June 2003 (see Appendix 2 for respondent's biographies).

*Stage one (face-to-face and telephone narratives):*

The first interviews were conducted via two mediums: face-to-face and telephone interviews. These methods accounted for 25 out of the total number of interviews. The medium used simply depended upon the location and preference of the respondents. Altogether 16 interviews were conducted face-to-face while 9 were conducted via the telephone.

The 'snowball' strategy of sampling was used to find respondents in this stage of the research. This meant that I relied on a pre-existing network of kin, friends, colleagues and acquaintances to put me in touch with further respondents. For example, the first interview I did was with a colleague of my Mother who had left Liverpool a few years previously. From this one interview, four more were arranged and conducted. The only criterion that I had was that the interviewee had to have lived in Liverpool on a permanent basis (for more than three months) at some stage in their lives. With this in mind, I interviewed anyone who was willing to participate.

Hence the question of representativeness arises. Narrative, or life history, approaches suggest various ways of sampling to ensure typicality. For instance, Davison (1989) selected her life-history respondents on the basis of their representativeness of particular groups, such as marital status, education and occupation (from Miles and Crush 1993). However following the approaches by Freeman (1979), Miles and Crush (1993) and Ni Laorie (1997), I also reject the principle of representativeness in narrative collection. This is because, as Miles and Crush (1993) state 'one life-history text is as equally 'valid' a historical text as 100' (Miles and Crush 1993: 87).

Consequently the sample that I gathered was non-representative. That is, I was not interested in the gender, ethnicity, marriage status, occupation or age of respondents. What I was interested in was their unique and individual life stories in terms of their (non)migration experiences. This research is therefore not about a person's status (in terms of ethnicity, gender or age) or how this may have or may not have influenced a (non)migration in terms of the points that I have just mentioned. Rather it is, as I

have said, about individual life stories that provide the contextual background within which a (non)migration is considered.

I have mentioned that I used two mediums to interview people: face-to-face and telephone. I did plan, as such, to interview all respondents in person. However when organising my second interview (with a woman who lived in Shrewsbury who I had been introduced to by another PhD student), the respondent suggested that it would be more convenient for her if I were to use the telephone as the medium for the interview, rather than travelling to Shrewsbury and interviewing her in person. I was able to obtain recording equipment that is attached to the telephone line and records the whole conversation. While conducting the interview, apart from the obvious visual differences, I did not at any time feel that the interview lacked any sort of 'physical' (or in person) quality. In fact I felt that I was more relaxed using this medium and I was able to jot down the main themes without having to worry about continued eye contact. Indeed, after the interview I asked the respondent how she felt about it being conducted over the telephone. She was honest and said it was easier because there was none of the awkwardness of meeting someone for the first time and having to play 'host'.

I should note that I always gave respondents the option of being interviewed in person or via the telephone. However, generally if respondents lived out of Liverpool and were not coming to the city (to visit etc), then they would suggest that I interviewed them via the telephone. They indicated either that they had chosen this method of medium so that I would not have to 'travel too far' or that they would find this method more convenient (like the illustration above). I even interviewed some who

were resident in Liverpool over the telephone simply because they said they would prefer it that way; for their own convenience.

Market researchers use telephones as the medium to collect quantitative data although they often call this technique 'telephone interviewing' (Holbrook *et al.* 2003). Using the telephone to collect narratives however is a fairly novel method in the social sciences. When I first began to conduct my research and the respondent from Shrewsbury suggested I used the telephone, I was concerned as to the 'quality' of the narrative that I would be able to collect. Although, apart from visual differences and the advantages of being able to 'jot down' far more of their narrative during the interview, I could not think of any major differences to using the telephone to interview people.

Interviews over the telephone were usually conducted in the evenings when the respondent was home from work, and in one occasion, to quote, 'while the children are in bed'. I interviewed some in their lunch hours and one while he was driving to a business meeting. In interviews such as these, I was always informed at the start how much time they were able to spare. As such, for these interviews, I was only too aware of time restrictions and felt that if they had more time then they may have had the opportunity to expand more on certain events in their narrative.

Conversely, the face-to-face interviews would take place at a location suggested by the respondents and were usually conducted in their home, in their work place, or for one, in my office at university. I used recording equipment for both telephone and face-to-face interviews. Those who did not have the visual reminder of the recording



equipment such as those being interviewed via the telephone were reminded on several occasions throughout the interview that I was recording the conversation.

As I have explained, using the snowball sampling technique meant that I relied on other people to find respondents. Hence, people agreed to be interviewed either as a favour to a friend or family member or because they were interested in what I was doing. Consequently I found that on initial contact most were often misinformed as to what I was actually doing ('so you're writing a book are you') and what I wanted them to do ('tell it how it is'). Therefore contact *before* each interview was especially important. First contact was made by telephone and I would take the opportunity to tell them what I was (really) doing, what I wanted them to do and why I wanted to talk to them (or more specifically, why I wanted them to talk to me).

At first I began by telling people that I wanted to hear about what they thought of Liverpool and their experiences of living and leaving the city (depending on their (non)migratory biography). However respondents would usually say unsurely that they would not be able to talk about this or that they did not know much about Liverpool. Therefore I refined my technique and I decided to tell them instead that I wanted to hear their experiences of their lives – life stories – focusing specifically on the time that they had spent in Liverpool and if applicable, the times when they left or returned. This seemed to generate a more confident and interested response: everyone has a story to tell and most want their story heard (Ni Laoire 1997).

During the initial contact I would arrange a suitable time and place for the interview and take down further contact details. I also asked them questions to establish their

(non)migration status (whether a leaver, stayer, arrivee or returnee). Based on the information they gave me I then sent out themes that I wanted them to consider before the interview (see Appendix 1). This way I ensured that respondents were clear beforehand what was to be expected of them. Some used the themes as a guide for their narratives and I was just left to guide or pick up key points. Others needed encouragement and constant guiding and stimulus. On the whole however, whether the former or the latter, inarticulate or articulate, all narratives provided a rich depth of detailed life histories without which this research would not have been possible.

The interview process lasted anywhere between three quarters of an hour to over two hours. I failed to get below the surface questions in only one interview. My Mother's friend had suggested that I interview her sister who had left Liverpool the previous year. The respondent spent long periods out of the country and because of this it had been arranged, via her sister, to 'just call and see'. When I did call however, the respondent told me she was getting ready to go out at the time. Despite offering to call back at a more convenient time, I was told, 'I might as well get it over with'. All interviews nevertheless were insightful, interesting, funny and informative and produced richly detailed and textured information. I was always surprised at the willingness and generosity of the respondents to give up their time and talk to someone they generally did not know. I will remain ever grateful to these people for their contribution and hope that I have accurately portrayed their life stories within a Liverpool context.

For each interview I had a checklist of topics that I wanted respondents to cover. The topics were not in any particular order and for some interviews I did not use them at

all. However they acted as a guide for when the respondents were having difficulty reciting their stories. The topics that were covered were different depending on the person's (non)migration biography. At the beginning of each interview, before the respondent began telling their stories, I asked for a series of detailed biographical information which included: age of leaving school, occupation history (including length of time), previous addresses (in terms of area only) and length of time spent at each address. I also asked a series of questions to establish a number of related themes. These questions centred around: their likes and dislikes with living in Liverpool, their future (non)migration intentions and the (non)migration outcome.

I understood that respondents might find it difficult to remember precise lengths of time at each occupation or address and therefore time was usually only given in terms of years (except for two respondents who, after receiving my outline of themes had worked out to the day, lengths of times). Therefore time periods acted only as a guide and general impressions and background to their (non)migration history. Hence this biographical information was used only as a support mechanism and a tool to assist *my* questioning, for instance, if the respondent missed out important events. The interview process allowed me to refine the questioning and I removed and added questions which seemed redundant given the context and as I refined my research. I also discovered limitations to my own questioning style and was able to refine my own technique in preparation for the following interview. Hence I admit that the later 20 or-so interviews were far more fluent and I was able to gain a greater depth of information.

The main aim of the interviews was to uncover and interpret the processes behind an event – a (non)migration – and to understand the context in which their (non)migration decision was made. I therefore guided the interview to encourage the respondent to focus on these decisions and important turning points, changes and stages in their lives. If needed, I probed in particular where references were made to Liverpool; (non)migration processes, decisions and experiences and place and identity issues. Hence the interviews involved exploring in-depth the experiences, meanings and decisions behind biographies.

As discussed, narrative approaches do not have to be representative. My aim was to ensure all themes were covered and to collect in-depth material. Therefore I did not select equal numbers from each category. The criterion that I followed was that each category of possible (non)migrants (leaver, stayer, arrivee and returnee) had to be represented at least once.

*Stage two (Internet conversations):*

The second stage of my research began December 2002 until June 2003 and happened sort of ‘accidentally’. I mention the rather unexpected way in which I came to conduct my second stage of research because it illustrates the unplanned way in which research decisions are often made. From the onset of my PhD in 2001 I began to contact people via internet sites dedicated to people who have left Liverpool. I found these sites using the Google search engine ([www.google.com](http://www.google.com)). I did this to provide the background to my research and to uncover themes for investigation. After a while

I began to concentrate on one site in particular: 'Scousers united'<sup>1</sup>. I chose to focus on this site for two reasons: first because it was the most popular and had – at that time – 154 members living all over the world who had all at some point lived in (and left) Liverpool. Second I chose it because of the service it provided. When you become a member you are immediately introduced to the other members via a group email system and message boards. People converse about topics related to Liverpool at the time, in the past and in the future and about feelings of Liverpool, their destination, homesickness (place attachment) and place identity via emails and message boards. At times I would receive up to 50 emails a day.

When I 'signed up' I sent an email informing everyone who I was. New members always included the same types of information: a brief biography including my age and the area where I live in Liverpool. I took the opportunity to explain why I was interested in the site, which at the time was simply that I was examining why people left Liverpool. I also asked whether they would mind me being a member given that I still live in Liverpool and that I was doing research about people who had left Liverpool.

On the same day I received fifteen responses each telling me why they had left and that they were very pleased I was taking an interest in Liverpool 'especially as I was so young' (the ages of members ranged between 34 and 81 with an average age of 54). They presumed that I was championing Liverpool. After initial contact I read emails only that had subject matters that I thought may inform my research. For instance, in January 2003 there were a series of emails entitled 'a sense of place' that

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<sup>1</sup> The name has been changed to ensure anonymity

included discussions centred on a radio programme of the same title. This initial email stimulated over thirty responses each talking about how leaving Liverpool has impacted upon their own sense of place.

I mention again that when I first began to use this site I did not envisage using it as a way of 'finding' respondents, merely to provide an insight as to the processes and implications behind a (non)move: a way of contextualising the research agenda. I aimed to construct interview themes around the information gathered from the website. However I received lots of emails offering information (your details are stored and can be accessed at any time) and asking if they could help. Consequently, because of the interest and willingness of the members I decided to post some detailed information about my now more specific research. I told people that I was collecting life stories about those who have lived and (for this context) left Liverpool. I asked if anyone would be interested in sharing their stories with me and I included that I wanted to hear their experiences of living and leaving Liverpool, plus other general themes for discussion. Within 24 hours I had over twenty replies. Some were just a sentence long:

'Hi,  
I've lived in the USA since I left Liverpool in 1963.  
Joan Connerly (nee Hughes)' (original layout) (name changed)

Others offered details and asked me to contact them if they could be of any use:

'Hi. My family and I left Liverpool, in 1967. I would be interested in giving you some information and [sic] my life,  
Yours truly, Sue' (original layout)

Yet others contained whole life stories and histories and were up to ten pages long. I replied to each email asking for further participation and explained in more detail what the research was about, what I wanted from them and what I would do with their stories. In total, 15 people were willing to take part in my research. They had agreed and importantly were really interested and excited by the prospect of sharing their life stories about their time living and leaving Liverpool. They did this via, what I have termed, 'Internet conversations'.

The context in which the information was gathered was similar to the face-to-face and telephone interviews described. If their conversations – emails – did not cover topics such as leaving Liverpool, their feelings of place identity and attachment to place, then I would email back and specifically ask for information centered around these themes. This acted as a way to guide and steer their conversations. My replies to them always started off thanking them for their time and saying that I thoroughly enjoyed reading their stories. I would then pick specific points and comment on what they had said, not in terms of the research topics but in general terms, such as a little about the area where they left or I would tell them, for instance, if their school was still standing (some had left Liverpool 30-40 years previously and had not returned to visit). Though much older than me, I went to the same secondary school as one of the respondents, and we had a 'conversation' about how the landscape of the school had changed and about the 'famous' people who had once attended the school. I found using this technique established an immediate rapport that transcended the ambiguity of interviewing somebody over the Internet, that is, not in any sort of personalized, visual or oral way.

There were many advantages to collecting Internet conversations. Usually when the Internet is used as a research tool for primary data, it is used to distribute and / or collect quantitative data, thus using the Internet to collect narratives is a novel idea. As already discussed, I approached using the Internet 'accidentally' and it was only after I had already conversed with others using the web site that I began to realize the breadth and depth of information that could be gathered. Only then did I consider using it as a research tool.

The main difference between the Internet conversations and the face-to-face and telephone interviews was that the Internet conversations allowed for a much more in-depth examination into the personal and emotional feelings of respondents – which were not always related specifically to (non)migration events. For instance, one respondent told me about her son becoming disabled and the difficulties related to this. The anonymity and knowing that you are never likely to meet or speak to the person at the other end of the emails meant that in certain instances, I had to reinforce the researcher / researched boundary. Take the respondent with the son who had been involved in the road accident. At one time, her emails became more about her fight and struggle against providing her son with continued treatment and specialist care. In one email, this particular respondent told me personal and detailed information about the abuse that her son had suffered at the hands of his carers. I had to ensure that my replies to her, while sympathetic were focused on leading and guiding the respondent back into talking about aspects of her narrative centered around the time she left Liverpool.



The Internet conversations continued over a time-scale dependent on when all the themes had been covered and because of this, and also due to the nature of the web site (where they already knew some biographical information about me) I felt that the awkwardness that often occurs at the beginning of the face-to-face and telephone interviews was avoided. Generally however apart from the time-scale involved in the process of collecting the Internet conversations there were few differences between the information collected from the two stages of the research.

The information gathered at both stages, via the three mediums (face-to-face, telephone and Internet) was given with the assurance that the interviewees would remain anonymous. Therefore all names and identifying factors (such as specific places, specific occupations and place of occupation) have been changed. This includes all information placed in the codes at the bottom of interview quotes and the web site used to converse with people who have left Liverpool.

## **THE NARRATIVE APPROACH**

Halfacree and Boyle (1993) provide a review of the narrative research method and how it can be used to inform (non)migration research. They consider a migration as being an 'action in time' (Halfacree and Boyle 1993: 337), referring to it as being in relation to 'the individual's past and to their predicted and projected future' (Halfacree and Boyle 1993: 337). In other words, a (non)migration should be considered in terms of individual biographies: what follows is always influenced by what precedes. Although literature has located migrants within their biography, it has

usually been framed in terms of the influence of previous moves to their (current) migration status.

A narrative (or biography) approach will allow the processes behind the (non)migration to be interpreted and thus understood and conceptualised. This is because it is not just previous (non)migration decisions that influence future behaviour; rather all aspects of the (non)migrant's life (human agency and social processes) can impinge upon and affect future (non)migration intentions (see for example Molho 1986). Hence when examining processes behind a (non)migration and the associated (trans)formation of place identity and attachment to place it is far more useful to contextualise people's stories: what was their identity, attachment to place and (non)migration status before and after their (non)move.

I believe that a narrative approach to data collection allowed for a greater understanding into the complexities associated with a (non)migration. For instance, it was only through examining the (whole) lives, hence life stories, of some respondents that an understanding of the context of their (non)migration could be considered. If I were to have used a more conventional method, such as the question and answer style interview then I feel I would have missed out on a wealth of information.

I am examining (non)migration and the impact of a (non)migration on components of place and identity. The two are interlinked. Thus a biography focusing on (non)migration (non)events will also focus on place and aspects of place identity. Hence the narratives that have been collected are attempts at story telling that portray and illustrate the interrelationships among the decision of whether or not to migrate

and the social context of the decision. Both stages of my research therefore involved collecting the data using a narrative approach or life history approach (the two will be used interchangeably throughout this chapter).

But what is a narrative? Labov defined it as ‘one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred’ (Labov 1972: 359-360). Similarly, Toolan provided a definition of a narrative as being ‘a perceived sequence of nonrandomly connected events’ (Toolan 1988: 7). The two definitions are in basic agreement: that a narrative is the chronological succession of events. As such, narrative theorists have identified three different aspects of narrative time: order, duration and frequency (Franzosi 1998). Each aspect also deals with three questions: When? For how long? And how often? All of which provide the contextual background for the (non)migrants’ stories (see Franzosi 1998).

Hence narratives are attempts at story telling and portray the interrelationships among the social context of the decision whether or not to migrate and how this impacts upon place and identity. Waitzkin et al. (1994) suggests that narratives may include stretches of talk that present complete stories and brief fragments that appear within a question-answer exchange (Waitzkin et al. 1994: 324). Narratives, or the life stories that people tell, are explicit to this research because the stories are specific to each individual and each place and society. Therefore each narrative represents a hugely cultural and social experience (Bottomley 1992).

The distinguishing feature of a narrative is the presence of a story. A story, by Franzosi's (1998) account, is a change in situations as expressed by the unfolding of a specific sequence of events. This does not mean that a sequence of two temporary ordered events must constitute a story. Rather a narrative is made up of what can be called stories and descriptions: narrative clauses (the story) and non-narrative clauses (a clause without a temporal meaning, usually descriptive) (Franzosi 1998: 522). The life-stories are interactive texts which reflect in subtle and complex ways the very protocols of the specific interview in which they are constructed. Therefore each narrative is unique and represents only the experiences of the narrator. However because their experiences are 'real' they therefore represent 'real' people and 'real' situations.

Therefore a narrative is a story about people, events and experiences. It emphasises the experiences and requirements of the individual: how the person copes with society rather than how society copes with streams of individuals. It is in this way that a narrative approach emphasises human agency. The narratives gathered allow an exploration into cultural differences, life experience, differences and experiences of being a member of different places. This way I was able to uncover not only what people did, or the results of their thought processes, but most importantly I discovered why people did what they did: that is, the processes behind the (non)migration and the outcome of the decision.

I have used a narrative approach to gather detailed life histories, which have informed the processes, consequences and results of a (non)migration. I have also used a narrative analysis technique to interpret the material gathered. This type of analysis

has allowed light to be shed on not just one person's lives but on 'real' lives of many other people. Narrative analysis reveals the relationships between the words in a text and also between a text and other texts. Therefore narrative analysis has brought out relationships between people and between text and social reality. The next section will discuss the process of narrative analysis. I will use an example to illustrate the technique and the plethora of information that can be divulged.

### *Narrative analysis*

I used a narrative approach to collect people's experiences of the (non)migratory decision and interconnected issues, such as place identity and attachment to place. I have also interpreted the respondents' life stories by using narrative analysis – a technique first used by linguists (see Toolan 1988). I have used this type of analysis to illustrate how text and life stories interplay to uncover a breadth of rich and detailed information. Franzosi has examined the benefits behind, particularly for sociologists, using this form of analysis:

'The narrative analysis of the text helps to bring out not only the properly linguistic characteristics of the story – a task better left in the hands of those who know how to do this best: linguists – but also a great deal of sociology hidden behind a handful of lines. It is precisely [because] (a) narrative texts are packed with sociological information and (b) much of our empirical evidence is in narrative form that sociologists should be concerned with narrative' (Franzosi 1998: 519).

Hence the background towards analysis of narratives is not what is said, but rather, what is done (Labov 1972). Toolan summarises this understanding as follows:

‘[T]he broad assumption that what is said... will not be the core of a story; that, rather, what is done... will be. The ‘what is done’ then becomes (or may become) the core narrative text of clauses – actions – while the ‘what is said’ becomes evaluative commentary on these actions’ (Toolan 1988: 157).

This ‘doing versus saying’ distinction forms the core of narrative analysis. As Ricoeur (1984) points out, all narrative analysis uses explicitly or implicitly the phenomenology of ‘doing something’ (Ricoeur 1984: 56). Drawing from the work of Barthes (1977), Franzosi (1998) suggests that narratives, no matter how complex, all have a common structure that is open to analysis. Miles and Crush (1993), drawing on work of researchers in other disciplines (see Bertaux 1981; Plummer 1983), argue that narrative techniques have the potential for correcting silences and achieving depth. They uncover what people did *and* what they wanted to do by illuminating ‘both the logic of individual courses of action and the effects of systematic and structural constraints within which life-courses evolve’ (Miles and Crush 1993: 85).

I will now provide an example of narrative analysis to illustrate the rich and detailed information that can be gathered using this approach. The complexities that are involved with narrative analysis will also be examined.

### *Doing narrative analysis*

Consider the following text:

The way I see it... after the war, everyone had it hard. My dad worked on the docks and whenever a crate "broke" accidentally the men shared the

contents. I can remember being woken at night to eat...shredded coconut... or... liquorish (the medical type). It had to be eaten right away. My husband was the same. His father died when he was 9 years old... We had ambition and adventure and so decided to try our luck elsewhere. My husband and I came to Australia [in] 1963, three months after we married with 50 pounds. We have been here for 39 years... While we miss our families still, we like the open spaces. We sit in our house and look at lakes and Pacific Ocean, back and front. We go away to our weekender in the Hunter Valley, 26 acres of it and freedom (Emily, 61: L – Internet conversation)

This text is considered as a narrative because it deals with ‘the temporal character of human experience’ (Ricoeur 1984: 52). The text contains both narrative and non-narrative clauses and is delivered according to the chronological order: childhood to adulthood: Liverpool to Australia.

Referring back to the three aspects of narrative time – when, for how long and how often – Emily’s story provides answers (or clues to the answers) to each question. For instance, Emily gives specific dates to indicate *when* the events took place. At times when she does not explicitly indicate this, she implies *when* by linking her narrative in with a particular stage of, for example, her husband’s childhood, which illustrates her own childhood, hence the chronological order. Emily moves from past tense to present tense (from then to now) when she tells the story of her childhood in Liverpool and then the story of her adulthood in Australia: indicating the *for how long* aspect of narrative time. Although the text does not tell me if Emily returns to Liverpool, it does however indicate that she misses her family, which implies that she still has contact with people in Liverpool (*how often*).

It should be noted that time however does not always have to be relative in a narrative. For example, Emily relates events of unequal duration: eating sweets, the end of the Second World War, moving to Australia. Each event has a different timescale (from a few minutes, to years, to decades) yet eating sweets is given more textural duration than the ending of the war. Franzosi (1998: 530) recognises that time is not always relative and says:

‘The narrativists’ duration and frequency do not always have to refer to the duration and frequency of the narrated (real life) events. More generally, duration and frequency refer to the relationship between narrative clauses and narrative events’.

Emily begins her narrative by saying ‘The way I see it... after the war’. This statement is background with respect to the foreground (Franzosi 1998): her childhood experiences of living in Liverpool and her adulthood experiences of leaving Liverpool. Emily places equal importance on her husband’s experiences which are at times separate to her own (they had separate but similar childhoods). This is Emily’s attempt at associating normality or ordinariness to her childhood (by indicating that her husband’s childhood was similar) at a time when, during the war, childhood was not ‘normal’ or ‘ordinary’.

Initial analysis of the text suggests that Emily does not explicitly state why she left Liverpool. However she does provide implicit ‘clues’. For instance, she states ‘we had ambition and adventure and so decided to try our luck elsewhere’ which implies that she did not think that she would be able to achieve what she wanted out of life if



she were to stay in Liverpool. Therefore she was leaving Liverpool and the lack of opportunities and life chances behind.

Associated with her migration away from Liverpool are the networks of human and non-human actors: her Dad (who although not stated explicitly, it can be presumed she left behind), her husband, food, money, space, house, landscapes. Combined, they all provided a role in her decision to leave Liverpool (for instance did they have enough money, were they prepared to leave their families, what did Australia have to offer – landscapes, better opportunities). These all form networks, which have been (trans)formed in the process of her leaving Liverpool.

There is also the presumption that Emily grew up in a working-class household and that she was poor when she lived in Liverpool: her ‘dad worked on the docks’ and they could not afford to buy ‘treats’. Therefore money would have been a big concern. The money that they had (£50), I presume was also used to pay for their fares – although it should be noted that Emily has not indicated what mode of transport was used to travel to Australia. Despite the limited financial security and I also presume her lack of any qualifications or skills (she has not noted anything about jobs or training) she has afforded a far more privileged lifestyle in Australia than she ever would have staying in Liverpool: she owns lots of land with stunning views, she owns more than one home and ‘holidays’ each weekend. Therefore the text implies that the move was the right decision and their fortunes have been improved beyond belief – or beyond belief had they still been living in Liverpool.

Hence from one short paragraph a plethora of information can be gathered. The brief analysis that I have provided for you is connected to my area of interest: (non)migration experiences. If I were to examine the text, say with the agenda to explore the impact of the Second World War on childhood, then a completely different analysis would be produced from the same text. There is never an end to the analysis and I am conscious of this. Rather than stopping once I think the text had been saturated (there is never a 'saturation point' to the text), I was conscious to stop analysing once the themes under investigation had reached saturation point: saturation point of text versus saturation point of themes.

The text is told from the narrators' perspective – just as I have interpreted the text from my own perspective. As such there is nothing in the text about why her husband decided to leave Liverpool (apart from the 'we' in the sentence: '*We* had ambition and adventure and so decided to try our luck elsewhere'). I cannot tell you whether her husband wanted to leave Liverpool or whether her husband wants to return. However I can tell you that the inclusive use by Emily of '*we*' suggests that their decision was a mutual one and that their quality of life and opportunities available have been enhanced by the move.

I suspect if the story was (re)told by Emily's husband then it might not have began with 'war time' Liverpool but it would have ended in a similar way: they are still together and hence they share the same processes behind their decision to leave Liverpool. This brings me back to the subjectivity of interpretation: Emily, Emily's husband, me, you, the reader. We all interpret text differently according to the context of the interpretation. However what is sure is that the plethora of information

that has been gathered from such a short narrative (perhaps I should inform you now that this text was an extract from a six page life story – and yes, her husband was delighted with their decision to leave Liverpool and I was right to presume that Emily was, on leaving Liverpool, unskilled and her Father did not migrate with them) can be used to inform people of the processes behind (non)migration decisions.

The point of (briefly) illustrating the meaning behind Emily's (brief) text was to give you – the reader – a chance to grasp the wealth of information to be gathered from such a simple text: '[the] story is inextricably linked to a wealth of background knowledge that readers consciously or unconsciously bring to the text in the construction of meaning' (Franzosi 1998: 545). Each reader will 'see' (or is it 'interpret') a different message encoded in the text, different to the message I have seen and different to the messages another would see. This brings me back to my previous point: actual analysis (of themes) has to have an end point rather than (an end point to the) analysis of text.

### **THE ISSUE OF POSITIONALITY**

The issue of positionality is relevant within this research context: a research project undertaken mainly in Liverpool, about Liverpool and by myself – a person who was born and grew up within the city's (subjective) boundaries. This section will examine the implications of my own identity and positionality and how this has impacted upon the research and the data that I have collected.

Roberts (2001) and Herod (1999) note that in doing research, the question of positioning is a much-debated issue, invoking questions that raise methodological issues about the quality of work produced. I refer to positionality as being determined by place, gender, age, race / ethnicity, sexuality and biography (*et cetera*) (Hastrup 1992). As such, the attention that researchers pay to questions of positionality is often assumed to be the means through which the assumptions and values of researchers may be uncovered. Researchers are thus called upon to position themselves explicitly in terms of their place within the research process in order that their interpretations may be assessed according to aspects of their social selves (May 1999).

When I first began the fieldwork I made a conscious decision not to initiate telling people where I was from and I decided to tell them only if they asked. It was my experience from doing this that only some would interpret for themselves that I was in fact a (in some cases fellow) Liverpudlian. Those who did not guess would ask, 'so where are you from' or 'where did you grow up?' and would express disbelief that I was (also) a Liverpudlian. It was hard for some to grasp that I was from Liverpool because they had discussed the 'Scouse personality' and 'its uniqueness' and how they could 'spot one a mile away'. However here I was, a (fellow) 'Liverpudlian' and yet they could not tell. Was I not allowed to be one because I did not necessarily have the required criteria, which in this case was the 'correct' accent?

As I have stated, how others perceived me was somewhat a point of confusion. On the one hand, I was born, grew up and still live in Liverpool. While on the other hand, to some people – usually with a connection to the city – I do not have the accent to be 'classified' as being the same as people with the accent from Liverpool.

Those who were unable to distinguish where I was from would ask sometimes in general terms. For instance this extract was taken from the narrative of Charles (my fifth interviewee):

‘All the people I went to school with who I was brought up with left Liverpool... So you know, *I don't know where you come from* but if you go back there, you'll probably find most of the people you went to school with or were brought up with, a lot of them were still there’ (Charles, 47: S) (emphasis added)

I interpreted this passage as a question, ‘I don't know where you came from...’ and responded accordingly by explaining I was from Liverpool also. The response was as follows:

‘Good God you don't sound like you're from here [Liverpool]... I thought you were from, I don't know where I thought you were from... but I didn't think it was from here’ (Charles, 47: S)

The passage demonstrates the criteria with which people use to determine positionality. Charles judged me to be from somewhere else (as opposed to Liverpool) based on my accent – or lack of accent. A while after Charles began discussing how the identity of Liverpool is negative because the people who ‘represent’ the city (he gave Ricky Tomlinson as an example) are to quote, ‘down-and-outs’. After talking about this, he suggested that he would not have told me this had I not been from Liverpool. Therefore I began to question the knowledge – or advantages – that could be gained if I were to inform people at the beginning of the interview that I was (also) from Liverpool.

Hence in terms of my research position where did I go from here? In other words, how did I go about positioning myself within my research and the knowledge produced? After interviewing Charles, I made a conscious decision to inform respondents that I was (also) from Liverpool. That way I would not misinform anyone and I felt I was being more open with them. A problem with telling people that I was from Liverpool and doing research about Liverpool was that they presumed I was therefore doing the research for ‘the good of the city’ as such. However I had to make it explicit that although I do wish for my findings to inform knowledge about the city and hence be used productively (for the benefit of *all* places with population loss), I was also undertaking the research for the academic knowledge that this research would inform.

Therefore, at the very beginning of the interview I would introduced myself to respondents and I took this opportunity to tell them about my own biography history: as someone who has always lived in Liverpool. The response was very positive. Explicitly and implicitly, respondents would imply that my position was beneficial because I was from Liverpool and they would therefore tell me their stories in a more open and honest way. This abstract was taken from the narrative of Tom, a returnee:

‘If I was talking to somebody outside Liverpool, if I was talking to anybody other than you really, I would be defending Liverpool to the hilt, and I’d be telling them absolutely how fantastic Liverpool is. [And] I’d never say anything negative about Liverpool to anybody outside Liverpool’ (Tom, 44: R)

Respondents did not always make direct reference to my position however they always took on board – sometimes subconsciously – my place identity as being the

same as, or similar to, their own place identity. For example, Clare, a returnee, discusses that she can say bad things about Liverpool:

‘I hate it when anything says anything like that; it really annoys me, especially people who aren’t from Liverpool... But I feel like *we’re* kind of allowed to say it ‘cause you know, sometimes that it’s true, you know, because *we’re Liverpool people ourselves*, *we’re* allowed to criticise Liverpool people – and *we’re allowed to defend ourselves*, you know, *we’re* not all like that, you know’ (Clare, 34: R) (emphasis added)

The passage illustrates how Clare has subconsciously included me within her own identity, and as such, she has identified with me. I believe that the respondents told their stories more accurately and truthfully for two reasons. First, I also have a Liverpool place identity (borne from my experiences living in the city). Without which they suggested that this information would have been withheld or contextualised differently. For instance, some took the standpoint that they could ‘say what they liked to me’ because I was also from Liverpool and they could identify with that. This meant that they felt able to share negative *and* positive information about their experiences, which they would have been reluctant to divulge to someone who was not from Liverpool. They related this ‘selective’ sharing of information with a sense of loyalty to the city: it would be disloyal of them to say anything negative about their Liverpool experiences with someone who was not from the city.

Second I believe that they shared this information with me because they made the assumption that I was from Liverpool and would therefore (re)present people’s experiences within a Liverpool context in an honest but loyal way: I would not ‘slag off’ (as one respondent put it) Liverpool to anyone other than other Liverpool people.

Therefore they trusted that my portrayal would be for the benefit of the people of Liverpool and the city itself. I have been accurate, honest and truthful in my interpretation of the life stories that I have collected. Hence I was in a privileged position as a (fellow) Liverpudlian and consequently I collected a richer breadth of information.

## **CONCLUSION**

This chapter has attempted to introduce the research methods used in the data collection and analysis. I have presented a range of theoretical considerations in order to contextualise the use of the narrative approach. The two stages to this research (the face-to-face and telephone interviews and the novel 'Internet conversations') have allowed for a greater breadth of knowledge to be collected in terms of the scope of (non)migratory and biography experiences. Otherwise, the stages were different only in the mediums that were used to converse. Both stages have enabled a thorough examination into the complex issues, processes and results that emerge when a (non)migration decision is made.

I have provided a brief examination into the literature and have presented justifications behind using a narrative approach to data collection. This has enabled an informed choice of methodology, which is supported by the findings of previous research (see Halfacree and Boyle 1993; Miles and Crush 1993; Ni Laoire 1997). Using text from Emily's narrative I have highlighted the plethora of information that can be gathered from such a brief text through using narrative interpretation. The problems associated with using narrative analysis include the subjectivity of the



interpretation. Each text will represent several different messages that are decoded in different ways according to the individual, the collective and the research questions.

The methodological consideration of my own standpoint was raised using the criteria that I am a Liverpudlian, doing research in Liverpool, about Liverpool and about Liverpool people. I adapted my interview strategy in a more open (not honest) way in an attempt to get more open (and honest) life stories that were unrestricted by the confinements of loyalty. This more direct standpoint meant that respondents established a collective identity and were able to encompass this within their narratives.

The nature of the narratives has enabled a separation of issues of (non)migration decisions, place and identity in the following chapters. In order to contextualise (non)migration decisions I will first examine the construction and interconnected components of place (such as place identity and attachment to place) within a Liverpool context. Once the context of place has been established and investigated, the second set of chapters (7, 8 and 9) therefore deal specifically with (non)migration decisions, processes and consequences.

## Chapter 4

# Identity matters

*'I would be the same as you... without... identity, there is, in fact, no society'*

(Jenkins 1996: 6)

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### INTRODUCTION

Encompassing the lively debate that has occurred in the literature calling for more engagement between population geography, migration research and social theory (Findlay and Graham 1991; White and Jackson 1995; Halfacree and Boyle 1993; McKendrick 1999, and Lawson 2000), this chapter will review literature on identity. The chapter will discuss the complex issues surrounding the notion of identity and will offer a review of the work of three influential theorists: Anthony Giddens, Michel Foucault and Erving Goffman.

I will offer a contribution to the debate surrounding identity by considering how a place – or more so a change of place – impacts upon identity and is the site for identity (re)construction and (trans)formation. Giddens, Foucault and Goffman do not consider that a migration can – and does – alter and transform identities. I will therefore extend their approaches by theorising that a place (or social or group) identity is fluid and hence when a migration occurs, the place identity is subject to a (trans)formation which will encompass new place identities. As such, a migrant may

not have just one place (social / group) identity, but an identity that pertains to all the *different* places that they have lived. By turning the attention to identity rather than migration, this chapter is an attempt to better understand the complex processes between (non)migration and negotiating a (trans)formation of place identity.

I will demonstrate how my definition of identity is fluid and (trans)formable and as such the theory that I will adopt will be flexible and fluid also. I recognise and acknowledge the strengths and weaknesses in Giddens, Foucault and Goffman's work and consequently will use a 'pick and mix' approach by drawing upon ideas from each of their identity notions. I will refute Giddens' consideration of scale: place does matter even in a global world. At the same time, his theory of reflexivity and the constant construction of biography is useful to contextualise identity and migration. I will adopt Foucault's notion of power and identity: identities are a result, an effect of power relationships and therefore identities can be discriminating. Finally, I will develop Goffman's theory of stigma by suggesting that it can be attached according to place. This chapter will offer a new approach to previous theories of identity by explicitly considering place as being the site for identity (re)construction.

## **WHAT ABOUT IDENTITY?**

At some point in people's lives there is usually talk about identity: such as with reference to England, the difference arising from being seen as 'northern' as differentiated against those being seen as from 'down south'. Or for example, about the perceived uniqueness and differentness of a Liverpool identity: are Liverpudlians all witty and friendly or are they all thieves? How then would the identity of people

who have inhabited Liverpool change when (if) they left the city? And what is the process of any such change? These are general issues that arise from a consideration of identity: Who am I? Who are we? How do I know what I am? How do others know? How will others identify me? To what extent is it possible to be someone else? Is it possible to share an identity with someone else?

I acknowledge that identity should always be considered as fluid, as a process of 'being' or 'becoming' and not necessarily fixed and static in time and space. For instance, identity is under construction even after death. Jenkins (1996: 4) calls this a 'post mortem revision of identity' whereby (re)construction is achievable from beyond the grave. I will use the consideration of (social) identity as being (trans)formed by (social / place) experiences to investigate how, and if, identity is affected and (re)created after a (non)migration: that is, the impact of place, or a change of place, upon identities.

## **IDENTITY ACCORDING TO GIDDENS**

'What to do? How to act? Who to be? These are focal questions... and ones which, on some level or another, all of us answer, either discursively or through day-to-day social behaviour' (Giddens 1991: 70).

A good starting point in the literature would be Giddens, a modernist social theorist. His work originated from the differences between post-modern (traditional) and modern identity formation. In a series of related books, *The Consequences of Modernity* (1990), *Modernity and Self-Identity* (1991) and *The Transformation of Intimacy* (1992), Giddens provides an understanding of identity set within this

framework of modern and traditional societies. His focus is upon the orientation to 'self-identity' which is defined as 'the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography [narrative]' (Giddens 1991: 7). In other words, the self is constantly under reflexive construction. It is this understanding that is 'an essential part of what constitutes ourselves and others as persons' (Williams 2000: 44). Thus identities enable individuals to make sense of their narrative. For Giddens, identity is a subjective phenomenon being found 'in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going' (Giddens 1991: 53). These identities (understandings) are visible (signs) in behaviour and in the interpretation of individuals to one another's conduct (Williams 2000).

Therefore Giddens considers how identity is focused upon an individual's reflexive understanding of their own biography. According to Giddens, identity is not a reflection of the behaviour of individuals as such but it is the capacity to project a narrative. In this context, if there is interaction between individuals in a social world then their narrative cannot be wholly fictive. Hence the defining feature of identity, for Giddens, is an individual's ability to sustain their narrative.

In Giddens' understanding of a modern identity, lifestyle is unique to each person and as such gives 'material form to a particular narrative of self-identity' (Giddens 1991: 81). However, this is not applicable to traditional societies because the term 'lifestyle' implies choice and is thus adopted as opposed to handed down. Similarly, social reproduction in traditional societies is conditioned by place. Although the traditional individual has only limited access to distant persons and events (O'Brien *et al.* 1999) and is therefore also bound by place.

In contrast, in modernity, or modern societies, social reproduction is influenced by global structures. This is because everything 'out there' is immediately accessible and 'place' is considered a point of reference (O'Brien *et al.* 1999). As such, unlike in traditional societies the individual is not bound by place. Their culture (habits and customs) and hence their actions (behaviours and experiences) extend across their immediate locality (through for instance, the media, the Internet, global consumption and production). Giddens is dismissive of the impact of heritage and culture in modern societies, instead attributing identity to external and outside forces. Despite acknowledging on the one hand that 'everyone continues to live a local life' (Giddens 1991: 187) he fails to acknowledge, on the other, the impact of locality – or place – on self-identity.

Therefore Giddens refutes the link between place and identity because concepts such as globalisation and the media bring to people's attention 'what is out there'. However, this is just one reading of what it means to live in a global world. In fact, living in a global world can highlight the local – localisation – rather than globalisation.

### *Identity and modernity*

The term *modernity* is used by Giddens in a general sense 'to refer to the institutions and modes of behaviour established first of all in post-feudal Europe, but which in the twentieth century increasingly have become world-historical in their impact' (Giddens 1991: 14-15). His concept of modernity has three underlying elements: time and space, trust and reflexivity. They each steer social life away from the hold of pre-

established precepts or practices. Thus, modernity relates to the formation and transformation of self-identity. In conditions of modernity, there are always going to be transformations in identity because words, self and society are all interconnected (Giddens 1991). That is, changes in specific aspects of, say for instance, social life (such as marriage and remarriage) are directly related to the establishment of social connections at all localities. But how is identity *not* (trans)formed when a movement occurs, when specific aspects of, say social life, are altered and also transformed?

Giddens contrasts and compares identity transformation in traditional societies and modern societies (as a reflexive process). Identity transformation for the former was claimed to be more or less static from generation to generation. For these societies, changes in identity were 'clearly staked out' (Giddens 1991: 33) and were exclusively related to changes in the life cycle, such as the transition from childhood to adulthood.

By contrast, in modern societies, identity transformations are part of a reflexive process whereby personal change (for instance the life cycle) and social change are interconnected. Giddens supports this statement by using Wallerstein and Blakeslee's study on the 'new sense of self' (from Giddens 1991: 33). Instead of identity being passed down from generations, in modernity identity is reflexively mobilised through a process of 'reaching back to one's early experiences' (Giddens 1991: 33). Wallerstein and Blakeslee, according to Giddens, stress that identity deriving from learning and experience is a feature of modern social activity in relation to psychic organisations (Giddens 1991):

‘In such circumstances [and not only confined to crises] abstract systems become centrally involved not only in the institutional order of modernity but also the formation and continuity of the self’ (Giddens 1991: 33).

As such, Giddens suggests that the formation and transformation of identity in a setting of modernity is taken from the institutions and organisations that surround us. As opposed to traditional societies, Giddens suggests that the socialisation of children is increasingly dependent upon ‘the advice and instruction of experts’ (Giddens 1991: 33). These ‘experts’ include paediatricians, health carers and school teachers, rather than ‘on the direct initiation of one generation by other’ (Giddens 1991: 33) in traditional societies.

Therefore identity is developed through the loving attentions of early caretakers (for example parents) and experts (such as paediatricians). In this way, trust is the bond that makes the individual aware of others around them and differentiates between ‘me’ and ‘I’. Giddens suggests that the young child is a ‘going-on being’ as opposed to a ‘being’ which is then called into question by the nurturing environment (of trust) that the caretaker provides (Giddens 1991). It is this understanding of the infant ‘learning of what is not-me’ (Giddens 1991: 42) that guides the basis of identity formation and are constitutive of an acceptance, emotionally, of the reality of the ‘external world’ (Giddens 1991). Therefore, Giddens (1991) argues that identity is a phenomenon of reflexive awareness which is understood in relation to the individual’s biography. Hence identity is not something just given ‘but it has to be routinely created and sustained in the reflexive activities of the individual’ (Giddens 1991: 52).



Therefore, modernity breaks down the framework of traditional identity formation related to traditions, the life cycle, culture and place. Identity formation in modernity is replaced with social organisations and institutions. However, I argue that the social organisations and institutions are themselves affected by place and culture. As such, the dichotomy of either post (traditional) or late (modern) modernity is not convincing: discourses about self-identity are culturally and historically specific (Jenkins 1996). Similarly, change should not be considered a 'modern' concept. Think of the changes to identity that would have been brought about say, for instance by divided nations, by the Great Wars, by the changing gender roles, the divisions of labour. The list is endless.

### *The role of 'the body'*

The body, according to Giddens, is essential to sustaining an identity. In his works, Giddens relays the importance of the body as a site of the immersion of the interactions of life. He considers aspects of the body that have specific relevance to identity: appearance, demeanour, sensuality and regimes. First *appearance* is taken as a central element of identity and concerns all features on the surface of the body (including dress and accessories) that are visible to others. Hence this is the site where the individual's actions are interpreted, understood (and guessed). In this way, dress for instance, projects clues about socio-economic status and gender. I claim that appearance can also, to an extent, indicate place of habitation or the culture of an individual (who can deny the images of the 'shell suit wearing scouser' or the sari wearing Pakistani) – hence place identity. However Giddens fails to consider how place can influence dress.

Second, Giddens considers how *demeanour*, the ability of an individual to maintain appropriate behaviour in different social activities, has relevance for identity formation and continuation. The individual will adjust their behaviour according to the (perceived) demands of the social setting. The maintaining of demeanour is how self-identity is preserved through the relationship of “feeling at home in one’s body and the personalised narrative” (Giddens 1991: 100). Third, Giddens considers how sensuality is intrinsic to identity because it concerns the dispositional handling of pleasure and pain (Giddens 1991). Finally, the body is a subject to regimes and focuses on the creation of the body.

### *Identity and reflexivity*

In order to understand identity, Giddens (1991) suggests that the psychological make-up of an individual has to be considered. His contention of such is that ‘to be a human being is to know, virtually all of the time, in terms of some description or another, both what one is doing and why one is doing it’ (Giddens 1991: 35). Here Giddens is describing a characteristic of the reflexive standpoint of modern societies. It is also a determinant of human action where the circumstances of what we are doing, that is our activities (or lifestyle) are a feature of what we do. The monitoring of actions provides a discursive interpretation (or discursive consciousness) ‘of the nature of, and the reasons for, the behaviour in which they [we] engage’ (Giddens 1991: 35). Identity, according to Giddens, is a modern concept within which individuals reflexively produce a personal narrative. This enables the individual to understand themselves as being in control of their social lives (Jenkins 1996).

There are parallels between Giddens' notion of the reflexive biography and the work of Beck (1992). Beck argues that in modernity the emerging 'risk society' leads to reflexive modernisation which impacts on biographies and hence identities. Beck and Beck-Gernshiem (2002) draw upon Giddens' notion of a 'reflexive biography' to consider how, in modernity, individuals have to make efforts to produce a successful identity. By actively engaging in their biographies, the normal biography becomes the 'do-it-yourself biography' (Beck and Beck-Gernshiem 2002: 3). Beck and Beck-Gernshiem demonstrate how this type of biography is always a 'risk biography' because it opens up choice (although not happening *through* choice) to the individual and this can lead to 'bad luck':

'The 'do-it-yourself biography' is always a 'risk biography... The façade of prosperity, consumption, glitter can often mask the nearby precipice. The wrong choice of career or just the wrong field, compounded by the downward spiral of private misfortune, divorce, illness, the repossessed home – all this is merely called back luck' (Beck and Beck-Gernshiem 2002: 3).

Using Giddens' notion of a reflexive biography and drawing from Beck and Beck-Gernshiem's idea of the 'do-it-yourself' biography, I will consider how a (non)migration, that is to move or stay, impacts upon the self and (trans)forms identity. I believe that the decisions that people make (within a (non)migration context) will, no matter what the outcome is (whether they move or stay), impact upon their reflexive biographies. That is, the way that (non)migrants reflexively understand their own self will be moulded and shaped, and hence transformed by the event of deciding whether to stay or go. In short, a (non)migration will alter their reflexive biographies and as a result their identities will be transformed by and

through the decision that they made. In other words, I propose that this is a time when identity is subject to transition as the individual acquires their status as either migrant or (non)migrant. As such, their decision will impact upon their reflexively created biographies. Hence, Giddens' account of the reflexive biography provides an opportunity to explore the decision and the outcome of the (non)migration processes.

The concept of reflexivity is central to Giddens' ideas about identity and identity formation. However there are problems associated with the theory of reflexivity and identity. First I should note that Giddens' notion pays no consideration to place difference; that is between what may be true for one society and not another. This is illustrated when Giddens' fails to acknowledge place and how place plays a part in the formation – or more so the transformation – of identity. As such, I argue that different places (or societies) have different modes of narrative and different forms of networks and hence different identities pertain to different places.

Similarly, Giddens also fails to acknowledge politics and the extent to which this may play a part in identity. For Giddens there is no politics of reflexivity (O'Brien *et al.* 1999) and because of this there is no account of how reflexivity produces a social system that is relevant to one particular society rather than another. His basic concept is that reflexivity is intrinsic to human societies: but which one? All of them? What about the differences between north and south, between rich and poor, between east and west? O'Brien *et al.* (1999) also argues that the reflexive monitoring of action that Giddens proposes cannot bring about identity (trans)formation because to do this it must be able to reproduce change under any given circumstances: 'politically, it [reflexivity] is equivalent to random energy, going everywhere and nowhere at the

same time' (O'Brien *et al.* 1999: 25). Under Giddens' terms however, reflexive thinking cannot bring about this change if reflexivity is the basis for all identity.

The theory of reflexivity is central to the transition from traditional to modern societies (O'Brien *et al.* 1999). However there is evidence that even in traditional societies, there are processes that lead to a weakening of traditional controls (such as life cycle and tradition) in the development of self-reflexivity (Rose 1995). O'Brien *et al.* (1999) view reflexivity as not constitutive of all social action whether within modernity or pre-modern societies. I agree with their criticisms. However I also agree with Giddens' theory that all people are to some extent self-determining and are, therefore, self-reflexive. Transformation and progression of the social world always entails reflexivity. However it does not follow that there are recognisable differences between the types of reflexivity found in traditional and modern contexts (O'Brien *et al.* 1999: 84-85).

While focusing upon the critical dimension of modern identity, Giddens' draws upon Mead's work on social psychology of the self and aspects of this psychological tradition to retain a concept of an 'inner core of self-identity' (Giddens 1991: 100). This concept however should be contested. Giddens grounds both 'self' and 'identity' in reflexivity (O'Brien *et al.* 1999). By doing so he exposes a dualism between the two. The 'self' is grounded in the sense of the 'reflexive monitoring of action'. This is how individuals, through every-day actions, keep in touch with the world.

*Identity and migration*

When examining identity and its relationship with place, it is important to consider how movement from one place to another can effectively form and transform identity. There is an interconnectivity of place and identity. Thus the movement from one place to another can, for instance, shape consciousness, unify and (trans)form identity. Identity is therefore tied up to borders in space and place. I oppose Giddens' argument that locality is not a determinant of identity in modernity. Identities are not static. Therefore, when people migrate they take with them the identity that was formed within their origin. However the destination place – or more so experiences and lifestyles within the destination place – will also play a role in the (trans)formation of identity. Thus identities are fluid and plastic and ongoing. Events in the past influence the identity of the future just as events of the future will influence identity of the past.

Identities are therefore associated, just as Giddens described, to lifestyle choices. Although these choices differ according to place: a consideration of not just one – modern – society, but all the societies in a changing world. Different lifestyles and lifestyle choices lead to different constructions of narratives. People have different choices and hence lead different lifestyles in different places. This is made explicit when considering the impact that Liverpool's economic decline has had upon the lifestyles of the people who inhabit Liverpool lead. For instance, the rising unemployment levels will impact upon people's lifestyles so that lifestyles are (further) moulded and shaped by the changing economy and employment structure of the city (see chapter 2).

Thus identities are an ongoing process: it is a performance re-enacted through daily life (Pratt 1998). Using employers and employees in Worcester, Massachusetts, Pratt (1998) provides an example of how place *enables* particular identities. She highlights how different groups of individuals, both intentionally and unintentionally, create local labour markets. These markets have ‘the effect of enabling and imposing different family and gender relations, as well as class and racial identities, on individuals living in different parts of the city’ (Pratt and Hanson 1995, from Pratt 1998: 28-29). Pratt concludes by saying that it is the labour markets, at the local scale, that transform the identities of women living in the locality. Events, therefore that occur at a particular place impact in some way upon the identity of the people of that place. Giddens however fails to consider this notion in modern societies, instead, relating it only to traditional societies.

When considering identity, Giddens attempts to answer epistemological questions such as ‘how is identity manifested in the world?’ and ‘how is the world manifested in identity?’. His attempt at linking the social and political aspects of modernity with the cultural and psychological contours of self-development does represent at least a partial explanation of identity (O’Brien *et al.* 1999). However in order to consider identity (trans)formations that come hand-in-hand with a migration, that is, a change of place it is important to also consider difference. By this I mean, place and culture are essential to the individual’s identity on the basis that socially constructed inequalities surround them: socially constructed similarities and differences. These ‘social divisions’ (O’Brien *et al.* 1999: 162), or similarities and differences, equate to differential treatment or labelling, and to exclusion or inclusion. However Giddens does not consider how these social divisions – social differences – may form and

transform identity. Nevertheless, his concept of reflexivity provides a useful and appropriate tool for understanding and interpreting how (non)migration impacts upon identity.

The works of Foucault and Goffman will be considered in the following sections and will offer an alternative interpretation of identity. Giddens fails to acknowledge the impact that power has upon identity (trans)formation. Foucault however does, and this can be established as one of the central features to his concept. The next section will provide an overview of Foucault's contribution to identity. After which the social differences and the impact that this has upon identity (trans)formation that both Giddens and Foucault fail to investigate to any extent will be reviewed using Goffman's reasoning on identity.

## **IDENTITY ACCORDING TO FOUCAULT**

According to Giddens, the individual has an inner essence, a quality beneath the surface that determines who the individual really is. Foucault, on the other hand, rejects this view and instead advocates identity as a discourse; as such it is a way of talking about oneself. Foucault therefore refutes the idea that people have a real identity that is within them, that is part of their essential make-up and who they are. Instead, the inner-self is part of a discourse, it is how people talk about the self and therefore not an essential part of identity. That is, identity is communicated to others, through others, by interactions with other people. It is therefore not fixed and not inherent *within* a person.



Foucault's purpose for understanding identity was to create a history of the different modes by which, in culture, human beings are made subjects (Foucault 1980). This suggests that there is a relationship between identity and subjectivity. Indeed, Foucault uses the term 'subjectivity' to describe the way in which 'identity emerges from the interactions of discourses, ideologies and institutional practices rather than being a product of the self-governing conscious self' (Reeve 2002: 503). Fundamental to his idea of identity and subjectivity is what is inside and outside the individual and therefore what is internalised by the individual. Thus Foucault suggests that the interconnectiveness of relations of power together with cultural processes are responsible for shaping identity. Indeed, Foucault's main concept has been linked to the suggestion that all knowledge (discourse) is embedded ineluctably in power relations or 'power-knowledge' (McNay 1994: 2). The effect of thinking of identity logic in this way has been to encompass 'difference' or 'otherness'. Foucault's acknowledgement of power forms the guiding thread of this review of his understanding of identity.

### *Identity and power*

The idea of identity as being communicated through others (identity through discourse) is similar to Goffman's idea of identity as being a performance: this performance is interpreted in different ways by different audiences. However neither Giddens or, as you will see, Goffman, consider the implication of power and identity. Foucault's understanding of the relationship between power and identity has shifted somewhat from a negative view of power in his early works (such as in *Madness and Civilisation* (1967)) to addressing the issue of power as an essentially *positive*

phenomenon (such as in *Discipline and Punish* (1977)): '[Power] which permeates all levels of society, engendering a multiplicity of relations other than those simply of domination' (McMay 1994: 90). As such, power is both totalising and individualising. Therefore power relations are central to (trans)forming and (re)creating identity: 'this form of power applies itself to everyday life which categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others have to recognise in him' (Foucault 1982 from McNay 1994: 120-121).

In doing so, Foucault asserts that power underlies social relations and is therefore an enabling force. He uses the idea of governmentality to examine this explicitly and broadens the category of power by distinguishing between negative power (such as violence and domination) and enabling power. Hence, Foucault recognises that on the one hand power constrains individuals while on the other it constitutes the condition of possibility of their freedom (McNay 1994). As such, he attempts to break down the reflexive subject. It is through this examination into the collapse of the subject as being fully reflexive, unified and rational, that Foucault refutes the idea of the subject as the sole origin of meaning. Instead he acknowledges that the subject is a secondary by-product of discursive formations (McNay 1994: 6). Therefore, rather than being central to power, the subject is in fact the *effect* of power.

In this way, Foucault defines *governmentality* as being both an objectifying force and a subjectifying force that designates a broad array of different relations, such as the relationship between the state and its subjects and the self. Using this term he

describes how the categorisation process of identity should not be removed from processes of governmentality.

In relation to my research, Foucault's suggestion of the production of power is to be acknowledged when interpreting social (place / group) identity construction and resultant (social / place / group) identity categorisation. I suggest that identity is constructed and (trans)formed according to the place(s) you inhabit. Therefore social identities arise from place and resultant identity categorisations. A Liverpool place identity, in part, has resulted from its disadvantaged economic position. Power relationships have been shaped by the economic (under)performance and resultant (un)employment situation (etc) and as such relationships between people and the way that they talk about themselves – the discourse of identity – are essentially an effect of the power relations and hence the disadvantaged position.

In his early works (e.g. *Madness and Civilisation* (1967)), Foucault considers power as being a negative force on the self. For instance, apparently therapeutic practices of psychology, psychiatry and psychoanalysis were 'instrumental in depriving mad individuals of a voice by constructing their disorders in the univocally negative language of mental illness' (McNay 1994: 2). In doing so, Foucault acknowledges the essentially negative view of power expressed in strategies of expulsion and exclusion. However, from the mid-1970s onwards, Foucault reformulates power as a positive and heterogeneous force. Despite this reformulation, his work has a tendency to fall back into a negative view of power. Thus at times Foucault lapses from a positive notion of power to a historical vision in which power relations are conceived of as negative and domatory (McNay 1994).

*Deviance*

Foucault's early work attacks Enlightenment thought by suggesting its implications in certain social practices have led to the marginalisation and silencing of namely 'mad' individuals. In so doing, Foucault attacks the rational subject. In his move towards a more positive and explicit concern with power, Foucault develops his notion of deviance. By considering contemporary notions of sexuality, Foucault rejects the assumption that individuals have a deep inferiority (expressed for instance in the concept of the soul) (McNay 1994). Thus Foucault acknowledges the 'other' to claim that individuals are subject to insidious power, operating not through the form of direct repression but through less visible strategies of 'normalisation' (McNay 1994: 5).

However, as Foucault moves towards a more explicit consideration of power, his understanding of the 'other' is (trans)formed. He no longer perceives the 'other' as being on the margins of society but as an effect of power relations that permeate the social realm. The 'other' is the result of resistance to dominatory forces. In this (re)consideration, domination and resistance are no longer conceived of as ontologically different but as opposing effects of the same power relations (McNay 1994). It is the labelling of groups or individuals as deviant that provides them with a coherent identity from which resistant counter-identities may be formulated. That is, Foucault's idea of division, rejection and essentially 'otherness', as illustrated in *Madness and Civilisation* (1967), refers to the ways in which 'rational' discourse necessarily derogates and excludes the discourses and experiences of the 'other' in order to maintain the integrity of its own identity.

As you will see in the following section, Goffman considers stigma as a result of negative or deviant categorisations. Foucault on the other hand suggests that stigmatised individuals construct 'counter discourses' and 'counter-identification' (Mills 2003: 91) and may thus revel in their deviance. He illustrates this point by considering the stereotypical image of homosexuality:

'In nineteenth century texts there is a stereotypical portrait of the homosexual or invert: not only his mannerisms, his bearing, the way he gets dolled up, his coquetry, but also his facial expressions, his anatomy, the feminine morphology of his whole body are regularly included in this disparaging description' (Foucault 1985: 18).

Hence the image of homosexuality has come to stand for homosexuality. The image has a complex relation to homosexual behaviour and self-representation since 'actual behaviours may have corresponded [to this image] through a complex play of inductions and attitudes of defiance' (Foucault 1985: 18). Identities should not be assumed as stable, rather as subversive ways of using positions (stigmas) that have been mapped out for us by others (Mills 2003).

Foucault however fails to consider the theory of subjectivity and he therefore is unable to explain how, despite the normalising forces that determine the process of subjectification, individuals are never subsumed entirely by this (McNay 1994: 165). In so doing, Foucault does not acknowledge the excluded other subjectively which therefore hinders recognition of the social and historical forces that routinely and persistently construct 'difference as otherness' (McNay 1994: 5-6).

*The role of 'the body'*

Arising from the idea of history or 'genealogy', Foucault considers the concepts of power and the body. For Foucault, the body is the centre of the struggle between different power formations. As a result, the body – identity – is then shaped and re-shaped by the different forces acting upon it. Foucault suggests that the solidity of the body should be seen as a surface through which events are inscribed. Hence, political happenings have material effects upon the body. Foucault therefore suggests that the body is a historical, cultural and political entity (Mills 2003) and should be viewed differently depending upon the historical and social context. Thus, according to Foucault, the body is always subject to change and cannot be regarded as neutral. In this way the body can be regarded as a site for identity (re)construction and (trans)formation:

‘It is not that the beautiful totality of the individual is amputated, repressed, altered by our social order, it is rather that the individual is carefully fabricated within it, according to a whole technique of forces and bodies’ (Foucault 1977)

Therefore for Foucault, power is centred upon the individual and the body. A focus on the body is more important than focusing upon the individual because it is the body (and not some inner essence) that is the site for identity formation. As such, the individual is an effect of the body (in a similar way that identity is an effect of power relations) rather than an essence:

‘The individual is not to be conceived of as a sort of elementary nucleus... on which power comes to fasten... In fact, it is already one of the prime

effects of power that certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires, come to be identified and constituted as individuals' (Foucault 1980: 98).

That is, the body is the medium for identity formation of individuals. However Wickham suggests 'the notion of bodies as the target of power is part of Foucault's attempt to avoid the liberal conception of individuals as unconstrained creative essences' (Wickham 1986: 155, from Mills 2003: 82).

### *Place identity*

Foucault's theory of identity rejects the view that people have an 'inner core' that makes them who they are. Instead, identities are (trans)formed through, and by, social interactions and experiences and are the result of (positive) power relations. As such, according to Foucault the only identity is a social identity which is (trans)formed according to these power relations. Therefore social identities are also group identities and as I propose, also place identities: people from specific places have specific, place-related group identities. Membership is positioned by internal and external collective definitions: those who recognise and are recognised by others as being specific 'group members' (Jenkins 1996: 84) constitute the group to which they belong. It is this process, 'in being identified by its members and the relationships between them' (Jenkins 1996: 84) that establishes a group.

However, Foucault suggests that members of specific collectivities might not recognise their collective identification (Jenkins 1996): they may never recognise it or they may recognise it only once their circumstances change (for instance through a

migration). Why do people with the same social identity (or from the same place) display, or are seen (believed) to display, similar modes of behaviour? The reason behind this is that it is human nature to conform. In other words, they hold a desire to act in the correct way (whatever that may be), behind which lies an inherent desire to be accepted and liked by others (Jenkins 1996).

As such, conformity is beneficial to individuals. This is because, if a group identity is attached, as Foucault proposes, then others will therefore know what to expect and how the individual will act: 'in identifying with a shared cultural setting (however minimal it may seem) is to render the (resultant) behaviour of others easier to predict' (Jenkins 1996: 124). Hence these differences and similarities are the concepts in which people use to define their own identities.

It is important when considering a place identity to contextualise whether or not a single social (place / group) identity exists: in this case a Liverpool identity. However not all Liverpool people (past and present) experience the same behaviours. For instance some people have a Liverpool accent while others do not, some people conform to the visual and stereotypical image of 'Scousers' and have the curly hair and sport a moustache along with the shell-suit tracksuit while others do not. Depending upon specific place-related behaviours, people can suffer from (place identity) discrimination. In this way, Foucault warns against the dangers of privileging one form of (group) identity over the other (McNay 1992).

Does this therefore mean that there are differences between the characteristics of people from Liverpool compared to the characteristics of people from other places? I



have touched upon the idea of Liverpool people as having a distinctive (social) identity because simply they inhabit (past and present) Liverpool (in the context of being a different place to other places). However it may not be that they have a different or distinct identity. Instead I suggest that difference (in terms of place) is how people make sense of their own identity (as being different to): accordingly identity is constructed by and through similarity and difference. In this way, people make sense of who they are when they compare and contrast other people as being different to who they are.

Thus, using Foucault's notion of identity, the categorisation or identification of people into different social groups is used by individuals' in order to construct their own identity as an identity that is different or similar to other identities. This categorisation is a result of power relationships: identity is an *effect* of power relations. However, Foucault does not consider the impact that a (non)migration will, or may, have upon social (place) identities. What happens when somebody with a Liverpool identity leaves? Will they still have a Liverpool identity? Or an identity that pertains to their destination place? Or both? I suggest, like Foucault, that identity is transformable: it is fluid. Foucault however only acknowledges identity as being fluid according to discourse and power relations. He pays no consideration to how identity can, and is, (trans)formed and (re)constructed through a change of place which may occur after a migration.

Hence, neither Foucault nor Giddens consider the role of place (or a change of place) upon identity. While Goffman does not explicitly consider this impact, he does however acknowledge how social interactions, reactions and hence biographies

change according to *where* (in this context, the place) they are performed. The following section will review Goffman's theory of identity and will draw upon his theory of stigmatised identities.

## IDENTITY ACCORDING TO GOFFMAN

By turning to consider the works of Goffman I can better understand how identity is (trans)formed and (re)created during the (non)migration process. His work reveals how social experiences can, and do, transform – and are crucial to – identity. Goffman, a product of the Chicago School, writes from a symbolic interactionist perspective. Through sociological and psychological analysis, he explores the concepts of identity: individual identity versus group identity, the impact of the environment on identity and the movement and interaction of information in identity (trans)formation.

His perspective also provides an insight into the nature of social interaction and the psychology of the individual. The 'dramaturgical approach' that Goffman (1969: 240) adopts allows focus on the modes of presentation employed by the individual (or actor) and its meaning in the broader social context. The differences therefore between Goffman's work to Giddens' and Foucault's is already apparent: Goffman considers social differences as being key to differences in identity (trans)formation; Foucault considers the impact that power has on the body as being the site for identity (trans)formation; while Giddens on the other hand considers institutions as being central to the formation of the self.

Interaction viewed as a 'performance' is central to Goffman's (1969) identity formation. The performance is shaped by both the environment and who the individual (or actor) is performing to, that is, the audience. The performance is constructed according to the desired goals of the actor and the 'impressions' that they wish to convey (Goffman 1969). In other words, identity is dependent upon the social conditions of the performance and the social aims of the actor. The vehicle for the construction of the character and hence identity can be seen in *Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity* (Goffman 1963).

Goffman focuses on the movement between social spaces and the importance of recreation of the self in different environments. In his book, *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* (1969), Goffman states that in order to define the self, a performance in consequential action has to be involved. That is, an action that involves risks. However this action might not be fully available in everyday life (or as Giddens would state, everyday lifestyles) and as a consequence, individuals may be drawn to activities that involve risk taking (such as gambling) and might therefore be seen as deviant. As such, the experience of the risk taking, or action, may become more important than social perception in defining character. The action does not have to be disreputable (for example, a migration) but Goffman (1969) argues they are occasions that show respect for the moral character. Hence he depicts extraordinary circumstances as a means of developing the identity central to the experience of everyday life.

While Goffman does not explicitly consider the implications of a migration in developing, or (re)constructing identity, his discussion of risk taking can be used to

better understand the processes behind identity (trans)formation after a move. According to Goffman, if I consider a migration as a risk, then the risk (the move) can be – and is – as important in the construction of identity as everyday social experiences. In other words, a migration will impact upon the identity of the migrant in that the social environments and experiences (the stages) before and after the move, along with the act itself, will (trans)form the identity of the individual.

In *Stigma*, Goffman (1963) qualifies the term ‘identity’ by the use of three different senses (Williams 2000): personal identity, social identity and ego (or felt) identity. First, Goffman refers to personal identity as that ‘which distinguishes an individual from all others’ (Goffman 1963: 74). The definition focuses on ways in which an individual has a unique set of characteristics that are uniquely their own. It is on the basis of these characteristics that comprise an individual’s personal identity. The defining feature of Goffman’s personal identity is that each individual is just that, uniquely represented (and hence identifiable). In situations of modernity it is this sense of identity that (usually) corresponds to what counts as legal identity (Williams 2000). Personal identity can then be considered as an ‘identity peg’ (the image or trace of the person such as photographic and dental evidence) and also the unique place that is occupied by the individual within a network of relationships and history (Williams 2000).

Social identity of the other hand was a term used by Goffman to reflect the fact that we have available to us ‘the means of categorising persons and the complement of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural for members of each of these categories’ (1963: 11). This form of identity therefore refers to the attributes that individuals

share by virtue of a common membership of a social category (Williams 2000: 7). Goffman states that cultural attributes in particular equate to a common membership, or a social identity. This 'social identity' is particularly important to consider according to the grounds of this research.

Does this mean therefore that the social identity of people from Liverpool is unique to people from Liverpool? And that people from Liverpool must therefore be unique compared to other people in other places? I agree with Goffman's reasoning that place – or culture – equates to different social identities (e.g., the Chinese have a different identity to, say, the British). However I do not agree that each social identity will be individual to each and every place. Rather, there are small differences (both human and non-human) that are consistent to changes in cultural tendencies and changes in social and political structures. I do not proclaim, therefore that the Liverpool social identity means, for instance, that Liverpool people will (automatically) be funnier and nicer and friendlier to other people in elsewhere places (and vice versa).

This is not to say that social identity is not affected by changes in place. Liverpool people are open to interpretation (or as Goffman states, performances) by other people from other places based on similarity and difference. In other words, because of Liverpool being, since the 1970s, so economically disadvantaged (and therefore 'different') as compared to other places, the social identity of people from Liverpool is (trans)formed by this and it is in this way that the identity of people from Liverpool has been shaped: through similarity and difference.

Goffman stressed the importance of identity as being validated by others as well as the individual. He described this as 'the presentation of the self' during interaction (Goffman 1969). The actors have control (even though it is limited) over the signals that they send out to others (the audience) about themselves. For instance, an actor may speak in such a way to limit or maximise their local accent under different circumstances. However signals may be interpreted differently by the audience. Goffman stressed the importance of 'impression management strategies' in the construction of social identities (Jenkins 1996: 22).

These strategies form the interface between 'virtual social identity' and 'actual social identity'. The distinction between the two is that 'virtual' is 'assumed and unchallenged' while 'actual' is 'demonstrated and proven' (Manning 1992: 97). The two are interconnected because as we identify others, we are in turn identified by them. The 'virtual' and 'actual' identities are grounded in Goffman's understanding of 'social identity' which he referred to as the process of 'categorising persons and the complement of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural for members of each of these categories' (1963: 11).

As such, Goffman distinguishes personal identity from social identity. Personal identity is an embodied uniqueness and a specifically individual set of facts organised as a history or biography (Jenkins 1996: 73). This however is not to be confused with reflexive selfhood: 'social and personal identity are part, first of all, of other persons' concerns and definitions regarding the individual whose identity is in question' (Goffman 1968: 129). Just as Jenkins (1996) argues, I agree that the distinctions of social and personal, virtual and actual are not that helpful: all human identities are

social identities. Problems arise from the virtual and actual distinction of identity because to use 'actual', 'is to imply that one is more real than the other' (Jenkins 1996: 74).

The last aspect of Goffman's understanding of identity is the ego (or felt) identity. This can be differentiated from personal and social identity because it is defined as: 'the subjective sense of his [sic] own situation and his [sic] continuity and character that an individual comes to obtain as a result of his [sic] various social experiences' (Goffman 1968: 129). In other words it is 'a general and central aspect of him, making him different through and through, not merely identifiably different' (Goffman 1963: 56). Therefore this sense of identity is felt rather than ascribed (Burns 1992) and as such differs from a personal and social sense of identity.

Differences therefore between Goffman and Giddens are apparent. For instance, Giddens considers only similarity and fails to consider difference. He suggests that all places, within a context of modernity, are affected by the same forces and the same social institutions. For Giddens, all lifestyles are the same as are the experiences, for they are guided by the actions (or beliefs) of the social organisations and institutions that surround: discourses impact upon identity. Goffman on the other hand, believes that the actions of individuals are at the forefront of identity (re)construction and (trans)formation: what they *do* impacts upon identity. Therefore individuals have identities that are unique to their own experiences. The identity of the individual, according to Goffman is very much dependent upon the performances and images of lifestyle that the individual projects.

*Identity and stigma*

When Goffman considers identity, he draws a parallel between an individual's everyday activities and the way they present (or perform) themselves to others (the audience). His concept of identity focuses upon the role that individual's perform and it is this performance (or role) that eventually infuses into their personality and hence identity. Goffman's notion allows an acknowledgement that different places have different ideals – norms – of how people should 'act'.

Goffman refers to identity as being negotiated within interactions (see Goffman 1969; 1968). Within these interactional 'frames' (specific social settings), individuals project an image of themselves (virtual identity) for acceptance (or not) by others. Their performance is their attempt at making a good impression and to appear creditable to others and is determined through the relationship between self-image and public image (Jenkins 1996: 71). As a result the audience labels the actor (according to their perceived identity).

It is in this sense that the identities of people who have inhabited Liverpool (past or present) have been moulded by performances that specific individuals give, that is, based on the social experiences that they have encountered in their place (Liverpool). Therefore, people from Liverpool may dress in a particular way to conform to common values (e.g. the shell-suit tracksuit!). Think back to Giddens' concept of the body and how appearance leads to interpretations of the individual's actions. Although he does not consider how appearances may vary according to specific



places, he does however acknowledge how the body (appearance, demeanour, sensuality and regimes) has specific relevance to identity.

Goffman also suggests what happens when the interpretation does not follow what the performer (actor) intended. He calls this a spoiled or stigmatised identity: 'the situation of the individual who is disqualified from full social acceptance' (Goffman 1963: 9). In *Stigma*, Goffman (1963) examines the discrepancies between an individual's virtual social identity (how their performances are interpreted by others) and their actual social identity (the attributes and characteristics the individual might possess). Stigma therefore represents the gap between virtual and social identity (Jenkins 1996).

More recently the term stigma and the processes behind the (trans)formation of a stigmatised identity has been positioned within wider society. It has been extended to include the stigma attached to specific places (social identity or place identity) and not merely individual identities (see also Bush *et al.* 2001; Gregory *et al.* 1996). Bush *et al.* (2001: 47) draw upon Goffman's work on stigma. Through their study exploring public perceptions of the risks to health from air pollution in Teesside, north-east England, they examine the concepts of how a stigmatised identity can develop in relation to the place where you live. They conclude that because of the 'stigma symbols' (Bush *et al.* 2001: 53) which dominate the place, the people who inhabit the place consequently suffer from a spoiled (stigmatised) identity. Likewise I will explore the notion that a Liverpool identity is stigmatised. However I will not consider the stigmatisation from a place-people perspective in that the landscapes of the place determine the identities of the people who inhabit the space. Rather I will

consider how the stigmatised identity is shaped by contemporary differentness (such as socio-economic) to other places.

Therefore Goffman's idea of a stigmatised identity is important for this research. The narratives in the following chapters (5 and 6) reveal that people from Liverpool may (or may not) have (suffer from) a stigmatised identity simply because of the place they inhabit (past and present) and hence their place identity. But why does Liverpool (as a place) and the people who inhabit it suffer from this stigmatised identity? Liverpool has social and economic landscapes associated with post-industrialisation, poverty, decline, deprivation, dereliction (*et cetera*) that makes it different (and at the same time, similar) to other places. Goffman writes that the landscapes (or characteristics of a person) are 'continuously available for perception' (Goffman 1963: 124). In order to consider a stigmatised identity (or a different identity) it is also useful to also acknowledge those who are doing the labelling: 'it is not to the *different* that one should look for understanding of *differentness* but to the ordinary' (Goffman 1969: 152, emphasis added).

### *Identity and migration*

While not explicitly associating a (non)migration with place-identity (trans)formation, Goffman does however suggest that a change of locality will impact to some (un)certain extent on the individual's biography:

'When an individual leaves a community [origin] after residing there for some years, he leaves a personal identification behind, often with a well-rounded biography attached, including assumptions as to how he is likely

to 'end up'. In his current community [destination] the individual will develop a biography in others' minds too' (Goffman 1963: 78).

While Goffman touches upon the impact that a change of place (a (non)migration) may have upon a persons' biography, he fails however to acknowledge how a place identity can be encompassed by the individual at both the origin and destination. In other words, Goffman's suggestion of this fails to go beyond an examination into the impact that this movement will have upon the biography at the origin and the biography at the destination. In doing so, he uses the idea of *stigmatisation* – or discrepancies in the biographies at the origin and destination – as the backdrop to this notion. Thus Goffman acknowledges more so the impact that a move has upon 'biographical (dis)continuity' rather than considering explicitly the impact that a move has upon a persons' place identity. That is, Goffman fails to develop the impact of a migration upon identity beyond his theory of stigmatisation: 'biography discontinuity' (Goffman 1963: 78). Referring directly to geographic spaces rather than institutions, I will expand Goffman's notion to guide an examination into how identities can become stigmatised according to place.

#### *Further considerations*

Contrary to the work of Giddens, yet similarly to Foucault, Goffman's concept of identity places less emphasis upon the role of the individual in their own identity formation and more upon normal every-day interactions. Goffman therefore suggests that 'the normative requirements and patterning of interaction in such environments provide the templates for the construction of self and identity' (from Williams 2000: 96). Accordingly, his theory of identity offers a unique presentation of the self.

However, I argue against Goffman's notion of a unique self. Instead I suggest that identity is (trans)formed and (trans)formable by what (and therefore who) surrounds you. In this way, identity is shaped by relations and performances which in turn shape collective, social identities, hence the existence of place identities.

Goffman's contribution to knowledge has been recognised. However there are some general points of criticism attached to his work. In his understanding of the self Goffman ignores the subjective reality that people in interaction with others will therefore all have. This interaction will be unique and will (trans)form individual identities (Williams 2000). Instead, Goffman examines the 'principled ways in which such personal histories are given place and the framework of normative understanding this implies' (Goffman 1963: 62). Despite focusing upon the social provisions of identity frameworks as mentioned, Goffman does not consider subjectivity, or how an understanding of identity incorporates subjective realities (Williams 2000): it is unnecessary to 'rely overly for data upon what the person says he thinks he imagines himself to be' (Goffman 1963: 119, from Williams 2000: 97).

## CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have discussed different theories of identity, emphasising the value of contributions from Giddens, Foucault and Goffman and acknowledging the inherent problems with each of their conceptualisations of identity. For instance, Giddens' definition does not account for locality: Foucault's account of power as an enabling force often slips back into acknowledging power as a negative phenomenon: while Goffman's suggestion of the impact of locality does not go beyond an examination

into the discontinuity of a biography or 'place' as an institutional form. Just as the methodology is dependent upon the research in question, the concept of identity is dependent upon the theoretical questions asked (Williams 2000). In this way in one instance an understanding of identity might be dominant while in others it may be subordinate.

As such, my definition of identity is fluid and therefore the theories that I adopt will also be fluid and flexible. Hence, rather than focusing upon one theory – a sort of 'best fit' model – I have instead adopted a 'pick and mix' approach. By doing so, I recognise and acknowledge the strengths and weaknesses of the notions from the work of the three theorists and choose the best and most applicable ideas from each.

It is useful to consider Giddens' theory of the 'reflexive biography' in order to understand the relationship between (non)migration and identity. A (non)migration will impact upon a reflexive understanding of the self. I will offer a contribution to Giddens' notion of identity because I will consider place as impacting upon identity. That is, I refute his notion that in modernity, place does not matter and instead advocate that a migration impacts upon a persons' biography and therefore upon the reflexive monitoring of action. It is in this sense that I will use Giddens' theory of a 'reflexive biography' to understand the impact that a migration has upon identity.

Using Foucault I will acknowledge power relationships in identity formation. According to Foucault, identity is an *effect* of power relationships and as such, identities can be discriminating. Therefore I will use Foucault's notion of power to demonstrate the relationship between the identity of people from Liverpool, deviance

and difference. I also offer a contribution to the discussions of identity by adapting Goffman's theory by acknowledging stigma and how it pertains to place. I propose that identity is fluid, that it is subject to change, (re)creation and (trans)formation according to the social experiences of the individual. 'Social experiences' differ according to place. In other words a place identity for one person at one place will be (re)constructed at another place: if a move occurs then a new place identity evolves that encompasses both the origin(s) and destination(s) identities.

By offering a review of the works of Giddens, Foucault and Goffman, I have developed a unique and flexible re-worked notion of identity that will support the empirical evidence presented in chapters 5 and 6. Empirical evidence will be presented in chapter 5 to suggest that a person can have an identity that incorporates, and encompasses all places that they have lived. People need to feel they belong to specific place(s) and hence they attempt to reconstruct their place (or group or social) identity around the places that they have lived.

## Chapter 5

# Place matters

*'To be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have to know your place'*  
(Relph 1976: 1)

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### INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to set the scene for subsequent discussions by exploring the construction of place, place identity and place attachment. The contexts within which people construct a place identity and attachment to place will be considered using empirical evidence. The chapter is split into three main sections: place, place identity and place attachment.

The first section examines the concept of place and acts as an introduction, a basis to the theory to be presented in the subsequent two sections. In this section I will review previous definitions of *place* and will offer a revised definition to support the evidence within the narratives. By doing so I suggest an alternative consideration of place that focuses on relationships formed with and by people within the geographic entity of place. I argue against the notion that a place identity is dependent upon a relationship with and between the physical landscapes and location of place. People differentiate between themselves and others by encompassing a feeling of being

different, being unique to other people of other places. However, I suggest that people of specific places are not unique or different to other people of other places and instead a perceived uniqueness is used to enable individuals to make sense of their own place identity: it enables a conscious understanding of place identity.

The second section will examine how place identity is constructed and the impact that a (non)migration has upon place identity. The main part of this section will use empirical evidence to support my notion that place identity is transferable so that all the places that a (non)migrant has lived will be encompassed into their own self. In other words, place identities are not replaceable but are fluid and dynamic: they are transformable. This section will work towards developing a new theory that acknowledges place (or relationships and experiences within) as being a site for identity (re)construction. I will refute previous ideas that a place identity only develops in relation to positive experiences.

The final section of the chapter introduces the concept of place attachment. I focus on the impact that a migration has upon place attachment and propose three factors that affect attachment to place after a migration: length of time spent in the place, whether-or-not you have grown up in the place and whether-or-not you still have family (rootedness) residing in the place. This chapter therefore builds upon the literature presented in the previous chapter by developing the importance of place – and indeed a change of place – in identity (re)construction and (trans)formation.



## PLACE

Since the early 1990s, and with the upsurge in all things cultural in geography, the concept of place has been enjoying something of a renaissance. The existential importance and significance of place has been recognised in fundamental definitions that characterise places as the ‘focus of meanings or intention, either culturally or individually defined’ (Relph 1976: 55) or, for instance, entities, which ‘incarnate the experience and aspirations of people’ (Tuan 1977: 181). However the concept of place is not easily definable.

In order to make it more definable, Oakes (1997) first offers a description of what place is *not*. Place, Oakes (1997) details is not ‘community’, a (non)connection already considered in the work of Pred (1986) and Agnew (1989). Nor is it ‘locality’, ‘region’, ‘nation’ or even ‘area’, because as Oakes discusses, these terms evoke a bounded unity with a territorial quality. I will add that place does not just represent its physical features; it is not just a point on a map or a hill in the distance. Indeed Relph (1976) writes that the physical features of the place have to be considered in equal measure to peoples’ own conceptualisations (and therefore experiences and feelings) of that place. As such Relph defines place as being comprised of three connected components:

‘The identity of a place is comprised of three interrelated components, each irreducible to the other – physical features or appearances, observable activities and functions and meanings or symbols’ (Relph 1976: 61).

I consider place as a subjective entity coerced by feelings and experiences of situations and behaviours that occur at specific – subjective (non-geographical) – localities. This concurs with Tuan's (1974) claim about place that he put forward after examining the ways in which people organise places and attach meaning to space in their lives. He argues that space starts off as being undifferentiated and only evolves into 'place' when it evokes meanings and feelings, that is, as people come to know it better they endow it with (subjective) value (Tuan 1977). I agree wholeheartedly with Tuan's suggestion that it is (only) through 'the steady accretion of sentiment' (Tuan 1977: 33) that places acquire deep meaning and association.

In his book *Space and Place* (1977) Tuan recognises the importance of the people and relationships with people rather than a relationship with the actual physical landscape in the formation of a sense of place. Addressing the American fear of rootless people, Tuan describes how Tennessee Williams, a playwright, gives his characters a sense of place in *The Night of the Iguana* (1982). The extract below is a dialogue between Hannah Jekles who lives with her Grandfather ('rootless people' (Tuan 1977: 139)) and Shannon (a 'cynical dissipated man' (Tuan 1977: 139)):

Hannah: We make a home for each other, my grandfather and I. Do you know what I mean by home? I don't mean a regular home... a place, a building... a house... I think of home as being a thing that two people have between them in which each can... well, nest... emotionally speaking. Does that make any sense to you Mr Shannon?

Shannon: Yeah, complete. But... when a bird pulls a nest to rest in and live in, it doesn't build it in a ... falling-down tree

Hannah: I am not a bird Mr Shannon

Shannon: I was making an analogy... When a bird builds a nest, it builds it with an eye for... the relative permanence of location, and also for the purpose of mating and propagating its species.

Hannah: I still say that I am not a bird, Mr Shannon. I am a human being and when a member of that fantastic species builds a nest in the heart of another, the question of permanence isn't the first or even the last thing that's considered... necessarily?... always?

(Tennessee Williams 1962, Act 2, *The Night of the Iguana*, from Tuan 1977: 139-140).

By using this passage, Tuan is suggesting that a place can only acquire meaning if there are people in (of) the place whom you have informal and formal relations with: 'In the absence of the right people, things and places are quickly drained of meaning' (Tuan 1977: 140). That is, the physical setting and objects contained within do not make a place. Rather it is human intentions and experiences that give meaning to a place (Relph 1976).

The definitions of place by Tuan (1974; 1977), Relph (1976) and myself have clear similarities involving the physical characteristics of a place and the experiences and behaviour of people in that place. It should however be stated that my definition is unique and offers an original contribution to the theory of 'place' because I stress an emphasis on the subjective behaviour and experience of people who are associated with – and to – certain places (in this case Liverpool) and far less on the physical features of place. In other words, the geographical entity (the subjective physical locality of place) acts first as a container for the people of that place and the behaviours, emotions, feelings and experiences that occur in the container / place. Second it acts as a segregator, a differentiator, ensuring a perceived differentness with, to and between other containers (places) and other people. In this way place

only becomes a place (as being differentiated from and by other places / people) once – and when – people are established as belonging to a place.

It is therefore important to acknowledge the nature of place as being wholly subjective. The same place will evoke different reactions, different emotions, different feelings and different responses in different people depending upon their experiences and associations with specific places:

‘No two persons see the same reality: the meaning of place will be unique to individuals. No two social groups make precisely the same evaluation of the environment’ (Tuan 1974: 5).

I accept and agree with Tuan’s definition of place as being based upon (and formed by) a person’s (subjective) experiences and feelings. I also agree with his sentiment that ‘permanence is an important element in the idea of place’ (Tuan 1977: 140). He means by this *not* that you have to be in one place only or for a long time for it to become meaningful. Rather, to consider place, identity and attachment, the impact of permanence (or lack of it) and the effect that this has upon place conceptions has to be acknowledged. Therefore it is important that place (including permanency and hence (non)migration) is considered when examining the processes (causes, impact and effects) of (non)migration.

Drawing from this, the aim of this chapter is to consider the impact that a (non)migration has upon peoples’ conception of place, place identity and place attachment. By suggesting that identity is dependent upon and (trans)formed by place (for instance if a move occurs from one place to another place) I offer a novel

approach by suggesting that it is through living in a place – a location – that people make sense of their existence and hence their own identity. This identity – place identity – leads to certain (place-specific) behaviours. It is through these behaviours and experiences that meaning is built into inanimate objects to give place – a place – symbolic significance. As Harner (2001) implies, meaning then becomes part of a social identity: ‘a place-based identity for groups within society’ (Harner 2001: 661).

*What makes a place: location versus people*

The definition of place that I conceptualise is subjective to each individual and as such it is based on individual meanings, values and experiences. One of the key features of this justification is that the empirical evidence suggests that it is *more* the people who inhabit the place, rather than the location itself, that enables a meaning of place, a place identity and an attachment to place. Thus I found that taking location as a singular was not enough to evoke a concept of place.

For instance, respondents suggested that if the people who inhabited Liverpool were all to move to *one* other location then that other location would become (as good as and the same as) ‘Liverpool’:

‘... the people are the city. That is what’s so special about it, it’s because of the people and not because of any particular facility or activity, it’s the people that make the city’ (Lee, 41: L)

In this way, respondents were demonstrating and articulating that it is not the geographic entity of ‘place’ that makes a place, rather it is the experiences of people

within place that support and define the notion of one place as opposed to another. A further, explicit example to justify this was given by Gill, a stayer. She recalls how the area in Liverpool where her husband used to live (Everton) should no longer be considered 'Everton' simply because the people of the place – those who lived there when her husband did – have left:

'Well she [her sister-in-law] lives opposite Greaty Market and that's where they were [where her husband used to live] and he said 'it's not the same'. There's all these Kosovans – whatever you call them – they've all moved here... and he said... 'it's not the same'. It's not Scotland Road''  
(Gill, 53: S)

As the narrative suggests, Everton was defined as a place by Gill's (or her husband's) experiences within that place. The fact that the people with whom this relationship had been built upon left, meant that their consideration, their definition of that place – Everton – changed. As such, Everton the geographic entity was still there but the people who defined it as being different to elsewhere had left and therefore Everton was no longer considered as a separate, defining (and definable) place. In other words, it was no longer considered by Gill as being a place but more so a name to distinguish this place from that.

Therefore, it is not an association with place that is a site for attachment, place identity and understanding of place meaning. Rather Liverpool, or different places, was seen only as a container for the people (of that place) and it was the people – relationships formed with and by and experiences and behaviours – who are responsible for (trans)forming a place from being portrayed and perceived as a

location on a map (and a name) to somewhere where means and meanings are ascribed.

Likewise, Jean, a leaver, provided an example to illustrate that it is the experiences and relationships *within* a place that are more important than the place itself in the formation of place and place meaning. Jean left Liverpool in the 1970s as a result of slum clearance legislation and therefore felt she had first hand experience of how it is actually the people that make Liverpool a place:

‘I’m not saying that Winsford was [different to Liverpool], because most of the people from Winsford were from Liverpool anyway, so I didn’t feel it so much there [homesickness]... [it] is basically overspill, so it’s like a ‘little Liverpool’ [living there]’ (Jean, 55: L)

The passage demonstrates explicitly just how significant the people of the place are in the formation of a place. Jean considered Liverpool and Winsford to be similar places because the people were mostly from the same place – Liverpool. That is, the people who occupy the Winsford space originally occupied the Liverpool space. As a result Jean admits that she (therefore) never felt like she was missing Liverpool or anything about Liverpool when she lived in Winsford. She also implicitly associates place not by the geographical location, but by the relationships and experiences that occurred within the geographical entity of place. The passage below was generated when she was asked, ‘*would you ever return?*’:

‘... But to just go for the sake of going *somewhere*, I don’t think I would sort of uproot everything, sell up and go back unless there’s something specifically to go back to’ (Jean, 55: L) (emphasis added)

This is interesting because Jean classified Liverpool as *'somewhere'*, which is different to how she had talked about the city beforehand. Describing Liverpool in this way does not imply difference between that place ('my home' – where she grew up) or any other place. This also supports my argument that it is not so much the place but more so the relationships with other people within that place that is a site for attachment. Jean had nothing to go back to because there was no one left in the city to go back to: Liverpool as a geographical space was still there, but the sense of place had long gone because so too had the people whom she had formed relationships with (informal and formal).

Thus Liverpool is not Liverpool because of the position it occupies on a map. Rather the people who occupy – and have occupied – the city evoke and promote this concept of (Liverpool) place and (Liverpool) place meaning. Hence the concept of a perceived unique place identity is borne. This matter is drawn out in the sub-section below. Here I discuss the reasons behind the rationale of the perceived (unique) character-traits of people with a Liverpool place identity.

### *Uniqueness of place*

Empirical evidence suggests that people of Liverpool are unique and distinct and hence their place is unique and distinct also. For instance, feelings of uniqueness and distinctiveness of people from Liverpool were often supported by an exaggerated belief in the humour of people from the city:

'We're always having a joke [and] no matter what we can laugh about things which I think is what keeps us going' [Lee, 40: L].



At first statements such as the above led me to believe that, yes, Liverpool the place was unlike anywhere else in the world and that people with a Liverpool place identity were also unique and different to everybody else – in a good and / or bad way. However once I began analysing the narratives of people who had *moved to* Liverpool (arrivees), I found an interesting connection: that everyone believed their origin / home place to be (more) different, unique to anywhere and everywhere else. That is, it is true to say that everyone who I interviewed classified their ‘home town’ (no matter where it was) and the people there as being unique and distinct from anywhere and everywhere else. Thus I propose that these feelings of uniqueness and distinctiveness were not specific to Liverpool and the people who inhabit the place. Rather the feelings pertained to people of every place. For instance, Sean, originally from Belfast discusses how it is (his) Belfast that is unique and different to anywhere else:

‘I mean Belfast is a different city to anywhere else...I mean, Belfast’s certainly very, very different. It’s special because it’s my city... there’s no violence in Belfast. I know that sounds really hypocritical, but your wife and your girlfriend or your daughter’s safe to walk through the city streets because nobody will attack anyone in Belfast... And Belfast is certainly very, very different [to anywhere else] and I think Belfast in particular, and again I’m biased, has the best educational system, we’ve got the best schools... we’ve got public schools you don’t have to pay for’  
(Sean, 34: A)

Georgio, another arrivee, originates from Greece and has lived in Liverpool for nearly three years. He discusses how the people of his origin are different to (and therefore better) to all other people of all other places:

‘It’s a true thing in Greece, in Athens we have a reputation for being *friendly* and we have less stress and more time. So they [people from Athens] are more *friendly* and they give a lot more’ [Georgio, 35: A]

Georgio’s statement draws parallels with other statements of uniqueness found within the narratives of people with a Liverpool place identity. For instance, Georgio uses the term ‘*friendly*’ to describe the people of his place (Athens) in the same way that Liverpool people describe the people who occupy Liverpool space. That is, Georgio considers the people of Athens to be friendlier than people elsewhere, in the same way that Liverpool people identify themselves. Thus the uniqueness and specificity of place (and of course place identity) flows from the experiences that individuals associate with the place and not necessarily because the people of that place (or the place itself) are any more unique than other places or other people from other places.

I have developed previous definitions of place by suggesting that feelings of uniqueness form part of the complex and inter-related components of place: place identity and place attachment. Simply put, people view their own place identity and their own place as being unique and different to elsewhere. This is because ‘difference’ needs to be addressed so that people can make sense of ‘their place’.

These feelings of *differentness* and uniqueness of *my* (every) place draw upon Lukerman’s (1964) analysis of the concept of place in which he recognises there are six major components: location (in relation to other places), networks (such as spatial interactions and transfers), localisation (places are parts of somewhere else, something bigger), time (place exists in a particular time and as such has a past, present and future), meaning (this is what gives a place its character) and finally, uniqueness.

Despite considering place as being separate to identity, and other inherent inconsistencies – for example he does not distinguish clearly between the concepts of ‘place’, ‘region’, ‘area’, and ‘location’ (see Relph 1976: 3; May 1970: 214) – his components are useful in considering how people use ‘uniqueness’ to conceptualise their place.

I suggest that all people perceive their place(s) to be unique, different to other places because this is how they form and understand their own identity. In other words, it is how people make sense of who they are (their place identity).

### *Migration and uniqueness*

Migration impacts upon the migrants’ perceived uniqueness of place identity as a result of an internal conflict between the uniqueness of people at the origin and the uniqueness of people at the destination. In this way there were subtle differences between the categories of uniqueness (and hence identification) of people by place between stayers (people who were ‘born-and-bred’ in Liverpool), leavers and arrivees. For instance, stayers perceived people in Liverpool to be unique in their characteristics, or place identity and believed that they were (for example) funnier, kinder, friendlier than people of elsewhere places. However the categories of identification of people by place based upon perceived unique characteristics changed once people left Liverpool.

That is, a migration impacts upon a place identity and alters the way you see yourself and the way you see others. Stayers categorised ‘Scousers’ (people with a Liverpool

place identity) on the basis that they had been ‘born and bred’ in the city and that they (therefore) held place-specific characteristics such as a unique sense of humour. However, once people left Liverpool (leavers) they considered categorisations of others from the city not so much due to unique place-specific character traits (unlike stayers), but based on the unique Liverpool accent.

Those who had left Liverpool were often left searching for something unique about the place and the people who inhabit it. However, some realised that the people and the place were not unique or distinct to elsewhere; rather uniqueness and distinctiveness had been used as a means of differentiating between themselves and others. While a Scouser is no more unique than a Londoner or a Geordie, or anyone else for that matter, a Liverpool accent is certainly unique and only pertains to people who have – at some point – inhabited the city (and usually those who have inhabited it for a long period). In this way, the unique Liverpool accent acts as a classification system for differentiating (and therefore making unique) Liverpool people from other people. This is supported by using the narrative of Nicola, a leaver:

Nicola: I feel like I’m a Scouser

Interviewer: Yeah? Well, what is a Scouser?

Nicola: Usually *just* the accent isn’t it, when they hear the accent, everyone knows where you’re from and in a way you’re the talking point so I think you become aware of it (Nicola, 34: M)

Compare now Nicola’s (a leaver) narrative describing the characteristics of a (unique) Liverpool identity to the narrative of Gill, a stayer:

‘Yeah well when I’ve gone on holiday I realise how friendly Scousers are... ‘cause anyone [in Liverpool] will let on to you in the streets but they don’t [elsewhere]. And we’ll do anything to help anyone which I don’t think will happen everywhere’ (Gill, 53: S)

Those who had left Liverpool (leavers) did not always consider people with a Liverpool place identity to have any such character uniqueness (such as being friendlier and funnier), unlike those who had never left. That is, their experiences of living away from Liverpool had taught them, informed them and introduced them to the fact that the perceived place-specific (unique) character-traits adhered also (and at the same time) to (new) people at their (new) destination. This realisation called into question their concept of their own place-identity: how can their place identity be unique when other people of other places have the same traits.

After a migration, people are therefore left searching for something that they believed to be a unique and defining characteristic of the place identity at the origin. This is an attempt, by migrants, to stabilise their own place identity: a place (and people of the place) is (are) defined and identified with in terms of uniqueness. As such, for some migrants, the only unique characteristics that they could justify as being different to anywhere else, was the unique Liverpool accent.

Hence it is not the Liverpool people, or any people, *per se*, who are unique in their place identity characteristics. Rather, uniqueness is a strategy that people use to distinguish between themselves and others. In other words, uniqueness is how people make sense of who they are and their (resultant) place identity. Therefore people of

all places perceive themselves and the people of that place to be unique in some place-based way.

## **PLACE IDENTITY**

There is a clear overlap in theoretical descriptions associated with the terms place identity and place attachment. For example, Cuba and Hummon (1993) describe emotional ties and affiliation with place as aspects of identity, whereas Altman and Low (1992) use these same factors to define attachment. Therefore it is important that I state explicitly how I will use these terms. First I will refer to place identity as how the place and experiences with(in) the place has contributed to the self. Second, place attachment will be the feelings of belonging associated with the place.

A somewhat novel way to distinguish between the two would be to position them in relation to the nature versus nurture debate. Thus the concept of place identity would be considered the nurture side, that is, how the place where you have grown up impacts upon the subconscious to form the self. While place attachment would be the nature side of the argument, that is, how the place impacts upon your own feelings and emotions towards a place. As with the original nature / nurture debate, there are however considerable overlaps and the analogy should only be considered as a tool to illustrate a point and not an end.

This section will explore the concept of place identity and how a (non)migration impacts upon this. Place identity refers to how a person's identity has included the place(s) where they live – or have lived: how has the person integrated themselves

into the place by answering the question of ‘who am I?’ with ‘where am I?’. A place identity includes how the meanings and experiences of that place constitute an extension of the self (Proshansky *et al.* 1983; Sarbin 1983; Hummon 1992). There are examples demonstrating how the self is inextricably bound up with place. For instance Graumann (1983) understands place identity as the complex way that a person identifies with, and is identified by, their environment. While Abrahamson illustrates his view that place is a focus for the construction of identity:

‘Each distinctive group... occupies a geographical area that becomes intimately associated with the group. Through this linkage, areas acquire symbolic qualities that include their place names and social histories. Each place, both as a geographical entity and as a space with social meaning, also tends to be an object of residents’ attachments and an important component of their identities’ (Abrahamson 1996 from Ramsay 2003: 110).

Hence place is an important factor in the formation of a self-identity: ‘to be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have to know your place’ (Relph 1976: 1).

### *A relational place identity*

There exists a plethora of literature regarding the relationship of place to identity formation. For example, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) view place identity as an organic process in which ‘place is inextricably linked with the development and maintenance of continuity of self’ (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996: 208). Proshansky (1978) and Proshansky *et al.* (1983), on the other hand, have used the term ‘place

identity' to refer explicitly to the dimensions of the self that develop in relation to the physical environment. That is, place identity is a personal construction derived from day-to-day experiences with the physical environment.

However I propose that it is not a relationship with space or the physical landscapes that (trans)form and (re)create a place identity as such. I suggested earlier that it is not the physical entity of the place that people use to refer and attach meaning to a space. Rather it is the people (relationships formed with and by) who occupy the space that evoke a meaning of place. In this way therefore, it is not the space that (trans)forms a place identity. Instead it is relationship (behaviours and experiences) with people within that space.

I also propose that place identities are perceived to be unique to each individual. However this is not because they are actually unique (a Liverpudlian is no more funny or friendly than a Londoner) but uniqueness is used as a way to differentiate between – and relate to – themselves and others. That is, place identities are relational and therefore cannot be considered in isolation. In this way, the social setting, the place(s) that one (has) inhabit(ed) provides a sense of 'who I am' and 'what is mine' (Hunter 2003) which develops in relation to 'who you are' and 'what you have'. Thus a sense of self is relational in that 'I become intelligible to myself through the regard of others': I understand and categorise myself either through 'sameness' or 'differentness' to others (Hunter 2003).

Massey and Jess (1995) have also commented upon the role of 'others' in the formation of a place identity and write that place identity is relational to others in that



a place is always set against other places. Similarly, Said (1978) suggests how an awareness of Orientalism offers an understanding of ‘Orientals’ and ‘the Orient’ and, in contrast, a Western identity. This process of establishing an identity in contrast, as being different to somewhere (everywhere) else consequently constructs difference and an understanding of what is not. Hence Rose (1995: 104-103) acknowledges difference is never on its own terms, rather it is perceived in relation to the identity of the observer. Therefore an examination into a Liverpool place identity offers an interpretation not only of people with this place identity but also about the (perceived) place identities of people in other English cities in contrast. An example of this would be how Scousers, or Liverpool as a place is often (mis)understood in relation to being different to elsewhere (see chapter 6).

As such, the process of constructing a relational place identity is full of subjective understandings, feelings and emotions and can be linked to a persons’ own place – particularly where they grew up – as being thought of as unique and distinct. For instance, Reg, a returnee, identifies his own place identity according to it being different to place identities of other, elsewhere places:

‘...Because I’ve travelled round enough and I understand enough of the sociology to recognise that there are enormous *differences* between the people in Liverpool and what I would call ‘middle-England’ (Reg, 59: R)

The narrative demonstrates that Reg understands and defines his identity based on similarities (he is similar in behaviour and characteristics to people of his place) and differences (he is different to other people of other place). In this way, a place identity is constructed internally and externally. The self-categorisation of a place

identity informs people not only of this place identity but also helps to shape other place identities: as being the same as or different to. That is, the fact that Liverpudlians are friendly and funny and trustworthy and kind... is not defined on its own terms. Rather, it is defined on terms based implicitly on comparisons by Liverpudlians to elsewhere people and places (and vice-versa). In this way, people interpret place identity not on its own terms but in comparison to where (else) they know.

Drawing from this relational construction of identity, Sibley (1981; 1988; 1995; 1999) has developed the concept of stubborn identities. Sibley commented that Gypsies live in a marginalized state, excluded from main-stream society and labeled through a host of stereotypes. However, he found that it was not only the dominant, mainstream society who sought to exclude the Gypsies but it was also an attempt by the Gypsies to create and to defend their own identities (from Giuliani and Feldman 1993). This concurs with Said's (1978) argument that the desire from separation is not one sided but comes from 'within' as well as 'without' (from Giuliani and Feldman 1993). Parallels can therefore be drawn with to the place identity of people who have grown up in Liverpool. As such, the narratives reveal that there were incidences whereby people actively took steps to be seen, and known, as being different to other people of other places:

'One of the coach drivers... he said something else about us in Liverpool and Joe [husband] said, 'if he says anymore about us I'm going to go up and give him a punch...' so to get over that we crack little jokes and everyone laughs and says we're dead funny... when we're away if we see another Scouser and we want to talk to them [and] if there's not a Scouser then we'll talk to Geordies 'cause they're like us' (Gill, 53: S)

This discourse illustrates that people actively create relational differences and similarities in an attempt to display to others their own, heightened sense of identity. To do this Gill actively took steps to be seen, and known, as being different. This began with her differentiating between her own place identity and the identity of others from elsewhere places: she labelled herself as a 'Scouser'. Hence this supports my notion that identities are relational. However they are relational in terms of people and not place: the differentiation is based on relationships, experiences, events (socio-economic and political) and behaviours that occur within specific places and not upon the physical differences of place.

#### *Place identity and (non)migration*

I have discussed how a place impacts upon the formation of the self-creating a 'place identity'. But what impact does a (non)migration have upon place identity? Initial thoughts would suggest that stayers would have the most simple and stable place identity because – obviously – they have only ever lived in the one place (though they may have moved within that place). Indeed, findings from interviews with (non)migrants (stayers) illustrate that they had a clearer and more easily definable place identity.

For instance, they would always identify themselves as being either 'Scousers' or 'Liverpudlians' and often defined a component of being 'Scouse' in interviews. Blake discusses this naming of people by place (such as Scousers, Geordies, Brummies, etc) saying that it provides a 'symbolic identity to people, place and landscape' (Blake 1991 from Ramsey 2003: 112). Therefore by defining and

adopting the term ‘Scouser’ in this way, stayers are using a conscious expression of a persons’ identification with a place. This has been coined ‘place identification’ (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996: 205): it is the identification of people by place that indicates a membership of people who are defined by a place, that is, a place identity.

I propose that place identity is fluid and can, and is, (trans)formed and (re)created by a migration. By re-theorising previous theories of identity and including my own consideration of place as being the site for place-identity (re)construction, I suggest that the place identity of migrants includes all the places that they have lived. In this way, for leavers, the ‘old’ Liverpool (that is, the Liverpool they left) provided, and continued to provide, a source of identity. That is, Liverpool as a place had become integrated into their identity. However their destination place had also become integrated into their identity. This supports my argument that identity is affected by place because of the experiences and relationships that occur at specific places. In other words, place matters in identity matters.

However, those who had arrived in Liverpool – and who had not lived there previously – did not always *consciously* position themselves in relation to the place they were currently living (Liverpool). For instance, Barbara who had moved to Liverpool because of a job opportunity discusses the place and the people as being detached from her, that is, not part of her own place identity:

‘I actually liked the culture and I think that the people are very good to work with and very friendly in a nursing environment. I consider it a ‘northern straightness’ of these people to talk and to come straight to the point about things’ (Barbara, 37: A)

By not using 'I' or 'me' but more so neutralising the personal and differentiating between her – as being different to people from Liverpool – Barbara is indicating that Liverpool as a place has not impacted upon her own identity. Indeed, she talks about being 'welcomed' by people in Liverpool, which also indicates her sense of identity as pertaining to another place:

'I felt very welcomed by the [Liverpool] community because I did, because of nursing and other activities I was quite involved with the actual community' [Barbara, 37: A]

Nevertheless, Barbara has also subconsciously encompassed a Liverpool place identity in to her own formation of identity. This is made apparent through her discussion of Liverpool people as being 'very friendly'. Think back to the discussion on uniqueness of place and people. Barbara is defining people from Liverpool as being different to people from elsewhere which, I proposed previously, is a criteria of place identity. Therefore place identity is not static and is (trans)formed when a migration – a change of place – occurs.

However, her narrative, as with other narratives, also suggests that it is the place of origin, the 'home town' where you are 'born-and-bred' that has had the most significant impact upon a person's place identity. In other words, although a place identity is (re)constructed by, and through the act and process of a migration, the origin continues to inform the identity at the destination. For instance, Ronald, a mover, recruited during *stage 2* of the methodology, provided an explicit account of how a place can impact upon the self:

'I'm twenty odd years further on but I dream of my time and my life in my hometown of Liverpool. I guess you will never get another answer other than: You can take the person out of Liverpool but never Liverpool out of the person' (Ronald, 60: L – Internet correspondence)

This statement supports the arguments presented in the previous chapter. Place is important in the formation, transformation and reconstruction of identity. Ronald's sentiments display the extent to which identity is (trans)formed on the basis of relationships, experiences and behaviours within specific spaces. Hence although, as I propose, identity is fluid and transformable, I also suggest and argue, contrary to other identity theorists, that place identity is not completely replaceable; that is, one identity will not be replaced by another. In other words, the place identity of all places will be encompassed into one overall identity so that the identity of a migrant who has lived, say in Liverpool, in Chester, in London and in Newcastle will have an overall place identity that encompasses experiences and behaviours that have occurred in all of these places.

As such, my notion of identity recognises that it is transformable and yet it is not replaceable. Therefore a migration will impact upon a place identity of a migrant because the migrant will adopt specific place-related behaviours (formed by experiences within) at their destination. However behaviours at their origin(s) will also continue to impact and (trans)form their identity: a migrant living in Liverpool will lead to their identity when they move to Chester which will then lead to their identity when they move to London... and so forth. Hence, contrary to the identity notions of Giddens, Foucault and Goffman, place needs to be considered explicitly as being a foundation for the formation of a social identity.

However the transformed place identity is often not straightforward to the migrant. For instance, an example was provided by Dan. Dan moved to Liverpool as a student and has lived in the city / Merseyside area for nearly forty years. He begins by adamantly describing how on the one hand Liverpool, as a place, has not impacted upon his self-identity while on the other, his ‘home town’, Hull, where he was ‘born and bred’ has had – and continues to have – an impact. However, towards the end of the interview Dan suggests how migration affects and alters place identity because he now (subconsciously) incorporates Liverpool into his place-based identity:

‘I don’t feel, *I’m* not a Liverpudlian and *I* don’t feel like a Liverpudlian... *I* feel as though *I’m* from Hull... *We* [Scousers] did tend to shoot ourselves in the foot at the time – look *I’m* talking as a Liverpudlian now aren’t *I*... *I* said *we* shot ourselves in the foot... [pause] *I* think that Liverpudlians do that, don’t *they*’ (Dan, 58: L) (emphasis added).

Dan does not consider himself as having a Liverpool place identity and uses emotional words such as ‘feel’ and ‘belong’ to Hull as opposed to *only* living in Liverpool to illustrate this. Contrarily, his passage demonstrates that he has subconsciously encompassed and incorporated a Liverpool place identity into his Hull place identity. Thus identity is in fact transferable. In this way I argue against the notion that place identity is not static. Instead, place identity impacts upon the self and pertains to all the places you have lived. As such, I acknowledge that the self is continuously being redefined and is affected by *all places* that a person has inhabited and not simply by *the place* where the person grew up: identity with respect to place is not static. The place where their childhood (where they were ‘born-and-bred’) was spent has the greatest impact upon a place identity (see for example the passage above from Dan). However, a migration also has an impact on place identity. Although

this is something that might not – at the outset – be clear (conscious) to the migrating person, or in other words, the person in transition.

*Place identity and negative experiences*

Rose (1995) writes that identity is connected to a place by feelings of belonging. I disagree. A place identity can – and will – occur even where there are only negative experiences attached to (within) the place. A review of the place literature suggests that identity has largely been explored in terms of a positive effect. However I state that place identity is intrinsic to the self and as a consequence a place – or the experiences within that place – impact upon the self even if there are no feelings of belonging. Jo, originally an arrivee who has since left Liverpool, provides an example to support my theory. Despite having ‘an unhappy and problematic childhood’ and remembering only bad experiences in Norfolk, she acknowledges that this place has impacted upon her own identity and as such she categorises herself in relation to all the places she has lived:

‘I’m not a Norfolk person at all, I grew up in Norfolk, but I had a lot of family problems and when I left when I was 18 and I’ve not really, I don’t like going back at all. I think at the moment *I’m sort of both*, but I’m more, I’m more sort of Liverpool I think’ (Jo, 30: L)

Hence Jo acknowledges that the time she has spent in Norfolk and Liverpool have played a part in the formation of her own identity. This illustrates two points. First a place identity can form even if there are no positive feelings attached to the place where they grew up (or spent some length of time residing). Second it illustrates the



complexities that a movement has on self-identity: a movement makes a person's own identity far more complex and sometimes confusing (even) to the migrant.

The empirical evidence in this section supports my notion of place identity and (non)migration that was introduced in chapter 4: place identity is not static, rather it is in fact transferable. As such, a migrant – someone who changes places – will have a place identity that encompasses all the places that s/he has lived: consciously and / or subconsciously. Hence a migrant who has lived in, say, Liverpool and Edinburgh will have a place identity that is bound up with the experiences, behaviours, relationships and events that occurred in both places. I also suggest that a place identity can, and will, (trans)form, even when the experiences, behaviours, relationships and events that occurred in the place are negative. In this way, the migrant who moved from Liverpool to, say Edinburgh and who left Liverpool because of negative experiences and relationships occurring *within* the city will, despite their experiences, have a place identity that acknowledges (consciously or subconsciously) this place.

## PLACE ATTACHMENT

The way in which identity is connected to place is by feelings of belonging to that place: place attachment. Just as place identity is fluid, people's attachment to place is also dynamic and transferable and is affected by a (non)migration: 'Place attachments are not static either; they change in accordance with changes in the people, activities or processes, and places involved in the attachments' (Brown and Perkins 1992: 282). Attachment to place varies in intensity; ranging from places that fail to evoke any strong feelings or personal memories, to places where people want to visit at every

available opportunity and even after long periods living away from that place still wanting – and planning – for the time that they can return to live there permanently. For instance, Irene left Liverpool for Canada over 20 years ago. Her narrative demonstrates that despite the length of time that she has spent away from Liverpool (the place where she was born and brought up), her attachment to this place – her place – is still strong:

‘Would I return? I think if I searched deep enough and I was financially stable, the answer would have to be yes. I love my city [Liverpool] always will do... I still love home and miss it’ (Irene, 62: L – Internet correspondence)

In certain respects, Irene’s attachment to place has increased because of the migration: ‘absence makes the heart grow fonder’. Her sentiments were similar to most people I contacted via the *stage two* of my methodology. I was not surprised by this because they were all members of a ‘Scousers united’ website and passionately guarded their ‘Scouse’ identity.

Conversely, for other respondents, that is, for those I met during *stage one*, there was awareness within the narratives that place exists in a particular time. As such, leavers acknowledged that their attachment to Liverpool might dwindle after time and likewise discussed how their attachment to their new location would increase the longer they were living there. David, a recent leaver illustrates this by saying:

‘This is me home, Liverpool’s me home... But maybe if I lived in Somerset for thirty years then I’ll get that, that will become my home, but at the moment it isn’t... I don’t have that sense of attachment with

Somerset that I have for Liverpool. But even just going away for six weeks, that sense of attachment has begun to sort of go already to some extent... There is that association of the city, it's home and I don't feel that when I go back to Somerset. I'm going home at the moment [at time of interview he is visiting Liverpool]. Again, that might change in 5 or 6, 7 years time, at the moment it's not there – but there is that association with Liverpool' (David, 38: L)

Previous research examining place attachment has considered only how attachment to place is correlated with time. However I will use empirical evidence to suggest that in fact, place attachment is related to *three* aspects: the length of time spent in the place, whether-or-not you have grown up in that place and if you still have family residing in that place.

First, as I have discussed, there is a correlation between attachment to place and length of time spent in that place. Therefore, and in other words, attachment to a place is not static and the longer the time spent living away from a place, then the more likely attachment to that place will lessen. Conversely, attachment to a new place is loosely proportional to the time spent residing in that place. This means that the attachment towards Liverpool that people have once they leave is likely to decrease as attachment to their destination place increases. Jo demonstrates this point:

'I'm more, I'm more sort of [attached to] Liverpool I think, 'cause I've only lived in Shrewsbury a little while' (Jo, 30: L)

Second, people consider place attachment as being linked to where they were living at the time of the interview: feelings of attachment to place were linked to a

respondent's current location. There is also a relationship between place attachment and place of birth. For instance, there was a differentiation between attachment to their current place (as having stronger feelings towards their present location) together with feelings of 'going home' and feeling 'at home' towards the place where they were born and/or where they grew up. Joseph differentiates between the attachment to the place where he was born and brought up (Liverpool) and the attachment to the place where he currently resides (America):

'Will we come back home to Liverpool? No. You can always keep the memories but you cannot turn the clock back and given today you would not want to. We will end our days in our adopted country, and be as proud of it as we are of our *home...LIVERPOOL*' (Joseph, 66: L – Internet correspondence) (original emphasis and layout).

Despite the differentiation, he is attached to both places. Although he views one as his home and the other as his residence he would not leave his residence and return to his home. Therefore, place attachment to home does not always act as a pull back but more so it acts as a bind – something that connects you to your past. In other words, the attachment that Joseph has for Liverpool does not act a stimulus for his return, rather feelings of attachment is how he makes sense of his transitional place identity.

The third aspect to affect feelings of place attachment is 'rootedness' (family and community ties). Objectively rootedness can be considered as relating to a long habitation at one place, while on the other hand, subjectively it is a state of mind (Tuan 1980). Feelings of 'rootedness' were based upon family and friendship ties and formed their sense of belonging to the place where they had grown. Hence family ties

in the migrant's origin maintained a deep sense of belonging and familiarity and acted as a tie, a bind to the place that they left.

For instance, Nicola, a leaver who is currently living in Somerset, discussed the association with the place that she grew up in (Liverpool) and the association with 'roots' or familiarity of what is known. This passage was stimulated when she was asked the question '*would you ever return to Liverpool?*':

'I might think of going back up north, but I wouldn't sort of – I think the next move I have I'd think 'oh I'd go to live somewhere warmer, rather than go *back to me roots*' (Nicola, 34: L)

Nicola uses the statement '*rather than go back to me roots*' to imply that she is aware that '*rootedness*' or feelings towards the place where you grew up (and where, consequently you have family, history etc), is one reason why many people return. Nicola is quick to suggest, contrary to this, that she would not return to Liverpool – despite it being where her roots are. Consequently she implicitly demonstrates that there is a relationship between attachment to place and rootedness.

Sean's text suggests brings together the relationship between the three aspects that impact upon place attachment:

'I grew up there [Belfast], it's my home, my Mum still lives there, so I'm, part of me is still there... I just feel at home there' (Sean, 34: A).

In this short passage Sean illustrates that he is attached to Belfast for three reasons: longevity, Belfast was where he was born and brought up and rootedness (he has

family still living in the city). Hence these aspects impact on a person's feelings of attachment to place and affect the intensity of place attachment. As such, those who have experiences which are ongoing in the origin place then feelings of attachment to home will be heightened.

As discussed in the previous section the literature for place identity is usually thought of only in relation to positive experiences. Likewise, a review of place attachment literature also suggests that attachment has been explored largely in terms of positive affects. It is thought that in instances whereby people have had negative experiences with place (especially with the place where they grew up) then they would therefore not form any sort of attachment to that place. However I challenge this perspective.

The example provided by Jo (discussed previously) demonstrates that negative relationships and experiences within a place does not prevent a person encompassing that place (and hence the experiences within that place) into their own place identity. This is also true for place attachment: negative experiences do not prevent the person from forming some sort attachment to that place. Jo left Norfolk aged 18. Her experiences of living there were negative and traumatic. As a result she does not consciously acknowledge or recognise the attachment that she has to Norfolk. However, towards the end of her narrative Jo concludes by elaborating:

'... I don't like going back and I try not to *but* I still think of it and I guess it is where I came from' [Jo, 30: A, L.] (emphasis added)

The sentiments 'but' (I'm not attached to the place *but*) and 'came from' are indicative of how a place has impacted upon the self and as a result an attachment to

place is evoked. Therefore, contrary to popular belief, place attachment and place identity are forged even when experiences within the place have been negative.

The empirical evidence suggests that a migration impacts upon place attachment so that a person can – and does – become attached to more than one place. This is because there is an inherent need, a desire, to form an attachment to the new place: the migrant needs to feel they belong. Despite the new attachments that are forged to the new places, migrants still have a true sense of belonging and attachment to the place which, even after sometimes decades of absence is still called ‘home’.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the notion of place by considering three fundamental and interconnected aspects: place, place identity and place attachment. I surpass previous definitions of place because I consider place not based upon the geographical entity of space but upon relationships and experiences that occur within the (geographic space) place. As such, it is not Liverpool as a location (that is, its physicality), which evokes a sense of place. Rather the people who are contained within that physical space evoke feelings of what Liverpool as a place is about: Liverpool acts *only* as a container for the people of the place. In this way, when people leave Liverpool, they grieve not for the city itself but for the people (known and unknown) – and relationships formed by and with – who they have left behind.

The interconnections that I have drawn out between place identity (trans)formation and migration suggests that any notion of identity must include place and experiences

and behaviours within that place. I acknowledge this because place is the site of identity (re)construction and (trans)formation: it is where relationships and experiences are made sense of and hence identity develops in relation to place.

After a migration, for some, the migrant encompasses a 'dual (etc) place identity' by becoming, 'half-half' (*et cetera*). However for others there is conflict involving their place identity before the migration and their place identity after the migration. Despite this conflict a place identity will always be associated with *all* the places that a migrant has lived. In this way place identity is transformable and migrants are involved in constant identity construction and reconstruction. As such, this chapter offers an explicit discussion, often missing from the works of others, of the impact and effect of a migration upon identity.

A place identity is relational. It is based on what people perceive to be 'sameness' ('us') and 'differentness' to (other) people of other places. In this way places, or more so the people of the places, are never considered in isolation and thus are always set against other people of other places: they are positioned in opposition. Therefore, a place identity develops in the social places that people inhabit and provides a sense of 'I' in relation to 'you': people make sense of their own identity by comparing what is known (Liverpool) to the unknown (elsewhere places).

Just as place identity is fluid, place attachment is also dynamic and as a result a migrant will be attached, consciously and subconsciously, voluntary and involuntary to *all* places that they have lived. What differs however is the intensity of attachment. Previous work on place attachment considers only that place attachment depends on,



and is affected by, length of time spent in the specific places. However I suggest three aspects affecting place attachment which allow for a greater understanding of the processes behind place attachment and how a migration impacts upon this.

When a migration occurs, migrants often feel a need, a desire to be attached to more than one place: the place where they call home (usually the place where they grew up) and the place where they currently reside. These feelings of inter-connectedness were heightened if relationships within the origin were maintained. For most these feelings were based on 'roots' and feelings of 'rootedness', derived from a genealogy and family and friendship ties: they are the ties that bind. There remains therefore a bond of home which characterises the migrant and the journeys the migrant takes: it defines their place identity and place attachment. A migration is therefore a time of turmoil: migrants need to make sense of their own place identity.

Relationships and experiences within a place impact upon the self forming a place identity. The next chapter will explore the concept that people are 'marked' as having place-specific character traits. As a consequence, place identities can become stigmatised. By re-considering Goffman's notion of stigma introduced in chapter 4, chapter 6 will suggest that a stigmatised place identity impacts upon population flows (high rates of out-migration coupled with low rates of in-migration). Hence the following chapter develops the work presented here and in the previous chapter (4).

## Chapter 6

# Stigma matters

*'What's the difference between Batman and a Scouser?  
Batman can go out without Robin'*  
(Wignall, Thursday September 28, 2004, *The Guardian*)

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### INTRODUCTION

The last chapters (4 and 5) examined the importance of place: place identity and place attachment. The aim was to set the scene for this subsequent chapter and allow for a discussion and interpretation of what it means to have a Liverpool place identity. Hence the aim of this chapter is to propose and deconstruct the Liverpool place identity. Drawing from this the objectives will be, first to examine the impact that this stigma (difference) has on people with a Liverpool place identity and second to explore the impact this has upon migration flows to and from the city.

In order to do this I will begin by examining the context of the construction of a Liverpool place identity. Narratives suggest that news media has (unfairly and unjustly) generated and (re)constructed a (negative) stigma that is attached to a Liverpool place identity. I argue however, that to blame the media for the stigma (Goffman's undesired differentness) attached to a Liverpool place identity is simplistic. I deconstruct the media within the context of Giddens' structuration theory

and Foucault's notion of power. This focus will assist in the understanding of the relationships and interplay between structures and agency and how these are shaped by and in turn shape each other.

Following this, using Goffman's theory of stigma I will suggest that people with a Liverpool place identity are ascribed characteristics that are historically rooted and based on *differentness* (economically, socially and politically) between Liverpool and (all) other UK places. People are distinguished as being from Liverpool by stigma signs. I suggest that the Liverpool accent is a visible sign that is used to categorise people as being 'deviant' and hence stigmatised. Empirical evidence will be used to demonstrate that there is a direct relationship between stigma signs, or the stigmatised Liverpool place identity, and migration.

Finally, the different scales of stigmatisation will be contested and contextualised to illustrate that Liverpool has a place identity that is at once and at the same time both positive and negative: Type A (the 'loyal, honest and friendly Liverpool ideology) and type B (the 'thieving Scouser' ideology) are attached to the identity of people from Liverpool and are constructed and deconstructed at the same time. I will examine ways in which both stereotypes are incorporated into the ideology of people with a Liverpool identity.

## **MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF LIVERPOOL**

This section aims to deconstruct the influence that the media and audiences have upon the images of Liverpool. The methodology that I adopted meant that the narratives I

collected placed an emphasis on human agency. However, drawing from agency, themes of underlying structures and the influence of these upon human agency (and vice-versa) began to emerge. Using Giddens' theory of *structuration* and Foucault's understanding of power as a framework, I will examine the role of the media *and* the audience in shaping and (re)shaping Liverpool images and stereotypes. It is not my intention to present a review and examination of media discourses. Instead I will explore the relationship between media organisations (the media) and the audiences, writers and producers within a structuration context.

Many towns and cities have reputations for containing areas with high unemployment rates, high crime rates, drug abuse and general physical decay. However it is conceived that Liverpool as a whole has a reputation as being crime-ridden and poverty-stricken. Liverpool, according to Madsen (1992), provokes the worst, or one of the worst, images in Britain. But why do Liverpool and the people evoke such perceptions?

These perceptions are rooted in the past, stemming from the socio-economic and political unrest of the 1970s and 1980s and hence are based on the *differentness* of Liverpool compared to other UK places (see chapter 2). Such historical dimensions of a place play a large part in the production of modern images associated with place: 'place images, and our views of them are produced historically' (Shield 1991: 18). Likewise, Connelly (2003) establishes a connection between Liverpool's contemporary (negative) image and historical forces, such as a dependence on the port and manufacturing sectors, the decline of which has led to a political ideology and the

categorisation of the Liverpool culture as being 'working class' (see for example Meegan 1993; Parkinson and Bianchini 1993).

Structures, such as institutions, organisations and moral codes enable a given way of doing things. At the same time, these structures can be (trans)formed when people start to ignore them, replace them or reproduce them differently (Ni Laoire 1997). That is, human agency – individuals – are confronted by institutional structures over which there is no control and yet at the same time, they retain a degree of freedom to act as they wish or intend.

The image of Liverpool can be considered as being shaped by (local) labour markets, government policies and the media. At the same time, these structures are also shaped by human agency: individuals who are knowledgeable actors and who use this knowledge to make sense of their surroundings and make informed interpretations on this basis.

For instance, on the one hand I am constrained by who I am: a white, middle-class female. It is in this way that I am constrained by the social structures to which I belong. On the other hand I *choose* to follow what I want to: I can *choose* to stay in Liverpool if I want or I can *choose* to leave Liverpool if I so wish. In this respect, I am also free to make judgements about what I see around me. Hence, if I so *choose*, I can resist the social structures I was borne into.

In order to understand the relationship between the media organisations and audiences, writers and producers it is useful to consider Giddens' (1984) theory of

structuration. He based this theory on the active production, transformation, reproduction and dissolution of social institutions by incorporating structure *and* agency (Dirsmith *et al.* 1997). Hence, this directly opposes notions that structure and agency are dualistic opposites. For Giddens, structures refer to the structural properties of social institutions, such as rules, codes and norms that influence and are influenced by social actions in the day-to-day activities across time and space (Giddens 1984: 17). Agency, on the other hand, refers to the actions of knowledgeable, reflexive social actors that constitute their daily life. As such, structure and agency are seen to 'interpenetrate' one another in a duality of mutual constitution (Dirsmith *et al.* 1997: 2).

Hence, Giddens' theory of structuration allows for an understanding of the relationships and interconnectiveness between the media and agency. In other words, structuration theory can be used to explore media organisations and those who are influenced by them and through them *and* of those who produce the media that in turn influence the structures. I therefore reject the idea of 'media – good, Liverpool – bad' as this inevitably frames the debate within the dualistic manner of 'either / or' brackets. Instead it is useful to consider representations of Liverpool in terms of the relationship between the media organisations and human agency.

In order to interpret the impact of the media, it is also important to consider the interconnectivities between relations of power: the powerful and the powerless. Giddens however fails to think about the power relationships between structures and agencies. In chapter 4 I reviewed the work of Foucault which provided a framework to explore power in relationships of identity and in the construction of deviance and

differentness to other places. Therefore I will be examining the media within Giddens' structuration framework whilst also being informed by Foucault's notion of positive power: the media is never all powerful while audiences are never all powerless.

In doing so, an interpretation and understanding of the relationships between structures (media organisations) and agency (the audience, writers, producers etc) illustrates that the dichotomy of structures (media organisations) as 'powerful' and agency (the audience, writers etc) as 'powerless' is inaccurate and simplistic. In this way structure and agency should not be juxtaposed in opposition. It is not a choice of either / or: either the media is powerful or the audience is. That is, to assert the power of agency is to deny the power of structures (Buckingham and Sefton-Green 2003):

'Proclaiming that audiences are 'active' necessarily means assuming that the media are powerless to influence them; and asserting the power of the media necessarily seems to involve a view of audiences as 'passive dupes' of ideology. This is, we would argue, a fundamentally fallacious opposition' (Buckingham and Sefton-Green 2003: 390).

Hence there is a direct relationship between agency (who reads / watches / listens to the media, who writes and produces it and so forth) and media organisations. In other words, the media can shape people's perceptions of place and a place identity while at the same time, and in the same way, the media is determined by perceptions of human agency.

The (broad) concept of 'the media' however crosses the boundaries between structure and agency. On the one hand there is a media industry consisting of different media

organisations. This can be considered a structure that informs the views of the people that read / watch / listen. While on the other hand the media also consists of people writing, producing and editing the material. Therefore when examining the media and its role in structure and agency you have to also examine what the media produces and how this structures practices and attitudes, while at the same time considering how the media produces materials and who produces what.

It is well documented that media organisations are both political and economic entities and as such are able to, and are sometimes expected to, shape public opinion, government policy and citizen voting behaviours (Napoli 1997: 207). Material produced by the media however is not situated merely in fiction. They 'select some aspects of a perceived reality [social structures] and make them more salient in a communicating text' (Entman 1993: 52). As such, the media clusters ideas that guide individuals processing of information (Entman 1993). Media organisations are therefore used to influence the construction of individual frames and further social structures (Noakes and Wilkins 2002: 651).

The personal narratives of interviewees for this thesis, however, ignore the historical context of socio-economic and political unrest and instead base the groundings of the image of Liverpool (simply) as a result of media representations. Similarly, the work of academics such as Burgess and Gold (1985), Vale (1995), Young and Lever (1997) and Avraham (2000) agree that the media can manipulate, mould and alter public perceptions of places. For instance, Avraham (2000) considers the impact of media portrayal of place at different spatial scales: the general public (affecting migration flows, tourism and investment opportunities), policy makers (affecting revenue grants,



capital and resource allocation and legislation) and the inhabitants of place (affecting self-image and relations with inhabitants from other places). However they all fail to recognise and acknowledge the relationship between media organisations and the audience / writers / producers: structures and agencies.

For instance, Carol finds associations between Liverpool's image and the media.

Carol is a self-proclaimed 'Liverpool champion', a 'Liverpool patriot':

'I think the media's got a lot to answer for to be honest. And I really do think that a lot of what they, the way they portray Liverpool is just not on. They should start trying to portray some of the good stuff' (Carol 38: R)

Carol links the negativity associated to Liverpool with media portrayals: Liverpool is only thought of in negative terms because of the way the city and the people have been (mis)represented in the media. In other words, Liverpool has done nothing to deserve this representation. However, Carol fails to recognise the socio-economic climate and context from which the media representations were constructed. In the 1970s and 1980s, Liverpool was in the midst of municipal bankruptcy. No other provincial city in the UK was facing – or had faced – a decline as stark as the socio-economic collapse (high unemployment, a declining employment base, high rates of claimant counts and social and political unrest) experienced in Liverpool. As a result, this made Liverpool, and the experiences there different to any other place within the UK. It is this differentness that was picked up and drawn out within media representations of the city at that time. Since then, the Liverpool people and the place have been imagined and structured as being different to other people and other places.

*Constructions of power*

The political framework of Liverpool in the 1980s, for instance, can be used explicitly to illustrate how the socio-economic and political context shapes and reconstructs representations within the media. Liverpool opposed the Conservative Government in the 1980s and by 1984 there were no Conservative seats left in the city (see chapter 2), while nationally there was a Conservative majority. There are two things happening here. The first is that powerful groups, that is the Conservatives, were able to articulate their views in media discourse hence preventing the 'collective action frames of challenging groups [the Militant-led Liverpool council] from gaining a media voice' (Noakes and Wilkins 2002: 651). The second is that the influence of the powerful groups is indirect and instead representations within the media are a 'reflection by journalists of the norms and values of the cultural context in which they work' (Noakes and Wilkins 2002: 651).

Within a media context therefore, there is a clear dialectic between organisations and power groups and the actions of individuals. For instance, journalists may have an incentive to cover one story and not another or to cover one in a particular, positive light, and another in a more negative light (and so on). *Who* they get their sources from also impacts upon the material they produce. Therefore it might be considered that in the 1980s, (Conservative) government officials were invited to comment on the political situation in Liverpool more often than those from the opposing parties and they did so in a way so to generate their own favourable position. Hence dominant forces were controlling representations at the time and prevented the collective action of the challenging groups (for instance the Militants) from gaining a media voice

(their favourable voice). The media can therefore be understood as being, at least partly, under the control of those who construct the media and those who influence the media and vice versa: structures and agency.

Consider the following quote from a daily tabloid newspaper written at the height of the economic downturn and social unrest:

‘They should build a fence around [Liverpool] and charge admission. For sadly it has become a ‘showcase of everything that has gone wrong in Britain’s major cities’’ (*Daily Mirror* 11 October 1982 cited in Kitching 1989: 187)

While this does portray Liverpool negatively, it is in part based on fact. At the time it was written (1982) Liverpool had higher unemployment rates, higher proportions of claimant counts and a lower relative employment structure than any other city in England (see chapter 2). In this context it is worth revisiting Avraham’s (2000) suggestion that ‘a city’s position... might be affected by its image [that media creates] because people will usually hesitate to invest in... cities that are covered [by news media] mainly in relation to crime, poverty or social disorder’ (Avraham 2000: 363). True, the previous quote may serve *further* to marginalise Liverpool. But this marginalisation is based not within the context of the media but upon the context at the time. At the same time, it might actually serve to attract investment into the city: there were government initiatives during the 1980s, offering incentives for employers to (re)locate in Liverpool and a large unemployment base which employers / investors may wish to capitalise on.

In this way, representations by news media are open to different interpretations: that is, agency is never passive and as such can act to reshape and transform public opinions and representations by the media (and vice-versa). In a similar way, in his study on news media representations of Palestinians, Daniels (1995) argues that American news media coverage of the Middle-East may on the one hand have led Americans to interpret Palestinians as terrorists while at the same time, on the other hand, as oppressed people on a legitimate struggle. News media organisations represent the context of their coverage yet audiences and writers, producers, editors – knowledgeable actors – are free to make their own interpretations and judgements from what they read.

It is true to say media coverage has focused on the negative socio-economic and political climate in which they were produced and hence audiences are informed and make judgements about Liverpool because of this. However, I have illustrated that the relationship is not as straightforward as ‘Liverpool good, media bad’ and there are in fact interconnections between who produces the news, who reads it and who writes it. As such, I suggest the people of Liverpool are not simply passive victims of media organisations.

### *Re-constructions of power*

Here I will use Foucault’s understanding of power presented in chapter 5 to deconstruct national versus local constructions of power. Using the example of the Militant-fraction versus the ‘mainstream’ Labour party, I will illustrate how local versus national power relationship can be played out.

The previous sub-section presented an example of power relationships centred on the (local) Militants and (national) Conservatives. The intention was to draw out an additional and more important distinction: the construction of power nationally versus the construction of power locally (facilitated using the media). By re-examining power relationships in this way, a further interesting point emerges. It was not so much that power relations around Liverpool constructed in the national media focused primarily on Liverpool (Militant) Labour versus national Conservatives, instead the emphasis at the time was on the (Liverpool) local versus national. This specifically included the construction of power between the local (Liverpool) Labour-fraction versus the national Labour party. In fact, the quote used previously from the *Daily Mirror* highlights this very distinction; the quote was taken from a Labour-supporting paper!

In this sense, the construction of power and hierarchies of power were centred on the differences between the local Liverpool Militant-faction and the national Labour party. The differentness between local (Liverpool) Labour and national Labour emphasised the socio-economic and political partitioning of the Liverpool population (away) from the national population; Liverpool no longer conformed to national norms. In order to exert power and to 'control' the diverging experiences of Liverpool, national organisations (for example, the Labour and Conservative parties) used the media as an instrument of power. That is, the disruption to norms was presented in the form of symbolic media representations marking Liverpool as being different to other places, illustrating nationally the need for precautions to be taken and supervision surrounding Liverpool to be given.

However, following Foucault (for instance see Foucault 1977; 1980), power can be understood to have positive and negative dimensions which can be both constraining and facilitating at the same time. Hence, similar to Giddens' understanding of structure and agency, the local (Liverpool) Militant-faction and the national Labour party (for example) simultaneously underwent and exercised power: power is reversible. The *Daily Mirror* article was just one example of how nationally, the Labour party exercised power in the form of the media in an attempt to curb the Militant-faction in Liverpool. On the other hand, the very fact that there was a Labour-faction in Liverpool was a form of resistance to dominating national controls and hence was a form of power. In this way Liverpool did not conform to national norms and therefore, using a Foucauldian understanding, power should never be seen as being exclusively in the hands of one group and exercised over another.

### *Crime and the media*

The narratives allowed an exploration into the experiences of people whose lives are shaped by the same structures. While not consciously aware of their role in (actively) (re)constructing an image and stereotype around (their) place and place identity, the narratives suggest that audiences are not simply passive bystanders in structural processes. For instance, although Barbara has never been a victim of crime, she has *witnessed* instances of crime in Liverpool and she has *read* about crime in the city in the news media. Despite this Barbara does not rationalise Liverpool as being overtly unsafe or crime ridden and therefore has resisted images that portray the city as such. In other words, she has resisted social structures and has made her own judgment and interpretation:

‘Liverpool is just as safe as any other city, you get crime anywhere but this doesn’t mean you have to get an alarm!’ (Barbara 37: R)

On the other hand, Audrey believes that it is the depiction by the news media of crime in Liverpool that has directly and negatively shaped her fear of going into Liverpool city centre:

‘It’s what you read isn’t it... I wouldn’t go in [to Liverpool city centre] of a night unless I was going in with other people and I wouldn’t go in on foot, it would have to be by taxi... so news makes you aware of your whereabouts and you don’t want to put yourself in any danger’ (Audrey 67: S)

Audrey therefore consciously bases her perception of crime in the city on what she has read / watched on the news media. However drawing from her narrative it is clear that it is not *simply* media representations of Liverpool that has led to the precautions that she takes. Rather, she also, significantly, knows people who have been victims of crime:

‘Crime happens all over this place, my neighbour, someone knocked on her door and pushed her in and dragged her all over the house and she was in her eighties you know, and it was like in broad [day light], nine o’clock in the morning. And you know it’s happening, somebody else was just, you know, she’s had a stroke and she was mugged and that was in the afternoon, just at the top of the road’ (Audrey 67: S)

Thus on the one hand Audrey believes that her fear of crime in Liverpool is based on the news media. While I suggest on the other hand that her fear is based on actual instances and explicit knowledge of crime.

Susan Smith (1984), Burgess and Gold (1985) and Sibley (1995) have addressed the influence that media attention has upon the identity of the people who inhabit specific places. Smith (1984) concludes that newspaper quotations referring to specific British cities can initiate panic, which can lead to stereotyping of locality. Burgess and Gold (1985) discuss how the reporting practices of the media account for the many stereotypes encountered in British cities, while Sibley (1995) acknowledged that the media contextualised Birmingham as being violent and crime-ridden, arguing that it was merely an attempt at scare mongering.

Similarly, the evidence that I collected indicates that the media is a source from which people get their information about crime and hence their perceptions of crime in Liverpool are based upon this. However further examination suggests that most perceptions, although *informed* to some level by the reporting of crime in news media, are more accurately based on instances of crime that they have witnessed themselves.

Therefore I argue against Smith (1984), Burgess and Gold (1985) and Sibley's (1995) suggestions that the media make people aware of crime and initiate a 'fear of crime'. Rather people make judgments based on what they know about structures that surround them, that is, the audience is not powerless and the media structures all powerful. For instance, Pete's narrative demonstrates that he is a knowledgeable actor and is resisting the media structures that frame Liverpool in the context of crime:

'All the papers ever do is talk about crime this and crime that here [Liverpool] but it's not my perception at all... perhaps I'm just very, very lucky and I can say honestly that none of my family have experienced any



instances of crime, they have never been victims of crime... the only time my Dad's car got broken into that we recall was in north Wales of all places... So you know, we've never been burgled and my parents don't even have a burglar alarm on their house... they leave their front door open, not at night when they're out but during the day, you know, when they're in. They have absolutely no fear of crime whatsoever... And likewise here, you know, our door is open now' (Pete, 30: R)

As such, narratives that initially suggested media structures as being powerful and audiences being powerless conceal the structure / agency relationship. However I have been able to contextualise and draw this out under further investigation. In other words, Liverpool may have been depicted by the media as being 'crime-ridden' (it has not been my aim to review the discourses of the media) however this did not necessarily lead directly to a fear of crime. Rather this fear was based on and built upon actual instances of observable crime. In this way agency is free to structure and re-structure structures and at the same time structures are able to re-structure agency.

## **A STIGMATISED LIVERPOOL PLACE IDENTITY**

Using Goffman's notion of stigma, this section will deconstruct how Liverpool people are interpreted and represented. The aim of this section will be to examine the impact that the negative associations have on people with a Liverpool place identity. Goffman uses the term stigma in its original, literal sense, referring it to 'bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier' (Goffman 1963: 1-2). Although he does not consider place specifically, I am expanding his notion and applying it to place (see for example Bush et al. 2001; Hastings and Dean 2002; Hayden 2001; Ridley 1986).

In his essays, Goffman discusses how differentness is used as a strategy by 'normals' (those who are not discredited) to create a category in which to determine a stigmatised or discredited person: 'While the stranger is present before us, evidence can arise of his possessing an attribute that makes him different from others in the category or persons available for him to be, and of a less desirable kind... He is thus reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one. *Such an attribute is a stigma, especially when its discrediting effect is very extensive*' (1963: 2-3, emphasis added). Hence a stigma arises from having, or possessing, an attribute that makes the persons different from other persons: 'He possesses a stigma, an undesired differentness from what we had anticipated' (Goffman 1963: 5).

Empirical evidence implies that Liverpool and the people who occupy (or have occupied) the space feel and are believed to be stigmatised: they have a stigmatised place identity. According to Goffman people with a stigmatised identity have to be positioned as being different to other people of other places. As chapter 2 illustrated, Liverpool since the late 1970s and 1980s has continuously fallen behind the 'development' (economic and otherwise) of cities – places – elsewhere in the UK. Thus the main differentness of Liverpool-people to other UK people is based primarily on its economic (under)performance which brings about cycles of poverty and deprivation (see chapter 2).

People associated with the city have been discredited on the basis of inter-related characteristics associated with its (post industrial) physical (dereliction, litter, abandonment etc) social (crime, exclusion, poverty), economic (high levels of unemployment, high proportions of benefit claimants) and political (unrest)

landscapes. Therefore, the stigmatised identities are drawn from deep-rooted historically perceived and recognised problems – differentness to other places – associated with high rates of unemployment, deprivation and socio-political problems.

It is this *differentness* that forms the core to the building block of stigma. In this way stigma can be seen as being a relationship between attributes (the economic history for instance) and what has been ascribed to Liverpool and the people, that is, stereotypes (Goffman 1963). A stigma or a stigmatised identity is therefore ascribed prior to social encounters.

The empirical research that I undertook uncovers explicitly and implicitly how stigma has impacted upon respondent's lives. Their narratives draw attention to acts of discrimination and prejudice that they feel they have encountered based on their (Liverpool) place identity. Ian, originally from the northeast, recounts his experiences of the stigma associated with a Liverpool identity:

‘When I was visiting my parents back in the north-east, you mentioned you taught in Liverpool, straight away everyone came up with the idea that all Scousers were thieves and you know, and [that] it wasn't nice to live in at all. I also found on the very first school trip I did [with Liverpool pupils], which was in 1978... we stopped off at the Portland Service Station... and we're told, I was told the children were not allowed into the shop because all children from Liverpool were thieves' (Ian, 49: L)

This passage demonstrates two points. The first is that there is a nation-held view that people with a Liverpool place identity are deviant. As a result people from Liverpool

are faced with explicit examples of discrimination: the school children were not allowed into the shop because of their place identity. However, the children were not allowed into the service station in the late 1970s when Liverpool was in the midst of socio-economic downfall unlike anywhere else in the UK. Therefore the perceptions that people had at that time were based on the socio-economic context in which they were constructed. The second is that the passage fails to uncover whether-or-not the employer at the service station would have acted any differently towards any other children from any other place. Indeed, after negotiations with the employer, the children were allowed in to the shop (would they have been if they were from any other place?) and some were caught stealing. In this way structures of labour markets and organisations that have acted and been acted upon in such a way and were in turn (re)structured by human agency.

However Ian firmly rejects the stigma attached to people with a Liverpool identity and as such, Goffman would have classified him as being 'wise' (1963: 28). This is because Ian is not discredited on the basis of his place identity:

'A... type of wise person is the individual who is related through the social structure to a stigmatised individual – a relationship that leads the wider society to treat both individuals in some respects as one... thus... [they] are obliged to share some of the discredit of the stigmatised person to whom they are related [socially]' (Goffman 1963: 30).

Ian lived in Liverpool for a short period but he was not from the city and has a 'northeast' accent. He is therefore 'wise' because of his (non)migration status that makes him 'intimately privy to the secret life of the stigmatised individual' (Goffman 1963: 28).

*Stigma and accent*

Goffman's notion of stigma includes a discussion of *stigma signs*. He uses this term to describe how social information, about whether-or-not the person is stigmatised, is conveyed (1963: 46). For instance, visible or perceptible signs may include skin colour, gender (although Goffman's work fails to consider this aspect), a wheelchair or a walking stick. However it is clear that not all stigmas are perceptible: who would spot the conman or the recovering alcoholic in a crowd for instance? Or what about those with the accent (the visible) and those without the accent (the invisible)? Both possess essentially stigmatised identities by virtue of their (non)migration biographies but what difference will this make to how other people of other places (the 'normals') categorise them? I will offer an examination of the differences in discrimination and hence stigmatisation between those with a Liverpool place identity who have a *visible* stigma (they have a Liverpool accent) and those without (they do not have a Liverpool accent).

Empirical evidence suggests that those who were discriminated against suffered on the basis that they had a visible Liverpool accent while those whose stigma was invisible (that is, they did not have any stigma signs) did not experience any discrimination. Hence it is to be theorised that only those with a recognisable accent feel they suffer from direct discrimination. For instance, Pete was born in Liverpool. He acknowledges that he does not have a visible stigma sign and he says that as a result he has never faced any discrimination (unlike those who have the accent):

Interviewer: Have you faced any negative experiences because of where you come from?

Paul: No. Mainly because I am led to believe that I don't sound like I'm from the city and people often express surprise as that's where I'm from (Pete, 30: R)

There are two types of preconceptions within the passage. The first is that Pete acknowledges that negative associations are attached to those who are connected to the city. In other words, people with stigma signs are more likely to feel that they are being discriminated upon on the basis of this. The second is there is a suggestion that not all Liverpool-people have the visible stigma signs and hence not everyone with a Liverpool identity is discriminated against.

In this way discrimination was based on whether or not stigma signs are visible. Indeed, Goffman notes 'visibility, of course, is a crucial factor' (1963: 48). For instance, Bob feels that he has been discriminated against because he has the visible (Liverpool) stigma. He recalls the discrimination he encountered when he moved from Liverpool to Somerset in 1996 and considers an incident that occurred while he was searching for a house to rent:

'I didn't meet him, spoke on the phone [and] he didn't actually say, 'because you're a Scouser', but it was, I think that was implicit in what he was saying. Basically they wouldn't rent the place to us' (Bob, 38: L)

I do not know if Bob was discriminated against based on his perceptible stigma sign yet what is important is that he imagined this stigma and attached it to his identity. Another example as to how the Liverpool accent is used as a sign to categorise the stigmatised 'others' comes from Simon, a stayer. He explains the reactions that he has encountered when people *hear* he has a Liverpool place identity:

‘I’ve gone into shops out of town and as soon as they’ve *heard* me accent, there’s about four of them [security guards] stood around me as if I’m gonna shop lift and whatever’ (Simon, 41: S)

Those who possess (or have acquired) the stigma signs associated with a Liverpool identity frequently note incidences where they feel they have been discriminated against based on this oral defining characteristic. As a result this has caused some people to attempt to reduce the visibility of their signs. For instance, Jo moved to Liverpool in 1993 to live with her Liverpudlian husband John. In 2001 they left Liverpool to begin a new life in Shrewsbury. Jo comments on the impact that having a (recognisable) Liverpool accent has had on her husband:

‘I mean he [John] hasn’t got a very strong Scouse accent, but you notice he has got a strong accent [when he is outside Liverpool] and he will say to me sometimes, ‘you speak Jo because if they hear I’m a Scouser, it’s better coming from you’ and he’ll try and talk to play down his accent’ (Jo, 30: L)

Based on a fear of being discriminated against, Jo’s husband has taken actual steps to conceal his stigma sign. Therefore his actions are as a ‘direct’ response to the stigmatisation based on his Liverpool place identity and as a result, he conceals the ‘defect’ (Goffman 1963: 219).

To what extent therefore do people *choose* to have an accent? In other words, is it inherited and if so to what extent can somebody *acquire* a local accent? The notion of choosing (voluntarily) to advertise a stigma was examined by Goffman in his essays (1963: 100). He notes examples of people actively displaying ‘stigma symbols’, such

as the Star of David necklace worn by Jewesses. But are people who have a Liverpool accent ‘wearing’ their Liverpool identity? Is this an offering of their stigma status to others (‘normals’)? In other words, is the accent presented as disclosure of stigma? Or is it more so that the accent is being used to advertise – claim – membership to a place, a community, an organisation?

### *Stigma and (non)migration*

A stigmatised Liverpool place identity can impact upon population flows: high rates of out-migration and low rates of in-migration. Previous research on migration and stigmatised places suggests that the stigma attached to place (and therefore to the people of the place) affects the population balance and exacerbates decline (Hastings and Dean 2002). Through their research conducted in three stigmatised areas within North Tyneside, Edinburgh and Birmingham, Hastings and Dean (2002) conclude that place stigma accelerates population loss. Similarly, the passage below demonstrates how associations with a place identity can influence population flows:

‘In Grantham (birthplace of Margaret Thatcher), an estate developer applied to the district council for permission to rename a street, Liverpool Close, as Ipswich Gardens. Allegedly the houses on Liverpool Close had been unsaleable for three years, unlike those in adjacent streets’ (quoted in Madsen 1992: 633)

This quote claims that (stigmatised) name association alone impacts on migration flows. Although this sensationalises Liverpool name-association it does stimulate examination into the impact that the stigmatised Liverpool place identity has on population flows to and from the actual place.



Indeed, the narratives suggest that there is a relationship between population decline (high rates of out-migration and low rates of in-migration) in Liverpool and the stigmatised Liverpool place identity. For instance Lee, a mover, finds a connection between the stigmatised Liverpool identity and population flows to and from the city:

‘I think the perception of Liverpool... puts certain people off moving to the location... it’s impacted upon people’s perceived images of ordinary residence of Liverpool and that’s impacted upon people coming in and moving’ (Lee, 41: M) (emphasis added)

By using the word *perception* Lee suggests that it is the image of Liverpool – the stigmatised Liverpool place identity – that fails to attract people in to the city and acts as an incentive for others to leave. That is, it is not actions of people within Liverpool that act as a stimulus for migration but the perceptions and preconceptions of the stigmatised Liverpool place identity. Likewise, Barbara, a returnee finds a relationship between population flows and a Liverpool place identity:

‘... They left partly because people’s concepts of Liverpool people, they might not have, you know, Scousers thieving and things like that’ (Barbara, 37: R)

Similarly, Sean, an arrivee, used to work in Chester, implies a direct link between in-migration flows and the stigmatised Liverpool identity:

‘... and lots of people in Chester wouldn’t dream of coming to Liverpool... you can give them free tickets for the Rolling Stones or something, but they still wouldn’t go to Liverpool to see it because... Liverpool’s got, well their perception of Liverpool is bad’ (Sean, 34: A)

The passage is sensationalist. By using the example of free Rolling Stones tickets (Sean is a huge Rolling Stones fan) he is implying that nothing at all could tempt people (back) into the city: if a rock concert would fail to work then nothing would. Hence implying that if they will not even visit then why would people *want* to move to Liverpool.

Georgio is an arrivee, a doctor originally from Greece. When he told people he had got the job he had applied for, which would mean a move to Liverpool, he was faced with questions as to why he would want to move there. These questions were posed by his work colleagues:

‘The thing is, when I got the job you know, all my English friends start saying, ‘Liverpool are you sure’... I said ‘what’s wrong with Liverpool’ and they say, ‘have you thought about it’ and I say, ‘hum yes’” (Georgio, 37: A)

It is therefore Georgio’s experience that professional people living in the UK would not volunteer to move to Liverpool. This selective in-migration is highlighted when his friends (professional people) queried why people would want to move to the city. That is, those with the financial means would not choose to move to Liverpool. In the same way, Hastings and Dean (2002) conclude that where there are negative associations with place (a stigmatised place identity) then those who have the economic means to do so will leave.

*Stigma signs and (non)migration*

As demonstrated, empirical evidence suggests that people believe that specific place identity characteristics and representations can influence (non)migration flows: a stigmatised place identity leads to high rates of out-migration and low rates of in-migration. The Liverpool accent is used to generalise and categorise people with a Liverpool place identity and hence stigma is based on this: stigma signs are used by 'normals' (those without a Liverpool place identity) to categorise people into stigma brackets. Therefore the Liverpool accent was found to be both a source of pride and a source of disdain and in some cases it was a motivation for leaving or not moving to Liverpool. Narratives even describe actual experiences of leaving, or preparing to leave Liverpool based on factors associated with not wanting to acquire the Liverpool accent (or stigma signs).

For instance, when Carol decides to start a family she wants to leave Liverpool. In 1999 Carol returned to Liverpool after divorcing her husband. She returned to the city because she wanted to be surrounded by, to quote, 'friendly people' after the trauma of her divorce. Nevertheless, Carol explicitly suggests that she does not want to socialise with people who have a strong Liverpool accent and as a result makes a conscious effort to avoid these people:

'I used to go in there about three times a week [upmarket café in Liverpool]... and we just loved it... and you would go in there and you would never hear a Scouse accent... and it was so *nice*' (Carol, 38: R)

The passage implies that Carol likes the café because it does not attract people with the accent, that is, people with a visible / perceptible stigma sign. She uses the word 'nice' to describe the café, therefore inadvertently associating it with 'nice people', which are people who do not have the stigma signs. The 'nice people' are those without the accent: people with the accent are therefore not nice. Her use of the word 'great' implies that it was 'great' because people with the Liverpool accent did not socialise there. There seems to be a contradiction. Carol talks on the one hand, about the friendly, warm Liverpool people who 'wouldn't ignore you if you were in trouble'. Yet, on the other, she wants to integrate with Liverpool people on her own terms: they cannot (should not) have a Liverpool accent.

At the time of interview Carol had been married, for the second time, for six months. I interviewed her husband Tom who has also been married twice, on a separate occasion. Carol was the first out of the two to be interviewed and her narrative describes how she would – and is planning to – leave Liverpool when she starts a family to avoid her children acquiring the signs that people use to categorise the stigmatised:

'If you're trying to bring up children – for example, when we have children, we'll have to think very carefully about staying here... It's a combination of things really, because we're terrible snobs I think, it's awful but you know, you think. I don't know where we'd send our children to schools. We managed to go to school in Liverpool and grow up and, and be quite nice, normal people – this just sounds like I'm a terrible snob. But you know, when you just see like some of the kids or you *hear them talking* or whatever, it's, you just sort of think, well if we had children, well, life changes if you have children doesn't it, *you want*

*something a little bit better I suppose. And maybe that's why everybody else is moving out'* (Carol, 38: R)

This passage illustrates that the stigmatised Liverpool identity would act as the driving force behind her decision to leave. She suggests that she would leave to avoid the risk of her children picking up Liverpool stigma signs. Despite not yet having children, Carol is already planning to move elsewhere:

*'I mean we've looked into private schools in Cheshire so it's near to Tom's children, and they seem so much better than here... and then I want the cottage with the big garden so we've been looking for what we can find elsewhere'* (Carol, 38: R)

Carol's husband Tom left Liverpool in 1988 with his first wife because they wanted to start a family, however he returned in 1992 after his divorce. He explains the motivation – and success – behind his decision to leave Liverpool to ensure his children did not have a Liverpool place identity:

*'I left because when I got married and we decided to start a family, we didn't want to have our children growing up in Liverpool. But I know I've done alright out of it [growing up in Liverpool] but I wanted them to have more opportunities and I didn't want them growing up and mixing with, I didn't want them *picking up the accent* or having to worry about walking to school and so we moved to a village in Cheshire... They [children] go to a good private school which is better than the ones here and they go horse riding and don't have an accent like they would here... and needless to say when my wife [Carol] and I decide to have children we'll move'* (Tom 44: R)

Therefore, Tom's view of leaving Liverpool if, and when, he starts a second family is supported by the success of his children's (from his first marriage) different (to Liverpool) place identity: they do not have a recognisable accent. Hence for Tom and Carol, the stigma signs (the Liverpool accent) have already been and will be again (in the future) the motivation behind their decision to leave.

On the other hand, narratives also suggest that there is a connection between wanting to leave Liverpool or not wanting to move to Liverpool based on the stigma signs:

'I was trying to entice potential employees from Cambridge... but its silly things, like you know, they say the accent, 'I don't want my child going to a Liverpool school 'cause they'll pick up a Liverpool accent'... and that would be a hindrance to them in their social, private life and career. There's this very big stigma that I don't want my children growing up with a Liverpool accent' (Barbara, 37: R)

It is Barbara's experience that people can be reluctant to move to Liverpool because of the links between the Liverpool accent and associated stigmatisation. Her narrative implies that people perceive the Liverpool accent to have implications upon life chances: stigmatisation is based on the place identity that their accent (stigma sign) reveals. Hence this will impact on in- and out-migration rates to and from the city and also on the types of people who will be willing to move to Liverpool.

### *Contradictions with the stereotype*

A recurrent theme within the narratives is that there is a stereotype of people with a Liverpool place identity that is not wholly accurate. I have been conscious not to call

this stereotype a stigma because there are differences. A stigma always implies negative most often discriminatory reactions. While a stereotype can have several connotations: both positive and negative.

Consider then the stereotypical images of a Liverpool place identity: two interconnected and yet contradictory stereotypes emerge. On the one hand there is the negative stereotype that the stigmatised associations draw upon, such as the ‘full of shell-suit wearing rogues who prowl the streets looking for houses to burgle, their hands bedecked with glistening sovereign rings’ (Rohrer 2002, BBC News Online). While on the other, and often at the same time, there is the ‘warm, friendly, loyal stereotype’ that defies the more negative associations. The narratives draw out these contradictory yet often interconnected stereotypes:

‘Well you know, it’s like the whole shell suits scally image isn’t it. I mean it’s almost like they haven’t got any brain cells to rub together, a lot of them... But on the other hand you get these lovely people who are very warm and very friendly and would give you their last penny and you know, they’re just lovely people, you can stand and talk to them at the bus stop for hours on end and they wouldn’t ignore you if you were in trouble’  
(Carol, 38: R)

The passage illustrates that at times being recognised as having a Liverpool place identity has negative connotations and associations, resulting in active discrimination. Yet, often at the same time there can be positive associations with this place identity and people from Liverpool can be automatically judged (or deemed) to be ‘funny and jolly and welcoming and friendly’.

As such, for purpose of explanation only, the stereotypes can be classified as ‘type A’ and ‘type B’. The former refers to the positive associations of a Liverpool identity while the stigmatised, negative stereotypes (and stigmatisation) are attached to the latter. There was a general agreement that people from Liverpool were (automatically) unique in their humour, friendliness and loyalty (see chapter 5). For instance, Ian, a mover, explicitly discusses the ‘type A’ stereotype associated with a Liverpool place identity while at the same time implicitly recognising the ‘type B’ associations:

‘We have a definite sense of humour. There’s a dark sense of humour as well and it’s a laugh and a joke, practical joke and there’s always some funny thing, some funny saying. It’s all about laugh in the face of adversity’ (Bob, 38: L)

By saying ‘it’s all about laugh in the face of adversity’, Bob is subtly recognising and accepting the stigmatised Liverpool place identity as being based on, and rooted in, the socio-economic and political unrest which resulted in Liverpool being different to other places. Helen, on the other hand, is less subtle in her acceptance of both ‘type A’ and ‘type B’ stereotypes and emphasises the positive characteristics in order to play down the negative:

‘I’ve no problem with it [Liverpool stereotypes] personally and I think I’ve got a sense of humour so that when people take the ‘mick’ [jest], I think oh yeah, that’s actually quite funny’ (Helen, 44: S)

In this way, Helen is playing the two stereotypes off against each other. That is, she is using the perceived positive characteristics as a defence mechanism against the



negative associations towards a Liverpool place identity. Therefore Helen has developed a coping mechanism (to laugh at the negative associations) to protect her own place identity. Similarly, Goffman observed that the stigmatised will often protect their identities by mocking their stigma sign and examined how a disabled girl protected her privacy in this way: 'A one-legged girl prone to many inquiries by strangers concerning her loss, developed a game she called 'Ham and Legs' in which the play was to answer an inquiry with a dramatically presented preposterous explanation' (1963: 136).

Hence Goffman's contribution to the theory of stigma is acknowledged. However, he failed to investigate how stigma can be perceived at different scales: thus what is *different* to one social group may not be *different* to another. I suggest that stigma is not universal. Thus there can be, at the same time, a positive appreciation and recognition of people from Liverpool yet also negative, discriminatory consequences.

## CONCLUSION

To suggest that a stigmatised place identity is based on the media is simplistic. Instead media representations of Liverpool have reflected and been reflected within the socio-economic and political climate in which they were contextualised. Using Giddens' theory of structuration within Foucault's framework of power allows for a deconstruction of the relationships between structures and agencies. As such, to consider the media as bad and Liverpool as good ignores the relationship and interconnectivities between the two. It is in this sense that Liverpool and the people of Liverpool were not just passive victims of media organisations.

This chapter has adapted Goffman's notion of stigma and applied it to place. In doing so I have been able to examine and theorise how, and to what extent, stigma – or a stigmatised place identity – impacts upon migration flows. There is an awareness that people are not choosing to move to Liverpool or are leaving because of the stigma associated with living in the city and hence acquiring a Liverpool identity. As has been argued in chapter 5, people from Liverpool are no more unique or different in terms of their characteristics to people from any other place. However what differentiates Liverpool people and other people is the Liverpool accent. This is used by 'normals' (people who stigmatise Liverpool) as a stigma sign: a visible sign or symbol to categorise, and differentiate, people with a Liverpool, and hence stigmatised identity.

However, Goffman's notion failed to consider variations of stigmatisation within a specific stigma category. In this way, not all people with a Liverpool place identity were stigmatised. Instead only those who displayed visible and perceptible stigma signs were believed to be stigmatised. There is therefore a contradiction within the stigmatisation of Liverpool. Those with the relevant stigma signs often take steps to minimise the attachment of stigmatisation to their identity. These steps are in the form of controlling, minimising or disguising their signs (accents) or by avoiding associating with those who have the visible and perceptible stigma sign. The Liverpool accent therefore is actively contested by some people. Significantly, people would migrate away from all associations with the stigma.

Therefore the stigmatisation attached to people with a Liverpool place identity affects population flows to and from the city with people leaving, planning to leave or not

planning to move to Liverpool because they want to avoid associating with or being associated to (and by), visible stigma signs. A greater understanding of the impact and problems associated with this stigmatisation will contribute to the knowledge and understanding of contemporary Liverpool population decline. In this way, the visible, perceptible signs or symbols are the defining characteristic of a stigmatised Liverpool place identity and as such directly (and indirectly) can be used as a backdrop to contextualise population decline. However, further examination and investigation into the reasons behind a (non)migration is needed. This is the subject of the next chapter. Chapter 7 explores the context within which a (non)migration decision is made and hence transcends the mover / stayer dichotomy, the results of which will be used to support the typology of reasons behind (non)migration to be presented in chapter 8.

## Chapter 7

# Decision matters

*'The dilemma of whether to leave or stay... surfaces with particular clarity'*

(Wastl-Walter *et al.* 2003: 798)

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### INTRODUCTION

Previous chapters have drawn a picture of the implications that a (non)migration has upon identity and examines people's relation to place and identity within a Liverpool context. This chapter shifts perspectives somewhat to a more focused view of a (non)migration and will investigate the decision-making processes behind a (non)move. This chapter assumes that a migration and a non-migration are the results of a complex set of decision-making factors and are the processes and outcomes of an array of multifaceted choices. However, in migration literature, the decision to stay is not always considered as being a decision. By suggesting that the decision to stay is as much of a decision as the decision to leave, the aim of the chapter will be to provide a framework from which to contextualise a typology of (non)migration to be presented in the following chapter. I will use Giddens' notion of ontological security to understand why some people stay and others leave. I suggest that risk minimisation strategies are often features that frame the decisions to stay or go. As

such a non-migration can sometimes be seen as an attempt to minimise risk by maintaining ontological security.

I propose that to move and to stay should not be juxtaposed at opposition. In this way I will not attempt to consider movers and stayers as separate, opposing entities and the two will not be posited as binary opposites. Instead I suggest that the same processes are involved and it is only the outcome, that is, the result that differs. By examining migration and non-migration as a continuum, the processes behind the multifaceted nature of (non)migration can be better understood.

## **DECISION-MAKING AWARENESS**

Migration is usually considered within the bounds that a decision has been made to move. In contrast, a non-migration is either not considered at all or not considered to be a result of a decision-making process: to stay is situated within the realms of there never being a decision to leave. However I will use empirical evidence to support my notion that non-migrants do indeed make a decision to stay. The difference centres on the intensity, conscious choice and awareness that such decisions can be, and have been made.

Giddens' notion of identity can be used to support my suggestion that people actively decide to stay. His theory of identity was developed around the concept of reflexivity in modern societies. That is, there is a self-creation of identity that is a direct result of the reflexive shaping of our own biographical narratives (Beck 1992). Drawing from this, Giddens' suggestion of *ontological security* will be used as a backdrop to

examine why it is that some people move from one particular place yet other people stay.

Ontological security can be defined by two things. First by 'having confidence in one's self identity' and second, 'as the security derived from shared routine and background practices' (Patiniotis and Holdsworth 2005: 9). One way of maintaining ontological security is through using risk minimising strategies. Risk however should not be seen as being 'out there' or as a way of maximising utility. Rather, risk in the ontological sense of the term is associated with identity: a sense of risk as uncertainty about knowing ones place in the world.

But how does this relate to (non)migration decisions? Staying is a way of minimising risk because this means a continuation of a sense of who you are (your identity) and where you belong (attachment) which would otherwise be threatened by the idea of leaving (migrating away). As Patiniotis and Holdsworth (2005: 20) find in their research of the practices of leaving home and going into Higher Education,

'... the local community structures their sense of ontological security, and by choosing to remain at home... [they] minimise the risk involved in stepping outside prescribed subject boundaries that defined 'who we are' and 'what we do'.

Hence for some, migrating away involves a threat to their sense of self and staying is a way of minimising that risk: staying ensures a continuation of a secure sense of identity and therefore acts as a strategy to maintain ontological security.

This can be explained using the example of wide-scale social change (such as the socio-economic and political unrest of the 1970s and 1980s). During these times, individuals actively seek ontological security (at a time when this is most at risk) by maintaining their routines and practices (Patiniotis and Holdsworth 2005): they maintain a sense of who they are and what they do. The threat that a move has upon ontological security can be seen as being greater than the threat associated with staying in an area exhibiting social unrest. In other words, ontological security is brought into conflict when individuals decide to migrate:

‘Ontological security is protected by such devices [a (non)migration] but maintained in a more fundamental way by the very predictability of routine, something which is radically disrupted in critical situations [for instance socio-economic unrest]’ (Giddens 1984: 50)

Therefore risk minimisation strategies involved in maintaining a sense of ontological security may help to explain why some people move and some people stay. However, strategies of this sort are not uniform and people have different orientations to risk. But what affects these differences? There are two factors. First orientations to risk (and hence risk minimisation strategies) are affected by class. The methodology that I adopted meant that I was not interested in the socio-economic status of respondents (see chapter 3) however for a review of a class society and the impacts of this on ontological security, see Patiniotis and Holdsworth (2005), Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) and Beck (1992). Beck explicitly separates out the classes in his work on ontological security saying that risk is not distributed evenly across the classes but that ‘wealth accumulates at the top, risks at the bottom’ (Beck 1992: 35 from Patiniotis and Holdsworth 2005: 9). Therefore the lower-classes are more likely to

use risk minimisation strategies as a way of maintaining ontological security. Conversely, the more affluent will use strategies to maximise utility and re-create their own biographies, hence are less likely to adopt risk minimisation strategies to maintain their ontological security.

The second factor involves (non)migration status. Stayers are more likely to use risk minimisation strategies (in the ontological sense of the term) than movers (migrants). That is, for stayers risk minimisation strategies are important and ground their sense of maintaining ontological security. Consideration of a move for stayers therefore goes against the norms and assumptions of their everyday lives hence represent a threat to their ontological security; the local (place) is a key site for the continuation of ontological security. Through the very act of migrating, movers have constructed a more individualised biography and hence a further move, or a(nother) consideration of a move, does not pose a threat to the maintenance of their ontological security.

Combining the above two factors then consider the example of the unemployed individual. For this person, a move away from the city may be perceived as being a bigger risk (to their sense of identity), than say, staying in Liverpool without a job. The decision therefore for an unemployed person to stay may in part reflect a need to maintain their ontological security – by continuing to live in Liverpool (maintaining routines and practices) – while at the same time facing the problems associated with being unemployed. The key is that the risks associated with staying (and remaining unemployed) are far less than the risks associated with leaving; by staying, the unemployed individual is choosing to maintain their ontological security (who they are and what is known) and therefore acts as a risk minimisation strategy.



It should however be noted that stayers do not always frame their decisions on minimising risk (see the narrative below). Nevertheless, whatever the strategy used, a successful decision will be based on the ability of the (non)migrant to reflexively (re)construct their biographies. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim have termed this the 'do-it-yourself biography':

'The normal biography thus becomes the 'elective biography', the 'do-it-yourself biography'. This does not necessarily happen by choice, nor does it necessarily succeed. The do-it-yourself biography is always a 'risk-biography', indeed a tightrope biography, a state of permanent (partly overt, partly concealed) endangerment' (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 3 from Patiniotis and Holdsworth 2005).

The narratives of non-migrants also indicated a mixed awareness and intensity that their decision to stay had been a decision and some non-migrants were unaware that they had actually decided to stay. The decision to stay was often subconsciously formed within the attitudes that generalise and underlie this decision. In other words, people trusted that they did not have to leave and in this way decisions involving day-to-day life were made within the context of trust. By using a narrative strategy, I was able to draw out the decision-making processes reflexively produced within their biographies.

In order to justify migration *and* non-migration as processes of decision-making, I will focus upon the narratives of stayers. This is not to say however that movers and stayers should be juxtaposed as binary opposites. Instead, I suggest that they belong to the same sets of processes and hence they should be considered as continuums, with only the outcome differing. Therefore, movers and stayers are separated out

only to provide illustrations that the same processes are involved in the decision to move and the decision to stay. The empirical evidence will illustrate the decision-making processes and degree of complexity involved in opting to stay and will highlight the ways in which non-migrants formulate (and overcome) the dilemma of staying or leaving.

### *Rebecca*

Rebecca was the last person I interviewed during *stage one* of the fieldwork. At the time she was 22 and had graduated from The University of Liverpool the previous year (2001). The year after graduation had been spent undertaking a journalism course. When I spoke to Rebecca she was in her first week of a new and much sought after job as a journalist. She had lived in Upton, Wirral, with her parents for all her life except for the three years she was at university. Rebecca's narrative suggests that she categorises herself as a stayer and hence a Liverpudlian. Therefore I have also interpreted her narrative as that of a stayer (see chapter 3).

For Rebecca there have been two periods in her life when she has had to decide whether-or-not to stay in Liverpool and both involve different strategies to maintain ontological security. The first was when she was applying to university and the second was when she graduated from university: lifecycle trends. This decision was made when she was 17 and had to choose between different universities. The passage below indicates the acuity of the decision-making process:

‘... When I was in like the process of choosing universities, I went to see the universities but I was just like, I just didn't want to go there. I didn't

want to go to Leeds, I found it too big and Manchester, I went to the Royal Northern College of Music, but that was too, that was out of my league [and] Huddersfield which was just like a big farm. So it was, but the course here was good as well at the time so that was why I didn't really have any problems about staying here and because I lived here as well so that was different... And when I went to uni' here I loved it. I didn't live at home, I went to halls in the first year and then off Wavertree [student area in Liverpool] after that and I loved it' (Rebecca, 22: S)

In this narrative, Rebecca not only indicates why, and how, she decided to stay in Liverpool but she also conveys the outcome of her decision. The decision that she made does not seem to have been a hard one to make. Rebecca accepted there were other options and weighed up the advantages and disadvantages, illustrated by the fact that she actually went to visit other places and considered other options. However, the downfalls to the other places were all in comparison to Liverpool: 'too big', 'out of league', 'big farm'. This further demonstrates her desire to stay in Liverpool: she compared Liverpool with and to all other places and the outcome of this was that she decided to stay. These comparisons also illustrate risk minimisation strategies; they are centred on not fitting in with the new surroundings, people and way of life hence threaten her sense of ontological security. Therefore, staying in Liverpool for Rebecca was framed around risk minimisation strategies centred on maintaining her sense of identity.

The second period where Rebecca actively had to decide whether to stay or go was after graduating from university, when she enrolled onto a year long intensive media-training course. Her plan had been to move to London to try and find a journalism job

there once she finished her training, however she recalls why she made the decision to stay in Liverpool:

‘I did want to *get out* of Liverpool... But when this job came along and everything, journalism is really hard to get into and it was, so I couldn’t really turn it down or anything like that. But I don’t mind now because... there’s an area of Liverpool that I really like, like Lark Lane [trendy Liverpool suburb]. I’d like to move there, I’ve never lived there but I’ve always liked it. And I don’t, you see the thing is, I don’t want to move back to Wavertree [student area in Liverpool], that end, ‘cause I’ll get too nostalgic and it won’t be the same, being a professional living round there. And it’s really weird working here anyway ‘cause it’s like all the students will be here soon and I was like only a student here a year ago’ (Rebecca, 22: S)

Rebecca’s narrative suggests that she had wanted to leave Liverpool because she did not think she would be able to find a suitable job in the city. However she made the decision to stay based on the fact that she had found a job that involved using the skills she had gathered during her degree and subsequent course. After she had made the decision she rationalised the positive outcome of the choice by emphasising what she likes about living in Liverpool.

Through the act of deliberately choosing to move to a *new* area of Liverpool, Rebecca is attempting to distance herself from her student days. This is a strategy used to persuade herself that despite staying in Liverpool (not her preferred goal) she is leaving her student world behind and therefore ‘progressing’ in the world (new job; more money; new location). Unlike the risk minimisation strategy Rebecca used during her first decision to stay, this time she is maintaining her ontological security

(identity as a graduate rather than as a student) not by refusing to move on, but precisely by moving to a new area of Liverpool.

The decision by Rebecca was a conscious process where she overtly weighed up the reasons for staying against the reasons for going. The scale and intensity of the decision-making processes are also unique to each individual. Thus the next few narratives to be presented will illustrate the differences in the intensity and conscious awareness of a non-migration as processes of decision-making.

### *Charles*

Charles is 47 and single. I will always remember his interview and some of the hilarious and wonderfully eccentric accounts of his life experiences. Charles lives the high-life. He lives in a town house in the middle of the city centre, ('slap bang in the centre of everything') and when he is not overseeing his business(es) he is either socialising with friends in Liverpool or 'jet-setting across the world'. His decision to stay was based on positive aspects of the city – aspects that he perceived were better in Liverpool than any other place. He explains:

'All my friends have left... [But] I wouldn't leave Liverpool... Well why would I ever want to leave? I mean there would have to be a very good reason and I can't think of one' (Charles 47: S)

By staying while everyone else he knows has left, Charles is constructing a more individualised biography and therefore he has exchanged the risks associated with moving for the identity risks associated with becoming 'other' in his own place

(Patiniotis and Holdsworth 2005). At the same time however, by staying (what is known) Charles is able to maintain ontological security.

Charles' experiences of the decision-making processes involved in deciding to stay are similar to Rebecca's experiences; his decision was an informed and conscious one. Therefore, Charles is aware that he has made the decision to stay and juxtaposes this against the question 'why leave'. He has the financial means to relocate and indeed he has friends all over the world so his social networks are not distance-dependent. For Charles, however, the choice to stay was based on his satisfaction with living in Liverpool. If things were to change so that living in the city did not satisfy him as much then I suspect – and he predicts – he would (soon) leave. Charles is therefore conscious that he *decided* to stay in Liverpool.

Thus so long as the excitement and benefits of living in Liverpool continue to be grabbed so enthusiastically, for Charles life elsewhere, or the option to leave, will not hold much attraction (or benefits). His choice and decision to stay in Liverpool is further illustrated when he was asked, '*where do you see yourself living in 5-10 years time?*':

'Probably still here... Difficult to tell really, my personal circumstances may change. But I've no reason to think that I wouldn't be... it's not as if I'm going to change my job... and I've no reason to want to change where I'm living now... no, I'm obviously tinkering to go live in a bungalow in Southport or something!' (Charles, 47: S)

This brief extract informs the process of decision-making: to stay is a process of choice and in Charles's case the choice has been informed. In other words, a decision

has been made. The word ‘probably’ in response to the question about staying in Liverpool in the future, suggests that decision-making is a process. Charles recognises that in the future things may change and he places this within the context of his future decision-making. Therefore circumstance will play a part in whether or not he will stay in Liverpool.

### *Simon*

The previous narratives illustrate how a non-migration is an informed *choice* (people decide not to move just as others decide to move) and that ontological security can be maintained through different strategies. The following narratives will demonstrate that a non-migration decision does not always involve conscious choice and awareness and will ground the decision in a risk minimising framework.

At the time of interview, Simon was 41 and living with his partner and their three young children. Simon has always lived in Liverpool and grew up and lived on the notorious ‘Scotland Road’ area (or ‘Scotty Road’) of the city until 1998, after which he moved to a new estate in Garston (a Liverpool suburb) that overlooks the River Mersey. Simon is pessimistic about living in Liverpool and his experiences within the city:

‘Coming from the inner city... the whole sort of local economy was based on crime and a lot of obviously drug addiction so it’s not pleasant. So I’ve got nothing nice to say about Liverpool to be honest... The only things really that I think are good [living in Liverpool] is ‘cause me mates are here and so is me extended family and they’re all living nearby’  
(Simon, 41: S)

This presents a clear portrayal of the difficulties that Simon faced growing up and living in Liverpool. The crime and drug addiction that he bears witness to have impinged on his feelings of living in the city. If he is so unhappy living in Liverpool then why does he not leave? Simon's decision is framed within the context of minimising risk and he chooses to stay in a place he does not like to maintain close family and friendship networks. In this way, kinship and family networks structure his sense of ontological security and it is this connection (of close family and friendship networks) which means he is reluctant to move. He explains:

‘I might move in the future, but not now because I’ve obviously still got all the extended family here so I wouldn’t move unless they moved as well... and the kids are still in school’ (Simon, 41: S)

At the start of the interview Simon is unable to rationalise why he has decided to stay and does not associate any positive factors about living in the city. His narrative is melancholy in tone when describing what he likes about living there. However, he subconsciously rationalises his reasons for staying: he has made a decision to stay rather than there never being a decision to leave. Indeed as his narrative develops and his story unfolds, further evidence is presented to suggest the processes behind the decision to stay. His reasons for staying were illustrated when he was asked where he wanted to live in the future:

‘I’ll *hopefully* still be living here [in Liverpool]... *hopefully* I’ll still be in the same job, so *hopefully* I’ll still be here’ (Simon, 41: S)

Although the decision to stay for Simon has not been as explicit or conscious as it was in the previous examples, it has however been a decision that has resulted in his non-



migration status. The decision for Simon to stay in Liverpool is expressed in his narrative by the use of the word 'hopefully'. He uses this word three times within a very short passage to create a sense of desire (or a choice) to stay.

Therefore on the one hand Simon was unable to explicitly articulate why he had decided to stay. However, on the other, he implicitly suggested that he chose to stay by expressing that he was also planning to stay in Liverpool in the future (long-term). In this way, his decision to stay was indeed an informed decision and not just that he had never decided to leave.

The difference therefore between Simon's narrative (as compared to the previous narratives) is the intensity of awareness of there being a decision involved: Simon was not consciously aware that he had actually decided to stay. Rather an awareness of his decision was borne only out of his desire to stay in Liverpool in the long-term: he decided not to move and hence decided to stay. Therefore Simon's decision was based more on trust than the decisions of Rebecca and Charles. Simon does not like living in Liverpool yet the ontological risks associated with leaving represent a greater threat to his sense of self than his dissatisfaction with living in the city: he trusts he was making the right decision. Hence, unlike the previous narratives, Simon's strategy that frames his decision is an attempt to minimise risk and maintain ontological security

*Audrey*

Like Simon, Audrey could not articulate why she decided to stay in Liverpool or if she had decided to stay at all. However, analysis of her narrative also reveals that she has made an informed decision not to leave and therefore she had decided to stay in Liverpool. Audrey is a 67-year-old widow who has lived in Liverpool all her life. Similarly to Simon she says that she does not like any aspect of living in Liverpool. This raises the question therefore, just as it did for Simon, of why does she not just leave?

Audrey explains that her decision to stay was based on the fact that she feels she is now too old to 'start somewhere fresh and new' and that she has good neighbours, which are 'hard to find'. In other words, Audrey legitimises her decision to stay: she has chosen to stay. Audrey however does not recognise this as a decision: the intensity of awareness of the decision-making process is quite low for Audrey. In other words, she was not aware that by deciding not to leave she was essentially deciding to stay. By using the words 'fresh and new', Audrey is illustrating that she feels she is too old to be stepping outside the boundaries that define who she is and what she does and therefore staying acts as a risk minimisation strategy. By deciding to stay, Audrey is using a risk minimisation strategy to maintain ontological security. This is made clear in the passage below which details that she wanted to leave and advises others to leave however she is too 'scared' to leave herself:

'... I would not blame anyone who was thinking of moving out of the area... they can find better jobs and the lifestyle and it's better, there's something different which they might never know before... when you just

live in one place all the time, you don't realise there's anything different from any other places, but when you go to these places you find they are different, there is a difference, there are nice places, much nicer... I go to Canada every year 'cause I have two, the two eldest girls are there, so I see a different way of life over there... and they have a much better way of life, so I don't blame anyone for leaving if they know what else they can get... I think if I was younger as a teenager, if I'd have had the opportunity then maybe, yes I'm sure I would've moved. But then we were all tied to families and nobody moved it was unheard of' (Audrey, 67: S)

Her narrative of other people leaving creates an underlying notion of adventure and suggests a new and improved quality of life as the outcome of their decision to leave. The words 'better' are frequent within the passage and are used to understand and to describe the experiences of people who opt to move while the connotations, 'there's something different' and 'might never know before' also draws positive associations with leaving. However, juxtaposed against these positive associations with a migration are Audrey's reasons for not leaving Liverpool when she was younger: a sense of responsibility for keeping family networks together and therefore maintaining ontological security. This passage suggests that on the one hand Audrey wanted to leave Liverpool and she looked on other people who left as leaving for an adventure, a new beginning, a better way of life while on the other, staying assured ontological security and was a risk minimisation strategy. In this way, her decision to stay when she was younger was based on the locality of kinship networks which acted to maintain her sense of ontological security.

Therefore, although Audrey is not aware that she has ever made a decision to stay in Liverpool, there were nevertheless two periods in her life when she has made the

decision to stay: the first when she was younger and her friends were leaving and the second more recently when her children have left. Both sets of decisions were grounded in risk minimisation strategies to maintain ontological security and hence knowing who she is and what she does.

Despite it not being an objective of my research, the narratives hint at class status and I can tentatively assume that Simon and Audrey's status was lower than the previous examples: for instance, Rebecca and Charles are graduates, Simon and Audrey are not. Drawing from this there are differences adopted by the two groups. For example, Rebecca and Charles do not always frame their decision to stay around risk minimisation strategies. Instead, to maintain ontological security they adopt strategies that will produce more individualised biographies. On the other hand, Simon and Audrey display genuine risk minimisation strategies, framing their decision to stay around what is known and what will maintain their sense of identity (despite not liking living in the city). Therefore as previously noted, class status affects the strategies used to maintain ontological security and the less affluent are more likely to use risk minimisation strategies.

The narratives of the stayers presented have provided evidence to support my theory that a non-migration decision involves the same processes as a migration decision. Although the intensity of awareness differs for each individual. For the most part, migrants were more informed and consciously aware of the processes behind their decision to move while the intensity, awareness and strategies used to maintain ontological security varied with each individual case of non-migrants. There are therefore contextual differences (such as to what extent has a move away been

contemplated) to be considered which can impinge on how the decision-making process is articulated and formulated in a persons' own narrative.

## CONCLUSION

By utilising Giddens' theory of ontological security, the context of the decision-making processes involved in (non)migration can be examined and used to understand why some people stay and some people go. A move away can represent conflict within a person's sense of identity and may bring with it a threat to their ontological security. Therefore the outcome to the decision whether to stay or go can reflect risk minimisation strategies and hence a desire to know 'who we are' and 'what we do'. However, not everybody will seek to maintain their ontological security in this way: people have different orientations to risk based on their class status and their (non)migration biography. That is, stayers and the less affluent are more likely to use risk minimisation strategies to maintain ontological security (who they are and what is known).

This chapter has interpreted the ways in which non-migrants negotiate the dilemma of whether to move or stay. The evidence for the decision-making process comes about as a negotiation between whether to move or whether to stay. By understanding the processes involved in opting to stay I have illustrated the complexity of the non-migration decision-making process. I suggest that migration and non-migration should not be considered as binary opposites and in this way I allow for migration and non-migration as being understood as a continuum. It is never *simply* about leaving or staying, moving or going and hence they should never be posited as oppositions.

In so doing I have provided a framework in which to consider the processes of decision-making and how it is conceptualised and formulated for individual non-migrants. I suggest that in order to fully conceptualise the experiences of migrants, the experiences of those who stay also needs to be explored. This will contribute to a better understanding of the multifaceted nature of a (non)migration. Indeed chapter 8 specifically takes this on board when typifying (non)migrants into a classification based on *why* they have (non)migrated and the *outcome* of the (non)move. By considering non-migration as involving the same processes, I will be able to present a rounded and complete typology. This chapter will therefore contribute to, and provides a justification for, the typology of (non)migration to be presented in the following chapter.

## Chapter 8

# Typology matters

*'Such a typology is a tool, and it is worth constructing only if it is useful'*  
(Petersen 1958: 264)

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### INTRODUCTION

Chapter 7 provided the framework from which to consider the motivations and outcome of the decision to (non)migrate. By focusing on personal narratives this chapter aims to develop this further to produce a new multi-dimensional typology which will examine two factors (independently and / or collectively): the motivation behind a (non)migration (why people leave) and the outcome of a (non)migration.

The typology will be determined in terms of the circumstances of the (non)migration and the decision-making processes. In so doing it surpasses previous migration typologies in that it combines those who move and stay, the actual and desired search-spaces and importantly the outcome of the decision. I argue that different dimensions can be used to investigate different aspects of (non)migration and as such the typology is flexible and multidimensional.

The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the contradictions between the cause and trigger and the actual and desired search-space behind a (non)migration. I suggest that the cause, and not the triggering factor, is the motivation behind a (non)migration: for a (non)migration to occur there has to be an underlying cause that stimulates beforehand the decision-making process. As such, the trigger acts only as a mechanism to speed up this process. I also acknowledge a tension between actual and desired search-spaces: the desired search-space (where people wish to (non)move) quite often differs from the actual search-space (where people have (non)moved to).

## THE NEW APPROACH

This section will classify (non)migrants into a new typology of *why* people leave Liverpool and the outcome of their decision. I begin by reviewing previous classifications (old approaches) of migration and then present a new, multi-dimensional typology (new approach). The usefulness of the new approach will be illustrated by running the old approaches alongside.

### *A review of previous typologies*

A review of related literature suggest that most previous typologies are concerned with the decision-making behind 'who moves' and 'why'. Fairchild (1925) produced one of the earliest migration typologies, classifying migration into invasion, conquest, colonisation or immigration. He further subdivided migration into two criteria: the difference in level of culture or whether or not the movement was predominately



peaceful. However his typology has been criticised. First for not relating to reality and second for not being able to explain differential behaviour. For instance a person remains fixed until they are compelled to migrate; conversely, they migrate because of 'wanderlust' (Petersen 1958: 257).

After Fairchild, Petersen (1958) constructed his typology based upon polar types of movement named 'forced' and 'free'. However, like Fairchild, he failed to acknowledge differential behaviour and his typology is therefore limited in its use. As a result Sell added an intermediate 'imposed' category to Petersen's typology and renamed 'free', 'preference dominated' (Sell 1983: 301). In this way Sell's classification parallels Rossi's (1980) induced, derivative and voluntary typology of migration (Rossi 1980: 34). Nevertheless, the categories that Sell and Rossi present are highly generalised.

More recently Ford *et al.* (1997) produced a typology in which they identified four categories of young migrants based on their preferences and expectations for staying in rural England:

- a) *Committed leavers* – comprise the highly educated who move to further their studies
- b) *Committed stayers* – comprise those individuals whose sense of belonging in their origin outweighs any disadvantage of continuing to live there
- c) *Reluctant leavers* – comprise those who would prefer to stay at their origin but the disadvantages outweigh the benefits of staying
- d) *Reluctant stayers* – comprise the less educated and less qualified individuals who are constrained to leave because of a lack of skills and experience

This typology however, was also criticised a) for being broad and generalised and not succeeding to go beyond the ‘two-fold ‘committed / reluctant’’ classification (Stockdale 2002: 348) and b) for failing also to incorporate the complex decision-making process associated with a migration. Since then, Stockdale (2002) has attempted to surpass previous highly generalised approaches. She criticises Ford *et al.* for their typology suggesting that it suppresses ‘the true nature of the decision-making undertaken by migrants’ (Stockdale 2002: 360). In her typology, Stockdale typifies migrant motivations for leaving into education, employment, personal or other (quality of life, housing, combination of reasons) and then further sub-divides the categories into:

- 1) *Education motivations*: ‘escapees through education’ (migrated to continue education)
- 2) *Employment motivations*: ‘labour market forcees’ (change or anticipated change in employment status leading to a movement), ‘single labour market forcees’ (single person who has anticipated a change), ‘family labour market forcee’ (person who moves with their family) and ‘temporary labour market forcee’ (those whose move is only temporary)
- 3) *Personal motivations*: ‘home community escapees’ (wanted to leave community)
- 4) *Other motivations*: ‘quality of life seekers’ (move related to quality of life aspirations)

However, she fails to incorporate people with a diverse range of mobility inclinations in her considerations. Indeed, Stockdale acknowledges that the typology is incomplete and is only applicable to Scottish peripheral out-migration and suggests further classifications to typify returnees would be useful (2002: 362).

*Towards a typology of (non)migration*

A review of previous typologies of migration behaviour therefore demonstrates that they offer broad and generalised, one-dimensional classifications and as such fail to incorporate fully the motivations behind a (non)migration. The new approach presented here encompasses the complex and multifaceted nature of the (non)migration decision-making processes by considering a range of dimensions depending on the factors to be investigated. The typology proposed is a tool first for understanding the motivations and mechanisms behind a (non)move and second for exploring the outcome of the (non)migration, the results from which can be used to predict and future migrants who might be inclined to leave Liverpool: ‘the mobility of the *future* has its beginnings in forces at work in the *present*’ (Rossi 1980: 118, emphasis added).

There are five dimensions to the new typology:

(i) (Non)mobility classification

In order to produce a typology that can be appropriated a classification needs to include people of all mobility inclinations. Therefore four *(non)mobility* categories will be considered: *leavers*, *stayers*, *arrivees* and *returnees*. These four categories form the first dimension of the new typology.

(ii) Cause

The second dimension will be the actual *cause* behind a move: the ‘*why*’ factor. The *causes* behind a (non)move can be summarised as follows:

*Education motivations:* The decision to (non)move is based on a desire to gain vocational or non-vocational qualifications. Those who based their migration inclination upon these factors are either school-leavers, unemployed or dissatisfied with their current employment. The aspects leading to an education-motivated mobility decision are linked to the resultant perceived improved quality of life for the respondent after gaining the qualifications. The motivation of people who fall within this group is termed *education* because the aim of their (non)migratory decision – or the cause for their migration inclination – to gain qualifications.

*Employment motivations:* Decision-making based on finding employment after a period of unemployment is usually made by the unskilled and they are mostly leavers. Having left school at 16 with few qualifications they have had a succession of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs and see no chance of finding employment in Liverpool or surrounding areas. These types of migrants will be termed *seekers*. On the other hand highly skilled older males and females comprise those moving – and choosing their location – based on the expectation of better wages and prospects (i.e., promotion) and are typically graduates (and hence are termed *enhancers*).

*Public policy motivations:* Those whose (non)migration choice is to an extent restricted and controlled by public policy are of limited income and financially have

little choice but to live in council – or Housing Association – housing. This group collectively comprising those in social housing usually lack academic qualifications. This includes people who moved out of Liverpool city council housing due to the Town Development Act implemented in 1952 – usually to Cheshire.

*Personal motivations:* There is often great variation with relation to the decision-making influences or those who moved for personal reasons, but on the whole three subgroups are identifiable from the narratives. First there is the group whose decision-making is based on the location of their close network of family and friends (termed *kinship*). Another sub-category within the personal motivations are *constrained*. People within this category are usually immobile having lived in Liverpool for the majority of their lives. Most usually they perceive something stopping them from leaving, for instance either their age or financial dependence. Finally there are *escapees*. Typically people within this category are those whose migration decision was made as a contemporary ‘flight from the land’. As the name suggests, this group includes all those who used migration as an escape and an example of this would be people who migrated from Liverpool to escape some sort of perceived trouble such as a threat of actual violence.

*Lifestyle motivations:* This (non)migration category encompasses a wide array of decision-making influences. What distinguishes this group from the other categories in the typology is that the decision-making is influenced by what the decision-maker(s) perceive(s) to be factors which will directly enhance their quality of life. The most typical example would be a move from Liverpool to somewhere more rural (termed *enhancers*). The other category are those whose (non)migratory decision is

based on a perceived more affordable lifestyle (for instance someone who moves from London to Liverpool) – termed *cost-reducers*.

In summary therefore, each of the motivations can be further sub-divided to make the classification of (non)migrants more explicit:

- 1) Education motivations: decision based on gaining vocational and non-vocational qualifications
- 2) Employment motivations: *'seeker'* (decision based on finding employment), and *'enhancer'* (decision based on employment enhancement)
- 3) Public sector motivations: decision influenced by public policy and determined by public sector housing
- 4) Personal motivations: *'escapee'* (contemporary 'flight from land'), *'constrained'* (decision based around perceived constraints such as age or financial reliance upon extended family members) and *'kinship'* (decision based on retaining local family and friendship networks)
- 5) Lifestyle motivations: *'enhancer'* (decision based on lifestyle change, e.g. urban to rural living) and *'cost-reducer'* (decision based on leading a more affordable lifestyle)

(iii) Search-space

To the dimensions of (non)mobility category and cause of migration may be added a *search-space* dimension. This dimension informs where a migrant is most likely to move to and may also help to ascertain why people are leaving. For instance those moving nationally might be moving because of employment factors while those moving globally might be doing so because of lifestyle influences. The classifications have been broken down into: *local*, *county*, *regional*, *national* and *global*. Within a Liverpool context: *local* will indicate people who move only within Liverpool; *county*

will be people who move from Liverpool to somewhere else on Merseyside or vice-versa; *regional* will imply a move from Liverpool to elsewhere in the northwest or vice-versa; *national* will relate to those moving from Liverpool to somewhere else within Britain but outside the northwest or vice-versa; and *global* will imply a move from Liverpool to somewhere outside the UK or vice-versa.

(iv) Satisfaction

A *satisfaction* dimension is also used to indicate the outcome of the migration, that is, whether or not the (non)migrant was happy with their decision. The following categories were derived from the narratives:

- a) *Despondent* – those who are unhappy with the decision
- b) *Passive* – those who are ambivalent
- c) *Content* – those who are happy with their mobility decision

(v) Permanence

To incorporate the fact that a move is often contemplated some time before the event actually takes place (Ni Laoire 2000) a further *permanence* category is added which suggests whether or not the respondents plan to move in the future. Thus the categories, *permanent*, *temporary* and *indeterminate* will be added accordingly. For stayers, arrivees and returnees the categories are self-explanatory. For leavers the category *permanent* refers to those who will never move back to live in Liverpool, *temporary* for those who are considering a move back to Liverpool and *indeterminate* for those who are unsure.

Using the satisfaction and permanence dimensions, the *outcome* of a move can be explored. This can be divided into three time-scales: the *immediate outcome* which is reflected by the search-space of the (non)move, the *short-term outcome* which is reflected with the satisfaction dimension and the *long-term outcome* which is reflected in the permanence dimension. It should however be noted that the permanence dimension cannot be used to predict a future (non)migration. That is, it should only be used to illustrate the way the respondent constructs their narrative and makes sense of where they are at that point in time, providing only an indication as to their current future (non)migration intentions. In most cases, the two outcome dimensions are linked together. For instance if a person is not happy with their decision to move or stay (they are despondent), then their future (non)migration intentions will reflect this (their stay will most likely to temporary) and they will construct their narrative accordingly.

**Table 8.1 Dimensions used for examining themes within the typology**

<b>Dimensions for examining <i>why</i> people (non)move</b>					
<b>Dimensions for examining <i>outcome</i> of a (non)move</b>					
<i>Search-space</i>	<i>Cause</i>		<i>(Non)Mobility</i>	<i>Satisfaction</i>	<i>Permanence</i>
Local	Education		Leaver	Despondent	Temporary
County	Employment	Seeker	Stayer	Neutral	Indeterminate
Regional		Enhancer	Arrivee	Content	Permanent
National	Public Sector		Returnee		
Global	Personal	Escapee			
		Constrained			
		Kinship			
	Lifestyle	Enhancer			
		Cost-reducer			



Table 8.1 illustrates three things. First it provides an overview of the dimensions that compose the typology. Second it gives some indication of the complexity of the typology: for instance a leaver may be classified as a national employment aspirer who is content with their (new) destination and therefore plans to reside in his/her (new) destination permanently. A stayer on the other hand, might be local, staying for kinship reasons and is despondent about residing in Liverpool, yet they plan to live there permanently. Finally it suggests that the typology can investigate two separate factors (depending upon which dimensions are employed): why people move and the outcome of the move. The actual dimensions to be included will depend upon the factors to be investigated. For instance, to typify *why* people move the dimensions *search-space*, *cause* and *(non)mobility* should be considered, whilst the dimensions *cause*, *(non)mobility*, *satisfaction* and *permanence* would be used when examining the outcome of a (non)move.

I will now present a set of case studies to make explicit the categories contained within the typology.

### *Jack, education-related leaver*

Jack works as a Recreation Officer and has lived in Shrewsbury with his wife Elaine and their two children (Jordan born 1996 and Sophie born 2000) since 1992. Elaine is a teacher and they enjoy a 'comfortable life', holidaying twice a year, living in a 'nice house' and affording two cars. However it has not always been easy for Jack. Born in Liverpool in 1964, he left school at 16 with no qualifications. Between 1979 and 1983 Jack was either unemployed or flitted between various, to quote, 'menial jobs'.

After nearly four years living 'on and off the dole', in 1983, Jack decided to reassess his future and take steps to secure future employment stability. After 'lots of research' he concluded that gaining qualifications was his only option to guarantee future employment:

'I'd made the decision to gain qualifications and then choose a location from the college once I'd got the qualification. I'd checked with the college what was the percentage of people who'd achieved employment on completion of the course and it was one hundred per cent' (Jack, 41: L)

The processes that Jack took in deciding where he would (re)locate suggests that the *cause* behind a move is often tied into the search-space of the actual move. In other words, when a respondent recalls the motivation behind a (non)move, they often also consider where they (non)move. Thus the search-space dimension was intrinsically linked to the motivations behind a move. Jack suggested that his move was not hindered by space – within a UK context – and therefore he was prepared to move anywhere within the UK. Indeed, it was not place *per se* that governed his choice of destination; rather it was educational opportunities and resources available. In this way, Jack's search-space was *national*.

For Jack, Preston was the most suitable destination because of the success rate of graduates finding employment. Hence the cause behind Jack's move had been that he wanted to gain qualifications that would enable him to find a skilled job. He had however been unemployed for a long period before actually deciding to move. The actual trigger behind the migration had been because he had 'grown bored of living on

the dole'. His narrative illustrates that he consciously masks the trigger (in Jack's case the boredom) with the cause (unemployment):

'I left really... there were no challenge, wanted to do something with my life, wasn't getting any challenging challenges in... other people had jobs – I didn't have a job. Even though they were menial, I couldn't get a menial job 'cause I had no qualifications... That was the main issue [the cause] and no jobs no money, I was bored [trigger] because there's you know, only so many episodes of Rainbow [children's programme] that you can have a look at' (Jack 41: L)

Therefore the four years that Jack had spent unemployed prompted him to leave Liverpool to secure vocational qualifications in turn to secure future employment. As such, he left to enrol on a vocational course at Preston College: the cause (rather than the trigger) directs the considering into practice and stimulates a move. To answer the *why* question (so *why* did Jack leave Liverpool), Jack left to pursue vocational qualifications at a college that guaranteed employment once the course had been completed. Accordingly he can be classified as a *national education leaver*.

In 1985 Jack graduated from Preston College and immediately moved to London because he had been offered a job through the contacts he had made while a student. He then spent seven years there building up his CV. In 1992 Jack relocated to Shrewsbury after getting a job as a Recreation Officer there with the local council. His narrative suggests that the *outcome* of the move from Liverpool (the satisfaction and permanency of (non)migration decisions) was positive and that he was *content* with his decision to leave:

‘I love it. Elaine [wife] loves it and that’s nice and the children are happy. They’ve got things here [Shrewsbury] that they wouldn’t have [in Liverpool]... It’s static [Liverpool] and my opportunities changed [once he had left Liverpool] and I stopped being down-and-out and depressed’ (Jack, 41: L)

His satisfaction behind the decision is further illustrated when he talks about being ‘forced’ to move temporarily (for two months) back to Liverpool in 1992:

‘I had to come back... well my Father became ill and we moved him into sheltered accommodation... so my wife and I decided to move up to assist in him living there... rather than getting him into a nursing home or a residential home, to allow him a bit of independence. When we got there [Liverpool] my wife found a job and I found it extremely difficult... So nothing had changed, even though I’d got qualifications coming out of my ears. It was unbelievable... you expect to have some interest, given the qualifications and experience that I had, but nothing, absolutely nothing... so as soon as I moved my Dad into a nursing home, that was my job done so I moved [to Shrewsbury]’ (Jack, 41: L)

Therefore the short-term *outcome* of leaving Liverpool to live in Preston was *contentment*, that is, he was satisfied that he had made the right decision to leave. While the long-term *outcome* indicates that he is planning to stay in Shrewsbury *permanently*. As such, Jack’s narrative highlights the linkages between the two outcome dimensions: satisfaction and permanence:

‘I wouldn’t leave [Shrewsbury]. No, definitely no. I love my job here and we’re happy here and we’ve got a good circle of friends. So I can’t see why we would want to move’ (Jack, 41: L)

The *outcome* of his decision to leave Liverpool has been positive and he therefore typifies a *permanent content education leaver*.

The table below (Table 8.2) suggests how the experiences of Jack would be categorised according to the old and new migration typologies. For comparative purposes, if I were to use Stockdale's (2002) typology of out-migration from peripheral areas then I would struggle to typify Jack. Withholding some shortcomings, according to Stockdale, Jack might be classified as a *career aspirer*. Although this approach has considered education motivations, Stockdale does not take into account that Jack was not a school-leaver and that he was not going on to Higher Education, but Further Education. Using this classification however would presume Jack to have left Liverpool to enter the labour market. The approach also fails to identify the scale of the move and as such does not further indicate – or support – the motivation behind the move.

Apart from the new approach it was only the approach recommended by Ford *et al.* (1997) that provides any suggestion as to the *outcome* of Jack's move. The classification *committed leavers* that Jack would typify using Ford's *et al.* (1997) approach implies that he did want to leave Liverpool and that the advantages at the destination outweighs the disadvantages at the origin. However, this approach fails to consider explicitly the actual *outcome* of the move in terms of the *satisfaction* and *permanence* dimensions included in the new approach.

Table 8.2 Old approaches versus new approach: Jack

	Rossi (1980)	Voluntary
	Sell (1983)	Preference dominated
Old approaches	Ford <i>et al.</i> (1997)	Committed leavers
	Stockdale (2002)	Escapees through education
New approach	<i>Why</i>	National education leaver
	<i>Outcome</i>	Permanent content education leaver

### *Georgio, employment enhancer*

Georgio is 35 and single. He was born in Athens, Greece and lived there until he finished his degree in Medicine in 1992. After which he moved to a rural area of Greece where he completed his three-year compulsory ‘rural service’ and then moved back to Athens. In 1996, at the age of 29, Georgio moved to Britain to work in a hospital in Southend-on-Sea. His move was stimulated by the desire to further his career and he believed that Britain offered the best chance for this. In 1999 Georgio moved from Southend-on-Sea to Liverpool. He recalls why he chose to move to Liverpool:

‘Because of work, I mean I got a job in Park’s Hospital [in Liverpool]... I applied to all over [UK]... but I wanted Parks because of the expertise offered... It’s a very renowned hospital. It was a good move to my career, you know to move and work in Parks’ (Georgio, 35: A)

For Georgio career opportunities are directly related to the cause behind his decision to move to Liverpool. He talks about the expertise offered at specific hospitals, the numerous jobs he applied for and his career. Therefore the *cause* behind Georgio’s

move was to further his career. Despite applying for many jobs in different hospitals around Britain, Georgio was pleased – in a career-motivated way – to be offered the chance to work in Liverpool. Thus unlike those moving for lifestyle motivations, his decision was in no way influenced by the city of Liverpool itself. In other words, Georgio *chose* to work – and as a consequence live – in Liverpool for two reasons: first because of the ‘expertise offered at the hospital’ and second because the poverty and deprivation in Liverpool allows for a more ‘interesting professional life’. He explains:

‘A positive thing is from my work point of view because I am a public health doctor, there’s a lot to do... So I can get much work helping a city like Liverpool, than helping the centre of Westminster or you know, very posh areas... So that’s a good thing... myself I always say from my work, from my professional point of view, it’s very interesting working in Liverpool’ (Georgio, 35: A)

The narrative therefore suggests that Georgio had a very real choice in his (re)location and that it involved an immediate enhancement of his longer-term career prospects. Accordingly he typifies an *employment enhancer*.

The choice of destination of the relocation for Georgio was very much open and dependent upon the employment market, that is, he would move to the location of the most career-enhancing job. While living in Southend-on-Sea Georgio decided to pursue his career in the UK, therefore a location / job within the UK was the only restriction behind his choice of destination. If I consider Georgio’s move from Southend-on-Sea he can be classified as a *national leaver* because of the national boundary restrictions discussed. Therefore he is a *national employment enhancer*.

When considering the *outcome* of his move from Southend-on-Sea to Liverpool, Georgio's classification is based on the conditions of his move: he moved because of what was offered (career-wise) in terms of working in the city and not on terms of living there. In fact Georgio's narrative suggests that his happiness – or satisfaction – with his migration decision is also based entirely on the success of his career. Therefore he is *content* with his decision to work in, and hence move to, Liverpool.

Unsurprisingly, Georgio does not expect to stay in the city long-term and explains that in order to get to the top of his profession he has to be highly mobile. The statement below suggests why he typifies an *enhancer*:

'I'll probably stay here at least for the next two years... and then depending where my job is... I want to become a Consultant so I'll leave and 'cause it's a big move, I'm prepared to move if the job is good and a profit' (Georgio, 35: A)

The *outcome* of Georgio's move to Liverpool can be classified as being *content* in the short term while *temporary* in the long-term. He can therefore be categorised by the new approach as a *temporary content employment enhancer*. This classification provides more information than the one and two-dimensional approaches used previously. Ford *et al.* (1997) offers the category *reluctant leaver* which would be most applicable. However this is only partially suitable. A reluctant leaver would prefer to stay at the origin however the disadvantages outweigh the benefits of staying. Georgio would not prefer as such to stay in Liverpool because he is career motivated and his satisfaction is based on the success of his career. Thus the classification *reluctant leaver* is not wholly accurate and as such is misleading.



To further illustrate the usefulness of the new approach I will consider another of the old approaches. Stockdale's (2002) broad classification of employment-motivated moves is sub-divided into four more specific classifications based upon the characteristics of the migrant. For instance according to Stockdale (2002), those who are motivated to move for employment reasons do so because of a change or anticipated change in their employment status. However, Georgio did not move because of an anticipated change in his employment status, rather he anticipated the change himself and moved purely to enhance his career. Stockdale's typology failed to consider the finite differences to each movement and hence the multifaceted nature of the (non)migration decision-making process.

**Table 8.3 Old approaches versus new approach: Georgio**

	Rossi (1980)	Voluntary
	Sell (1983)	Preference dominated
Old approaches	Ford <i>et al.</i> (1997)	Reluctant leaver
	Stockdale (2002)	Temporary labour market force
New approach	<i>Why</i>	National employment enhancer
	<i>Outcome</i>	Temporary content employment enhancer

### *Jean, public policy leaver*

Jean was born in Liverpool in 1947, has been married twice and has two daughters, aged 34 and 37 by her husband from her first marriage. Jean enjoyed everything about living in Liverpool and felt lucky to spend her teenage years living there because of the 'vibrancy of the city'. In fact it had never been a consideration to

move because she says all she wanted was to live in a council house in Liverpool. Nevertheless, it was this desire that eventually led to her leaving:

‘The only way I could see us getting somewhere was, you aimed high to get a council house... and to get a council house for me in those days that was the ultimate but the only way we could do that was to sort of move out [of Liverpool]... if I’d have got a council house in Liverpool, I dare say, I’d still be there now’ (Jean, 55: L)

Jean was married for the first time in 1965. However she and her husband could not afford a house of their own so they moved in to live with Jean’s Mother who also lived in Liverpool. After one year Jean and her husband applied to become council tenants, although at the time of her application people living in council accommodation were being moved to neighbouring counties such as Cheshire, under the Town Development Act post-war housing programme (see chapter 2). Therefore when Jean received confirmation that she was eligible for council accommodation she had mixed feelings:

‘I didn’t want to leave but then they told me I could get a house but somewhere else and we were living with my parents... and my ex-husband came out of the army and the choices they gave me was a case of going to Kirkby, Winsford or Winsdale... Didn’t want to go at all, I loved it [Liverpool]... being close to the shops and everything and I didn’t like the countryside. If we hadn’t had to get a place I would never have left but we couldn’t get anywhere it was the only way we could do that was to sort of move out’ (Jean, 55: L).

As her narrative suggests, Jean would never have left Liverpool if she had not been relocated to an overspill. The narrative also illustrates the limited choice that she had

in her destination. The restrictive choice was a result of two interconnected factors. First Jean was constrained by financial resources and second because Jean decided that she wanted to move out from her parent's house, to a council property, the public policy determined where there was available council housing. Jean recalls:

‘Like I said, it was Kirkby, Winsford or Winsdale and we didn't fancy Kirkby and I think we flipped a coin... but really it was a case of that was the only choice we had’ (Jean, 55: L)

Therefore the search-space involved in Jean's choice of location was controlled to an extent by external influences. However the moves were outside Liverpool and Merseyside and as such she can be classified as a *regional public sector leaver*.

Despite her initial reservations for leaving Liverpool Jean became quite settled and *content* living in Winsford and recalls the time she spent living there were fond memories:

‘It was very friendly. If you had a problem all the neighbours would rally round, they'd take you, if you had to go into hospital for a visit, you just knew that one of your friends, one of your neighbours would take your children in. There'd be parties... you'd pop in and out of neighbour's [houses] quite readily and wherever you lived you knew everybody’ (Jean, 55: L).

Thus in terms of the short-term *outcome* Jean was content with her decision to move from Liverpool to Winsford. While in the long-term, the *outcome* was that Jean predicts she will never return to Liverpool and therefore is a *permanent leaver*. As such, Jean would be classified as a *permanent content public policy leaver*.

The table below (Table 8.4) highlights how Jean would be classified according to the old and new approaches. The approach by Stockdale (2002) provides only a sketchy classification for Jean's experiences as a result of the post-war housing programme. The one most fitting for Jean is the *quality of life seekers* motivation. However, this does not encompass the complicated nature and restricted search-space of people being relocated through the Town Development Act.

On the other hand, according to Ford's *et al.* (1997) approach, Jean would typify a *reluctant leaver*. This is slightly more fitting to the experiences of Jean because as her narrative illustrates, at first she did not want to leave however she weighed up the cost of staying against the benefit of leaving. Nevertheless, the new approach accurately classifies the motivations behind Jean's migration and acknowledges the outcome (short- and long-term) to the (non)move.

**Table 8.4 Old approaches versus new approach: Jean**

	Rossi (1980)	Induced
Old approaches	Sell (1983)	Preference dominated
	Ford <i>et al.</i> (1997)	Reluctant leaver
New approach	Stockdale (2002)	Quality of life seekers
	<i>Why</i>	Regional public policy leaver
	<i>Outcome</i>	Permanent content public policy leaver

### *Keith, escapee*

Keith is 36 and has been married to Rachel for three years. They have a daughter, Jessie, aged 2. Keith left school at 16 years old to join the army. He stayed for one

year and then went back to school aged 17 to get the qualifications needed to attend university. When Keith graduated he rejoined the army to 'travel the world'. In 1998, while on leave in Liverpool, Keith met Rachel and decided to return to live with his Mother and enrol onto a teacher training course. However on his return he felt that the area where he was living in Liverpool (Dovecot) was in decline:

'There were definitely drug problems and all sorts of things and it was just in decline... It's gone down on the doorstep sort of thing so kids playing out, you know, 10 o'clock, 11 o'clock, school nights and then lots of talking, noise, 'ddddddd', the whole kit and then it attracted scum' (Keith, 36: L)

For Keith, the networks that are associated with his decision to leave Liverpool include factors connected to crime, such as prostitution and drug abuse and the 'kids' in the area who act in anti-social and aggravating ways. Consequently he felt he had no choice but to leave because of the threat of violent reprisals after he tried to curb the anti-social behaviour and as such his experiences represent an *escapee*:

'It just got very stressful for me personally 'cause I was doing a lot of vigilante work I think the word is and you know it just got to a point where I thought well if I don't move then I'm gonna end up in serious trouble. I felt like a prisoner in many ways, it was as stark as that... We laugh about it now but I was saying, but the day we moved I realised how much actual stress I was under myself. The day I actually completed and drove down and that was all and got into the new house it was like that, that stress just disappeared off my chest you know' (Keith, 36: L)

Keith enjoyed his job teaching in Liverpool and therefore his actual search-space was restricted:

‘I wanted to stay near to Liverpool ‘cause my friends and family are here and to be near work... I could get a job in Southport [destination] but I chose to stay here [working in Liverpool] because it’s my type of school, my type of kids. So although in one way I’m saying I’m getting away from all this [anti-social behaviour] and this is the type of kids I like to work with. I couldn’t see myself teaching in a nice suburb type of school, I’d much rather be in the city type so basically in Liverpool. So that’s why I didn’t move further away’ (Keith, 36: L)

Thus Keith’s search-space was governed to an extent by his job – or more so the constraint of his choice of job location. Using the new approach, Keith typifies a *county escapee*.

The *outcome* of Keith’s move from Liverpool to Southport was very successful. The short-term *outcome*, that is, the satisfaction with the (non)migration decision, suggests that Keith was *content* with his decision to leave. He emphasises this by saying:

‘I’d be willing to travel an hour a day, you know, just for the position I’m in now quite honestly, I have only done it a year or so and may change my mind in the future but [laughs] I don’t think so... sometimes it still feels like I’m on holiday... it’s like bizarre feeling really happy there, so the honeymoon period I suppose’ (Keith, 36: L)

Therefore Keith predicts that he would never consider moving back to Liverpool and would stay in Southport for the ‘rest of my days – but with a loft conversion and a conservatory’. Hence his *contentment* with his migratory decision is supported by his *permanent* status at the time of the interview. Accordingly Keith typifies a *permanent, content personal escapee*.

When considering how the old approaches would typify Keith, it is Rossi's (1980) *induced* category and Stockdale's *home community escapee* that best fits his experiences. However these classifications provide no indication as to the *outcome* of the move nor do they suggest that Keith actually had a very real choice: he may have felt he was being forced to leave because of anti-social behaviour but it was actually his own choice to leave. On the other hand, according to Ford's *et al.* (1997) classification, Keith would be a *reluctant leaver* because, besides leaving to pursue education, it is the only other category given to movers. However, a *reluctant leaver* would prefer to stay at their origin but Keith wanted to leave. Thus the classifications using the old approaches can be misleading.

**Table 8.5 Old approaches versus new approach: Keith**

	Rossi (1980)	Induced
Old approaches	Sell (1983)	Preference dominated
	Ford <i>et al.</i> (1997)	Reluctant leaver
New approach	Stockdale (2002)	Home community escapee
	<i>Why</i>	Regional escapee
	<i>Outcome</i>	Permanent content escapee

### *Gill, kinship stayer*

Gill is 53, has two children, Derek, 28 and Joanna 25, and has been married to Joe for 29 years. They have always lived in Liverpool. Even though Joanna and Derek no longer live with Gill, the family remain very close and they spend time with each other every day. The narrative below illustrates why she is classified as a *kinship stayer*:

‘I wouldn’t move away. ‘Cause I like it and you know, family, brother lives over there [indicates], you know and me niece lives over there [indicates], and me daughter lives over there [indicates] and me son lives over there [indicates]’ (Gill, 53: S)

The link between Gill and her family network has also meant she carefully considers the location *within* Liverpool where she would choose to live.

‘I wouldn’t go the Swan [Old Swan – area within Liverpool] ‘cause people from Kenny [Kensington – area within Liverpool] didn’t go there and me roots are still with Kenny [where she was brought up] so I wouldn’t go there’ (Gill, 53: S)

Therefore Gill typifies a *local kinship stayer* and as her narrative suggests, she would never – could never – leave Liverpool. Therefore the long-term *outcome* is one of *permanency*.

Gill is *content* with her decision to stay in Liverpool because she is able to maintain close and local family networks. As such, the *outcome* of her decision to stay has been positive: in the short-term she is satisfied with her decision while in the long-term she predicts she will stay in Liverpool for the foreseeable future.

The table below (Table 8.6) indicates how the old and new approaches classify the (non)migratory experiences of Gill. According to Stockdale’s (2002) typology, Gill would be categorised within the *personal motivation* category. However the only subcategory that she provides, ‘*home community escapees*’, does not acknowledge – as the name suggests – those whose mobility inclination was to stay. Nor does it



explicitly indicate the reasons behind Gill's decision and hence a personal (non)move. Conversely, the new approach accounts for the diverse range of personal motivations behind a (non)move. Indeed, with the old approaches it is only Ford *et al.* (1997) who considers those who move and also those who stay. Therefore the classification system by Ford *et al.* (1997) accurately considers the experiences of Gill: her sense of belonging (her 'roots') outweighed any disadvantages of continuing to live there. Although all of the old approaches fail to acknowledge explicitly the outcome of the (non)migration.

**Table 8.6 Old approaches versus new approach: Gill**

	Rossi (1980)	
	Sell (1983)	
Old approaches	Ford <i>et al.</i> (1997)	Committed stayer
	Stockdale (2002)	
New approach	<i>Why</i>	Local kinship
	<i>Outcome</i>	Permanent content kinship

### ***Gareth, lifestyle enhancer***

Gareth is 21 and single and up until three months prior to the interview, he had lived with his Mother in Liverpool all his life. He left school at 16 with no qualifications and for the majority of time since then he has been unemployed. The few jobs that he has had have been unskilled and he has not managed to hold down a position for more than three months. In 2002, Gareth spent 5 months serving a prison sentence which he blames on the 'knob heads' that he grew up with. Since then Gareth has not worked which he puts down to prejudice because of his prison record.

At the date of the interview Gareth had been living in Birkenhead for three months. However, I will classify him as a stayer for a number of reasons: the locality of his move; the fact that he wants to 'stay in Liverpool'; his personal narrative is indicative of a stayer; and although his residential base is outside Liverpool (10 minutes from Liverpool city centre) he spends most days and nights in his parental home. Gareth recalls that initially he left Liverpool for a perceived better lifestyle and can therefore be classified as an *enhancer*:

'My ex-girlfriend lived near Cheshire, so I moved over to be closer to her so I wouldn't spend all me time travelling and I thought there'd be more opportunities over there for things to do and for employment and to get a different life 'cause I wanted to get away from like the knob heads round here [Liverpool] who like were keeping me down and that' (Gareth, 21: S)

Despite the perceived benefits associated with leaving his parental home, Gareth now feels that there are in fact fewer opportunities available since his move: he has had no success finding a job and the relationship with his girlfriend (who lives near to Birkenhead) has broken down.

Gareth's *actual* search-space was *regional*. This *actual* search-space was different to his *desired* search-space and a discussion of the conflict is provided later on in the chapter. However, his search-space is limited by his desire to remain as close to Liverpool as possible:

'Well I've got a criminal record and I find it extremely hard to get a job 'cause I'm always discriminated against. But I know that in Oxford I was offered several jobs and I only went for a week to stay with me Aunty...

but I wouldn't move to Oxford 'cause I've only moved over the water, I'm still in [Liverpool] technically and I regretted that, so if I moved further a-field I would probably regret it even worse' (Gareth, 21: S).

Therefore the short-term *outcome* is negative and his satisfaction can be classified as *despondent*. Related to the *despondence* Gareth feels towards his move across the Mersey, he predicts that he will move back to inner city Liverpool as soon as he possibly can. However because Gareth categorises a stayer, I will also categorise his *permanence* on this basis. As such, he would be classed as *permanent*.

Gareth can be categorised as a *local lifestyle enhancer* while the *outcome* question would typify his experiences as a *permanent despondent lifestyle enhancer*. This new classification goes beyond the old approaches primarily because it is more specific than the broad *quality of life* factors that, for instance, Stockdale's typology includes. Using search-space as a dimension also provides a more explicit insight into the motivations behind a (non)migration. For instance, if an *enhancers'* search-space is *county* then they may have moved because they wanted to take advantage of the perceived lower costs associated with living just outside Liverpool.

Table 8.7 Old approaches versus new approach: Gareth

	Rossi (1980)	
	Sell (1983)	
Old approaches	Ford <i>et al.</i> (1997)	Committed stayer
	Stockdale (2002)	
New approach	<i>Why</i>	Local lifestyle enhancer
	<i>Outcome</i>	Permanent despondent lifestyle enhancer

*Ian, lifestyle cost-reducer*

At the time of interview, Ian was 49 and single. He was born in Durham in 1953 and lived there until 1971 after which he moved to Liverpool to study at the university. Once he graduated in 1975 he began a PGCE course at Liverpool's teacher training college. After gaining his teaching qualifications Ian applied for teaching jobs all around the UK, including Liverpool and Durham:

'I didn't really choose to stay in Liverpool but I applied for jobs anywhere... and I had three interviews and I was quite prepared to move... and I was then actually offered two jobs, one job was back in the northeast and one job was actually in Liverpool, and the one in the northeast was in a school which was 11-16 [year olds] and not my subject. And if the school had been a bit different... then I may well not have stayed in Liverpool... certainly there was no desire to necessarily stay in Liverpool or necessarily go back to the northeast' (Ian 49: L)

Ian therefore stayed in Liverpool because the job that he was offered was perceived to be a better job – with better opportunities and prospects – than that he was offered elsewhere. In 1984 Ian decided to leave Liverpool because he thought that he could lead a better, more affordable quality of life living outside the city. So he chose to move to nearby Widnes. This was an area within his own acceptable commuting distance which meant that he was able to continue working in Liverpool. Therefore his experiences typify a *lifestyle cost-reducer*:

'The main driving factor was simply cost, that the cost of housing in Liverpool compared to the cost of housing in Widnes was so much more expensive... When I moved in 1984, the house which I've got now which

is a 3-bedroomed semi, in a nice sort of suburban area, cost me £27,000 to buy. For £27,000 at the same time I was looking at nothing better than a 2-bedroomed terrace house in one of the more deprived areas of Liverpool... And at that time, that was roughly speaking all I could afford to spend on a house and therefore I think the decision really was made there, if I wanted a garden and 3 bedrooms and a garage and things like that, then I had to leave Liverpool and I would not be able to buy that within Liverpool' (Ian, 49: L)

Hence Ian chose Widnes based on two factors: first because of the commuting times involved and second because he could then take advantage of living outside Liverpool, 'where it was cheaper' yet still close enough to use the facilities offered within the city. After the move, his quality of life expectations were realised and consequently he was *content* with his decision to leave:

'I can actually use Liverpool's facilities which I still do... it is much cheaper to live in Halton with their community charges, certainly are much, much lower than what we pay in Liverpool... It means I've got more money to spend on myself really and it's fairly quiet, you get no real hassle from anyone here' (Ian, 49: L)

As such, Ian thinks he will stay in Widnes permanently because otherwise he would never be able to afford to lead the lifestyle he does now. Therefore both the short- and long-term *outcome* to his decision to leave Liverpool was successful.

Using the new approach Ian's experiences can be classified first using the *why* question as a *regional cost-reducer* and second using the *outcome* question as a *permanent content cost-reducer*. The new approach allows a concise classification of the motivations behind a (non)move. On the other hand, using Stockdale's (2002)

approach, he would be categorised as being a *quality of life seeker*. Although this category has no further subcategories and therefore it does not expand on anything other than the (non)migration has something to do with improving their quality of life: but what aspect?

**Table 8.8 Old approaches versus new approach: Ian**

	Rossi (1980)	Voluntary
Old approaches	Sell (1983)	Preference dominated
	Ford <i>et al.</i> (1997)	Reluctant leaver
	Stockdale (2002)	Quality of life seekers
New approach	<i>Why</i>	Regional cost-reducer
	<i>Outcome</i>	Permanent content cost-reducer

## MOTIVATIONS: CAUSE VERSUS TRIGGER

The narratives suggest that there are underlying causes that often mask the actual trigger behind a (non)migration. For instance Keith left Liverpool in 1999. His narrative implies that on the one hand he left because of the anti-social behaviour by people within his neighbourhood. While on the other he had actually ‘put up with this kind of behaviour’ for many years and consequently had planned – or contemplated – a move for sometime. Further examination of Keith’s narrative suggests that the actual *trigger* behind his move was that he had started a family:

‘It didn’t bother me at first everything and the noise, the scum but then it was all the time. And I realised for like a good year and a half that I wanted to move, that was more so ‘cause I had my daughter then’ (Keith, 36: L)

The *cause* behind a move would initially mask the triggering factor. For a (non)migration to occur there has to be an underlying cause – or factor – that stimulates beforehand the decision making process while the trigger acts only as a mechanism to speed up this process. However, respondents did not recognise the trigger as being related to the move and it was only by listening to the stories that they told – by analysing their narratives – and by studying their biographies that I was able to draw out the contradictions.

The decision-making process behind a (non)move is usually set into motion by an underlying, most often long-standing *cause* and as such is the motivation behind a move (e.g. quality of life factors). It is only after the complex process of decision-making has been set into motion (by the *cause*) that there is often a *triggering* factor (e.g. the birth of a child) which turns the process into an actual result: a (non)move. Therefore the typology examined and classified people on the basis of the motivations behind the move – the *cause* that set the decision-making process into motion – and not the actual *trigger* (the factor that directed the decision-making into an actual (non)move).

## **SEARCH-SPACE: ACTUAL VERSUS DESIRED**

The new approach examines two interconnected factors: *why* people (non)move and the *outcome* of the (non)move. Both factors involve exploring the *search-spaces* of a (non)migration that represent where the (non)migrants have (re)located. There is however often a conflict between the search-space before the move and the search-space of the move. Before a move the search-space is *desired* – where do people

want to (non)move – while after a move the search-space is known as *actual* – what was the *outcome* of the move or the *actual* destination. It is this conflict that separates the two factors.

To illustrate this I will use the experiences of Charles. Privately educated Charles is a successful businessman whose (re)location is governed only by the fact that he wants to live in Liverpool, ‘because it’s excellent, it’s got it all... affordability, amenities, proximity, everything’. Despite living in Liverpool his whole life, he can be categorised as a global thinker: his *actual* search-space is local but his *desired* search-space is global. This is illustrated when he compares Liverpool with other global cities:

‘I have school friends who live all over the world, some in New York, some in London, some in every big city and I can’t understand why. It’s so much cheaper to live here and everything is so close by so I can afford to live where I do and lead the lifestyle that I have’ (Charles, 47: S)

Charles is therefore choosing to live in Liverpool because of the perceived benefits. However if the benefits were not there, that is, if he perceived living somewhere else to be preferential, then he would move there:

‘If things did change in Liverpool then I would move. Everywhere else is so expensive and there’s parking and travelling but if things changed then yes I would move and I’d consider moving anywhere. But I can’t see them changing’ (Charles, 47: S)



The difference between *actual* moves and *desired* moves is largely dependent upon the financial resources available to the individual. In this way the narratives suggest that although most people have both *actual* and *desired* moves, there is a difference between those who are less (financially) restricted and can therefore pursue their *desired* search-space and those who are unable to do so.

## CONCLUSION

The new typology is unique and surpasses previous, old approaches in that it is multi-dimensional and encompasses the complex processes of decision-making while also incorporating search-space, satisfaction and (non)migration inclinations after the (non)move. Hence the new approach is important in four ways. First it typifies and recognises the multifaceted nature of the (non)migration decision, which can be useful as a framework within which migration can be examined. Second, the typology illustrates that future migration research needs to embrace the multifaceted and highly differential circumstances under which a (non)migration occurs. Third, it will go some way to predicting who is most likely to move and out of those, who is most likely to return, or to stay. Finally, it is a useful tool for researchers because it allows different factors to be considered according to the themes under investigation. In this way it is more focused than other typologies and will provide a more defined and appropriate mechanism to conceptualise the (non)migration decision-making processes.

## Chapter 9

# Concluding matters

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### INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to draw together the evidence that has been presented throughout this thesis in order to establish the relationships between place, identity and (non)migration within a Liverpool context. By synthesizing the conclusions that have been reached during the research process this chapter presents the main theoretical and methodological implications of this research.

The first section develops orthodox migration theories. By considering neoclassical economic theories of migration, I conceptualise aggregate migration flows on the one hand by demonstrating the economic context of migration, while on the other hand I suggest that (non)migration can be examined from a more individualised, micro-level to provide the circumstances behind a move. Hence moving from the economic context of a move to individual circumstances enables an understanding of *why* people leave (or stay).

Sections two and three will draw together the main conclusions from this research, first dealing with (non)migration before offering an overview of the work presented in the thesis, concerning place and identity. I will then explore the further methodologies that this research evokes. Using Alice's narrative I suggest using ANT as a framework for future (non)migration research. Finally policy implications will be identified based on the stigma that is both internally and externally attached to people with a Liverpool place identity.

## **RETHEORISING MIGRATION**

This thesis has attempted to illustrate the processes behind a (non)migration and the interconnected relationship between (non)migration, place and identity. Particular emphasis has been placed on decision-making at the individual level.

I have moved (non)migration thought away from orthodox migration theories by providing the context from which to consider (non)moves at the individual level. Chapter 1 provided an overview of established migration theories and acknowledged the contribution of previous theories to the study of migration. However this research has aimed to develop orthodox migration theories within two broad strands.

The first is that this research has illustrated the importance of considering migration to encompass a variety of different types of (non)moves. That is, unlike orthodox literature (for example, Ravenstein 1885, Greenwood 1985, Sjaastad 1962, Lee 1966, Todaro 1969) that considers only movers (migrants) as having made a decision, I suggest that in order to fully comprehend the motivations and to understand the

decision-making process behind a move, the experiences of stayers (that is, those who are usually not considered as having made a (non)migratory decision) have to also be acknowledged. In so doing, I suggest that stayers make a decision to stay in the same way that movers make a decision to leave. By not separating out movers and stayers and by suggesting the decision-making process as being along a continuum (with only the outcome and intensity of conscious thought and awareness differing), I have been better able to understand and conceptualise the leaving of Liverpool. Therefore it is only through examining the experiences of people who move *and* of people who stay, and not simply patterns of aggregate flows, that the context in which people leave Liverpool can be understood.

Second, chapter 2 explored the socio-economic and political distinctiveness of Liverpool. The aim of this chapter was to examine and explore the context from which migration occurs and to provide a grounding from which to consider the stigma associated with the distinctiveness of Liverpool as compared to other English places. Liverpool's economic history was interpreted as being a context behind aggregate migration flows: higher unemployment rates and (therefore) higher out-migration rates than in most other English cities. These flows might be seen as suiting neoclassical economic theory in which a migration is a worker's response economically and rationally to wage differentials. Of particular importance to this school of thought was the work done by Todaro (see Harris and Todaro 1970, Todaro 1969) who extended the wage differential model of migration to include a measure of the probability of finding employment. Thus, unemployment rates were used to weight wage differentials hence suggesting that the relationship between wages and labour supply was less smooth than originally theorised (Boyle *et al.* 1998).

According to this theoretical perspective, unemployed individuals are more likely to migrate than employed individuals. Indeed, a review of the effect of unemployment on population flows in the United States (see Herzog, Schlottmann and Boehm 1993) suggested three broad conclusions: 1) personal unemployment augments migration, 2) the effect of unemployment on migration decreases with search duration and 3) at a regional level, out-migration is increased by higher area unemployment rates (from Boyle *et al.* 1998).

Using a macro, aggregate level approach and drawing upon neoclassical assumptions of migration theory, in chapter 2 I presented the economic situation of Liverpool (for instance high benefit rates, high unemployment and a declining employment base) as being the context behind population flows (high rates of out-migration and low rates of in-migration) to and from the city. It is in this sense that chapter 2 demonstrates how interpretation at the macro level can be used to explain *broad* patterns of migration.

However, while acknowledging that economic variables do impact, at the aggregate level, upon population flows, this research develops existing neoclassical migration theory by considering migration at the (micro) individual level. Therefore I suggest that while economic factors provide the context for a decision, individual circumstances reveal the actual reasons *why* people leave. In other words, I acknowledge that people do leave and have left, for instance, to seek employment, but I argue that there is far more to it than this. In order to understand the complexities behind a migration, that is why some people move and some people do not (for

instance, not everyone who was unemployed left Liverpool), the emphasis has to be on the individual.

It has been shown to be useful to apply Giddens' theory of ontological security to differentiate why some people leave and others do not. That is, ontological security can be used to explain why it is that, despite the economic disadvantage of Liverpool as compared to other English cities, not everyone left and certainly, for example, not all the unemployed left. This is because, as I suggest in chapter 7, the risk of a move to an unemployed persons' identity is far greater than the risk of staying without a job (and in an area where unemployment rates are high). That is, the processes involved in the decision to (*non*)migrate are far more complicated than neoclassical theories would suggest.

In summary therefore, this thesis demonstrates that the processes behind a (non)migration are complex and multifaceted and neoclassical economic approaches, although informing at the aggregate level, do not present a clear understanding about precise factors at the micro-level that stimulate the individual to begin the process of decision-making. For instance, examining Jack's narrative (for this see chapter 8) from a neoclassical economic perspective would demonstrate the context of his move: at the time he left Liverpool he was unemployed and neoclassical theory suggests that the unemployed are more likely to leave to find employment elsewhere. But take Jack's narrative again. Examination at the micro-level reveals that he did not leave to find employment elsewhere; at his destination he did not enter the labour market. Instead he left for Further Education (so he would then have the skills to eventually find employment). Therefore I suggest that (non)migration processes at an individual

level are far more complicated than a reaction to economic differences. Hence, while the economic context of a migration is acknowledged, the narratives illustrate individual circumstances behind (non)migration decisions. In this way there is interplay between aggregate theories and more individualised theories: migration is not an only inherently economic behaviour, it also incorporates social circumstances.

## **(NON)MIGRATION**

In developing previous theories, I look not only to those who make the decision to leave but also to those who make the decision to stay. It is only through examination of the complexity of the decision-making processes and through interpretation of the outcome of the decision using a range of (non)migratory experiences that interpretation of *why* people are leaving can be understood. Therefore the experiences of living in Liverpool, in the present, can inform the social and individual circumstances of why others leave.

This research set out to explore the relationship between place, place identity and (non)migration of people who have inhabited Liverpool (past, present, future?). This involved challenging influential theories regarding identity and migration, the outcome of which is to provide further insight into the processes involved in the decision-making behind a (non)migration. This section revisits the notion of (non)migration. The following section focuses on the reconceptualisation of the relationship between place and identity.

It was not my intention to generalise *why* people move but to present a

multidimensional typology that acknowledges and provides scope to explore the multifaceted processes involved in the decision behind individual (non)migrations. In considering (non)migration at the micro-level, the aim was to construct a typology based on the processes behind a (non)migration that accurately represents the experiences of individual (non)migrants. In order to conceptualise the new typology, I began by exploring the (non)migration decision making processes.

Orthodox migration literature ignores a non-migrant and dismisses their (non)migration status. I argue that the decision to stay involves a multitude of multifaceted processes just as the decision to leave. Giddens' concept of *ontological security* was used to frame the decision making process for stayers. Drawing from this concept I examined the risk minimisation strategies that some people use as the framework in which their decision is made. I suggest that the outcome of the decision can reflect risk minimisation strategies and hence a desire for ontological security. However people have different orientations to risk and their decision to stay is framed within different strategies. For example, stayers (non-migrants) and the less affluent are more likely than movers (migrants) to use risk minimisation strategies while the more affluent use strategies to maximise utility and create a more individualised biography to maintain ontological security.

By acknowledging that the status of non-migrants was also a result of complex and multifaceted decision processes, I attempted to transcend the dualism that juxtaposed the decision to move or stay as binary oppositions. The framework within which the non-migration *and* migration decision is made places importance on the decision-making processes for a (non)migration as being considered along a continuum and not



as separate, opposing entities. I therefore refute orthodox literature that positions the decision to stay against the decision to leave by not considering the former as involving a decision. Thus I argue that (non)migrants have a very real choice in their decision whether to stay or move. In this sense, there is always a reason why they should stay set against why they should not leave and as such there is always a set of relationships and processes that result in their non-migration status. What differs, however, is the conscious awareness that a decision had actually been made. Therefore the intensity, awareness and strategies used to maintain ontological security varied with each individual case of non-migrants.

This consideration provides the contextual background to categorise (non)migration experiences. The typology that I offer is a development from the one- and two-dimensional approaches used previously to categorise migrants and provides a new way of thinking about the (non)migration processes behind the decision to (non)move. The old typologies fail to accurately consider *all* types of (non)migration and (non)migratory experiences, offering a generalised and broad classification system based on a limited set of motivations behind the (non)move. The approach that I provide situates (non)migration under five themes: education, employment, policy, personal and lifestyle factors. However I move beyond examining motivational factors alone and acknowledge a range of other factors which combined provide the outcome of the move: search-space, satisfaction, and permanence. The search-space dimension informs where a (non)migrant is most likely to move to and hence can build upon the motivations behind their decision, while the satisfaction and the permanence categories can be used to assess the outcome of the (non)migration, providing a way of conceptualising individual (non)migrations.

Therefore the new approach developed in this thesis progresses the previous approaches within two broad themes: the motivations behind the (non)migration and the outcome of the (non)migration. Further the typology can be implemented as a means to which explore the linkages between a (non)move and the outcome of this and therefore offers a unique and wholly representative grounding from which to understand and explore contemporary population decline. The two themes (motivations and outcome) can be used by (future) researchers independently and / or collectively to conceptualise the (non)migration decision-making processes and experiences of the (non)migrants.

## **PLACE AND IDENTITY**

The purpose of examining the relationship between (non)migration, place and identity was to re-consider and present a rationale behind place-identity formation and the impact of (non)migration decisions and experiences on place (such as attachment to place). An interpretation of the relationships is illustrated and contributes to geographical discourses in a number of ways. First it develops identity notions to re-conceptualise the importance of place in the fluidity of identity (trans)formation. Second previous theories of place are re-defined to emphasise the importance of people in the construction of place. The geographic entity of the place acts as a container for the people of the place, a differentiator and a segregator against other places. Third the stigmatised Liverpool place identity is interpreted and the reasons behind its development and the impact this has on population flows are suggested. Finally, by deconstructing the stigma associated with Liverpool I develop Goffman's

theory of stigmatisation by suggesting that stigma is not universal so that not everyone with a specific place identity are stigmatised.

The value of contributions from Giddens, Foucault and Goffman guide this research and for each particular theoretical question I develop and reject certain aspects of each of their notions. As a result I offer a contribution to the understanding of identity in that I consider identity development, re-creation and transformation in the context of a (non)migration. That is, place acts as the space in which identities are transformed and recreated. This is because of the differences in the multitude of experiences, feelings and behaviours that occur at each (specific) place. Hence identities, or social identities, pertain to place.

Therefore place identity is defined by the experiences that occur within the space(s) you live(d). An acknowledgement of the relationships and interconnectivities between place and identity enabled a reconsideration of the meanings that are attached to place. Thus, drawing from the notion of identity as being fluid and flexible in relation to place, I present a revised definition of the concept of place. I develop place literature by refuting the importance of place as a bounded geographical entity: space is not important in the conceptualisation of place. Rather, place is given meaning based on the feelings and relationships (both informal and formal) formed within and between people of specific places. In this way, place acts only as a container for the people who occupy the space.

By progressing the identity notions introduced by Giddens, Foucault and Goffman, I offer a significant re-consideration of the reconstruction of identity and identity

formation. In doing so I propose that key to identity is its fluidity in relation to place. In other words, identities are (re)constructed and transformed depending upon a migration biography: when a migration occurs – a change of place – the new place (destination) impacts upon place identity. As such, behaviours and feelings ascribed in the origin place transform and influence, and are influenced by, behaviours and feelings that occur at the destination place. This can be construed in two ways: first that a migrant encompasses multiple place identities and / or second that there is an internal conflict between the origin and destination identities.

Drawing from the interconnectivness between place and identity, I explored and re-developed Goffman's theory of stigma to understand why it is some people with a Liverpool place identity are stigmatised while others are not; those displaying the Liverpool stigma sign (the Liverpool accent) were stigmatised while those without the stigma sign (the Liverpool accent) were not stigmatised. Hence stigma is not universal so that not everyone with a Liverpool place identity were stigmatised.

The fact that the stigma is based on human-characteristics and not place specific characteristics supports and adds strength to the definition of place that I suggest. In this way it is not the place that is deviant but the people and behaviours formed within the space. Therefore stigma is not based on the place but on the actual relationships and experiences which are formed within the space and therefore the accent marks people as belonging to a different place. In this sense, it is not place that represents distinctiveness (the geographic entity of place is not important in the construction of a place) but the people of that place. Therefore, place identity-specific characteristics (such as the accent) are used to define someone as having a place-stigma.

By deconstructing stigma, I suggest that the stigma attached to Liverpool stimulates out-migration and, importantly it can also have an effect of creating despondency towards living in Liverpool. In this way the stigma associated with having a Liverpool place identity is both internal and external so that internal perceptions, to an extent, are also shaped by external perceptions and it is in this way that people from Liverpool remain and will continue to remain despondent about living in the city.

In considering stigma I suggest that Liverpool is stigmatised based on the socio-economic and political distinctiveness of the city and the resultant media representations of people from Liverpool. The media representations of Liverpool however are not merely fiction (as the narratives suggest) but are a reflection of the distinctiveness of Liverpool at the time they were constructed. Although offering only a consideration, and not situated in a methodological supporting framework, I adopt Giddens' theory of structuration and Foucault's notion of power (as being facilitating and restricting at the same time) to investigate the relationship between media organisations and agency. That is, on the one hand people from Liverpool are constrained by national media representations of people with a Liverpool place identity, while on the other they resist the stigma that is attached to them and in turn create counter-identities (for instance, in the process of naming themselves as 'Scousers'). In this way Liverpool and the people of Liverpool are not passive victims of media organisations. Instead, media organisations shape perceptions of place and place identities while at the same time – and in the same way – the media is determined by perceptions of human agency:

Therefore people from Liverpool are free to make judgments about living in the city based on what they read in national press, while at the same time they are free to make judgements based on what they know and what they see. In this way, people from Liverpool resisted national perceptions within the media while at the same time they incorporated these perceptions into their narratives. On the other hand, people who are not from Liverpool make judgements about the people from the city based on national media depictions of Liverpool. Therefore the media has contributed to the stigma attached to people with a(n) (obvious) Liverpool place identity.

In summary, I demonstrate that place identity and place are specifically linked to (non)migration. That is, I re-develop theories that previously fail to acknowledge the importance and significance of place in the reconstruction of identity. Place, identity and (non)migration can be understood as being inexplicably linked: issues surrounding place (such as attachments to place) are not static and are (trans)formed and (re)formed by the (non)migration process. In this sense, place identity is dynamic in that the (non)migrant incorporates the destination place into their own place identity. A place identity is intrinsic to the self and to self-understanding: to know yourself you have to know your place. The result is that the places that you, we, have lived all play a part in the formation of our own place-based identity and attachment to place. Conclusions drawn from this consideration of place and identity aimed to provide a conceptual framework through which to consider (non)migration and the interconnected issues that develop in relation to the (non)move and decision-making processes.

## DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The methodology that I adopted and the interpretation that I have followed in this thesis offers a human-centred examination of (non)migration and the associated and interconnected relationships between place and identity, focused at the individual level. Despite the emphasis on human actors, the narratives have also draw out a series of non-human elements which suggest a possible future line of inquiry would be to approach (non)migration research from an actor-network perspective. In this section the possibilities offered by ANT are briefly discussed. As ANT represents a different way of thinking about (non)migration, full application would require changes from the methods used in this thesis (for example, using a diary to record human and non-human networks).

### *Actor-Network Theory*

Despite being performed in part through the act of naming, ANT should not however be considered a theory as such (see Law and Hassard 1999): it does not have a fixed theoretical position but is rather a 'heterogeneous work in progress' (Law 1999: 9). ANT *simply* (see Latour 1999: 20) considers the heterogeneity of networks and seeks to interpret how social and material processes become intermingled within complex sets of associations. For ANT stable sets of relations and associations are the means by which the world is both built and stratified and equal importance is placed on human and non-human interactions. This is central to the ANT approach.

Migration research usually considers only human actors and human networks. However ANT allows for interpretation of how social and material processes become intermingled with complex sets of associations. For ANT stable sets of relations and associations are the means by which the world is both built and stratified and equal importance is placed on human and non-human interactions. This is central to the ANT approach.

By way of example, using a narrative collected for this thesis, Alice's story, is used to examine the human and non-human networks that are involved in the processes behind a (non)migration. The passages that are presented are taken from the Internet conversations and are word-for-word transcripts.

#### **Alice: her story**

At the time of interview Alice was 66 and was born in Liverpool in 1936. In 1963, after the birth of her second child, Alice and her husband began to think about leaving. They had friends who had already left for places such as New Zealand, South Africa, Kenya and numerous other countries. Most had only positive things to say about their migrations. Although when Alice mentioned to her Mother that she was planning to leave, she 'retold stories of people she knew and what they had suffered' and that most returned with 'awful tales of woe at the indignities they had to put up with'. Alice however wanted to leave and despite her Mother's disapproval and attempts to change her mind, Alice remained determined to leave:

'There was no reason that we had to leave Liverpool except we felt we would never be able to afford a home for ourselves and I had outgrown



the city... When we enquired about a loan it was worked out on my husband's basic salary he didn't earn enough... It was harder still to try and rent anywhere because we had small children.'

The family made their journey on the 'Oriana' and on 9 June 1963 they arrived in Melbourne, Australia. On arrival a friend of her husband who had emigrated a few years earlier greeted them. After being taken to the local hostel to be 'billeted' the friend took them back to his home because just next door there was a house that they could rent. Alice describes the house:

'There was an unfinished *house*... an absolute dump ... It had two rooms that could be called habitable... There were bats, rats and mice in the rooms – my Mother would have gone crazy had she seen what the place was like... So we scrubbed and made two rooms clean... We had no bathroom but there was an old bath... We bought a watering can and used to boil the water in a lovely old cast iron kettle... I did all the cooking on the wood fire as there was no cooker.'

After seven years living in their rented house, Alice and her family were able to buy this home. At the time of Alice's correspondence, she had lived in Australia for nearly forty years. Since emigrating with nothing the family now have three homes: the family home, one that they rent out and another with 'ocean views' that they use as a holiday home. She says that the life they lead in Australia is so totally different to the life they think would be living had they stayed in Liverpool.

*An interpretation using ANT*

Alice's narrative about leaving Liverpool and living in Australia is not just about people or place or people in relation to place. It contains a multitude of materials: house, application, ship, hostel, rooms, wood, bricks, fireplace, cooker. Other migration research might ignore these materials and think they were unimportant and of no consequence. However, these materials are crucial in producing the bodies – Alice – that are assembled together and hence can be used: a) to construct people's decision making: do they move, do they return, do they stay etc; b) to interpret the process of (non)migration – why do some people move and some people stay and c) the result (or outcome) after the decision has been implemented.

The arrangement of the materials translates the identity of Alice within different contexts: Alice living in Liverpool leads to Alice living in Australia (see Dugdale 1999: 118). Before Alice and her family emigrated they were already involved in networks, with people, place and materials: the travel tickets, the billet forms, the contact who knew of a house to rent, the job, the family they left behind. They made their decision to move and when to move based on the arrangements within the networks. Therefore the decision-making process is a compilation of different bodies and materials entwined together in networks.

Using Alice's narrative I am able to draw out the multiplicity of decisions that can be made (and re-made) and how these possibilities are played out (through human and non-human networks) to produce the outcome: the (non)migration. In this way, by the process of decision-making, the actor moves through an oscillation of continuity

that performs discontinuity and vice-versa. This illustrates a tension between the centred actor and the decentred subjects. When resistance occurs it leads to a modification or a disintegration of the (origin) actor-network system. In other words, the migrant then forms a different – separate – set of networks whereby translation is achieved and the (non)migrant accepts the roles defined and attributed to them. In Alice's case, a translation happened when she sought the experience of two parties who had previously emigrated: her own friends and her Mother's friends. Alice resisted the latter's claims and instead the stories of the former acted to enrol Alice into their positions (as a migrant).

This example illustrates the potential that adopting an ANT approach has for adding to the interpretations of (non)migration and its potential for providing a unique framework from which to consider future (non)migration research. However, full and comprehensive application of ANT would require data collection that would be able to draw out both the human *and* non-human networks that enable the decision-making process. For example, a time diary given to potential movers and stayers while they are in the process of making their decision, would draw out the human and non-human networks that are involved in the process of decision making. There would be a vast amount of knowledge that could be gained from studying the diaries of people deciding whether to move or stay however completion of the diary would be time consuming to the (non)migrants. Adapting the narrative approach so that human and non-human factors are considered to be of equal importance would also draw out the ideas introduced in this section.

## POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The methodological approach and theoretical framework that I adopt in this thesis generates a humanistic-centred analysis into the interconnectivities between identity, place and (non)migration. The focus on individual processes and behaviours behind a (non)migration actively plays down the importance of the city space (the physical environment) in the formation of place and identities. This grounding was based on narratives that suggest it is not the space and physical landscape of the city that defines a place but more so the social relations that are contained within the space.

The lack of importance that people gave to the city-space environment of Liverpool was highlighted particularly when respondents were asked '*what do you like about living in Liverpool?*' (for movers this was changed to '*what do you miss about living in Liverpool?*'). The narratives demonstrated that people did not suggest that the cityscape was an important factor and they did not imply that they missed or liked any physical aspect of Liverpool. Instead, their likes were centred on factors to do with the social environment. For instance people would discuss that they missed their friends and family (if they had left Liverpool) or that they liked having their friends and family nearby (if they were living in Liverpool). Dan, a recent mover was asked what he missed about living in Liverpool. He discussed missing watching Everton Football Club at his 'local' (Liverpool pub). However, his narrative made it apparent that it was not necessarily missing watching Everton (he could do that in pubs at his new destination), rather Dan missed the social relationships and networks that were built up within his 'local'.

Similarly, when people were asked '*what don't you like about living in Liverpool?*' (for movers this was changed to '*what didn't you like when you lived in Liverpool?*'), they failed to acknowledge any such cityscape dislikes and again their dislikes were centred around social networks and human influences. In particular, dislikes with living in Liverpool were focused on perceived deviant behaviours of the people in the city. Therefore, the policy implications centre on the humanistic and people-orientated, human landscapes. In this way I offer a number of suggestions.

The impact that stigma therefore has upon migration flows to and from Liverpool is significant. People were leaving, and were planning to leave, based on the stigma that is attached to a Liverpool place identity. Therefore, I suggest policy needs to focus on transforming the stigma that is attached to people who have a Liverpool place identity. However, this is not so straightforward: as chapter 6 illustrated, not everyone with a Liverpool place identity was stigmatised and stigma can be both internal and external.

Instead, visibility – or perceptibility – is of course the crucial factor in determining who is stigmatised. The fact that the stigma is based on human-characteristics and not place specific characteristics supports and adds strength to the definition of place (see chapter 5). Stigma is not based on the place but on perceived behaviours and experiences which are (per)formed within the Liverpool space. In this way the accent marks people as creating these behaviours and it is not place that represents distinctiveness (the geographic entity of place is not important in the construction of a place) but the people of that place. Therefore, place identity specific characteristics (such as the accent) are used to define someone as having a place-stigma. The stigma

attached to a Liverpool place identity impacts at two inter-connected levels: first, internally the stigma is incorporated into the narratives and hence affects the way people experience living in Liverpool, and second it impacts upon population flows to and from the city.

In this way the stigma was attached not only externally but also internally by people who (have) inhabit(ed) the city. Therefore complaints about living in Liverpool were centred on stereotypical and negative images of people from the city (such as there being a perceived higher incidence of crime than elsewhere or that there were too many, to quote, 'working-class' people). People then construct the stigma and negativity into their own narratives and as a result become despondent with social aspects of living in Liverpool. Hence the impact of place-dissatisfaction are obvious as being a reason behind out-migration.

Most significantly, people also complained about the external stigma associated with living in Liverpool. There were also differentials within this category. Those with the Liverpool accent (stigma sign) would discuss the stigma attached to a Liverpool place identity and consequently whenever they were outside Liverpool they felt they were discriminated against on the basis of their place identity (as opposed to any place-specific deviant behaviours), while those without the accent would express concern that people displaying the stigma signs were deviant and they did not want to associate with people on the basis of the stigma signs that categorise and characterise people as being from Liverpool (in this case the Liverpool accent).

Therefore, the stigma signs are contested in a number of ways: by those who possess the stigma signs and also by those without the signs. People thus take active steps to minimise the 'risks' associated with possessing the attributes. These include not associating / socialising with others who are marked (have the stigma sign), disguising or minimising their own stigma signs and most significantly migrating away from associations with the stigma.

In this way, the stigma that is attached (internally and externally) to people with a Liverpool place identity acts as a significant trigger to out-migration and an incentive not to move to Liverpool. Thus the Liverpool place identity is intrinsic to the population stability of the city and in order to tackle population decline, the identity, the image and the perception of Liverpool must also be addressed.

On some levels this is being tackled through place marketing schemes (such as marketing Liverpool as a 'nice' place to live). Local government strategies to transform the Liverpool place identity are aimed at stabilising the population. However these strategies focus on enticing investment and in-migrants into the city and not necessarily on altering internal stigma. Therefore place marketing schemes should focus not only on external stigma but also, and importantly, on internal stigma.

But how can internal perceptions be transformed? As I suggest, the narratives demonstrate that people are not dissatisfied with cityscape, physical attributes to living in Liverpool. Rather, dissatisfaction is based on internal stigma associated with a Liverpool place identity and on media perceptions that have represented Liverpool as being 'not nice'.

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overall impact that a (non)migration has, and the processes behind this, can be conceptualised. A (non)migration involves, or has to involve for it to be successful, an acceptance of an assortment of attachments and identities that (both consciously and subconsciously) incorporate a number of different places into their identity. The only way for successful integration is to accept and (re)negotiate these factors at both the origin(s) and destination(s).

The research has allowed for a unique examination and consideration of (non)migration and illustrates the specificities of place and identity and the impact that living in – and leaving – a place can have upon these factors. By undertaking this research I present the very processes that lead to a (non)move and how this transforms and impacts upon place and identity. The journeys (in all senses of the word) that the (non)migrants travelled, I too travelled through (re)writing the stories they shared. This research provides a framework for which the complexities of the (non)migration decision and the consequences of living in a certain place can be explored. Hence, this research should be seen not as conclusive but more so as an introduction – a grounding – for future (non)migration research.

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*Appendix 1:*  
**Narrative themes**

# The Leaving of Liverpool

## Themes to think about

### LEAVERS

Practical	Emotional	Implications of moving and perceptions of Liverpool	Thoughts on your future and Liverpool
<p>About your house</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How long have you lived there for</li> <li>• Which other locations did you look at – why did you choose this on</li> <li>• Where did you live before</li> </ul>	<p>Feelings about leaving Liverpool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Likes and dislikes</li> <li>• What you miss</li> <li>• What you don't miss</li> </ul>	<p>Family and friends</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changing relationships with family and friends</li> <li>• Kinship relationships</li> </ul>	<p>How do you see yourself in the future, eg, in 5-10 years time</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Where do you think you'll be living</li> <li>• Would you consider moving back to Liverpool</li> </ul>
<p>Jobs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is your occupation</li> <li>• Where have you worked before</li> <li>• Education</li> </ul>	<p>Feelings about why you left Liverpool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Why did you leave</li> <li>• Was it an easy or difficult decision to make – emotional, practical, social, economic</li> </ul>	<p>What does your Liverpool mean to you</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How important is Liverpool to you</li> <li>• Do you feel an attachment towards your new location</li> <li>• What about towards Liverpool</li> </ul>	<p>Ideas of where you belong</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you feel like you belong</li> <li>• Do you feel an attachment towards Liverpool</li> <li>• Do you feel like you're from Liverpool</li> </ul>
	<p>New destination and Liverpool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Likes and dislikes</li> <li>• Differences</li> <li>• Similarities</li> <li>• Housing, market, jobs, social, economic, education etc</li> <li>• Would you consider moving back to Liverpool – why? Why not?</li> </ul>		<p>Feelings about people from Liverpool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What do people think about Liverpool</li> <li>• What is the image of Liverpool? How has this affected you?</li> </ul>
	<p>Feelings about new location</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Likes and dislikes</li> <li>• How and why did you choose new location</li> </ul>		

# The Leaving of Liverpool

## Themes to think about

### ARRIVEES

Practical	Emotional	Implications of moving and perceptions of Liverpool	Thoughts on your future and Liverpool
<p>About your house</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How long have you lived there for</li> <li>• Which other locations did you look at – why did you choose this on</li> <li>• Where did you live before</li> </ul>	<p>Feelings about why you left your other area</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Why did you leave</li> <li>• Was it an easy or difficult decision to make – emotional, practical, social, economic</li> <li>• What do you miss/don't miss</li> </ul>	<p>Family and friends</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changing relationships with family and friends</li> <li>• Kinship relationships</li> </ul>	<p>How do you see yourself in the future, eg, in 5-10 years time</p> <p>Where do you think you'll be living</p>
<p>Jobs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is your occupation – what was it before you came to Liverpool</li> <li>• Where have you worked before</li> <li>• Education</li> </ul>	<p>Feelings about Liverpool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Likes and dislikes</li> <li>• Is it different to how you thought it would be</li> <li>• What's it like living in the city</li> <li>• Why did you choose Liverpool</li> </ul> <p>New destination and Liverpool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Likes and dislikes</li> <li>• Differences</li> <li>• Similarities</li> <li>• Would you consider moving away from Liverpool – why? Why not?</li> </ul>	<p>What does your Liverpool mean to you</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How important is Liverpool to you</li> <li>• What about where you used to live</li> </ul>	<p>Ideas of where you belong</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you feel like you belong</li> <li>• Do you feel an attachment towards Liverpool</li> <li>• What impact does your origin have on feelings of belonging</li> </ul>
			<p>Feelings about people from Liverpool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What do people think about Liverpool</li> <li>• What is the image of Liverpool? How has this affected you?</li> </ul>

# The Leaving of Liverpool

## Themes to think about

### STAYERS

Practical	Emotional	Implications of moving and perceptions of Liverpool	Thoughts on your future and Liverpool
<p>About your house</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How long have you lived there for</li> <li>• Why did you chose this location</li> <li>• Where did you live before</li> <li>• What are the good and bad points about living where you do</li> </ul>	<p>Feelings about living in Liverpool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Likes and dislikes</li> <li>• What you would you change</li> <li>• What wouldn't you change</li> </ul>	<p>Family and friends</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changing relationships with family and friends</li> <li>• Kinship relationships</li> </ul>	<p>How do you see yourself in the future, eg, in 5-10 years time Where do you think you'll be living</p>
<p>Jobs</p> <p>What is your occupation Where have you worked before Education</p>	<p>Feelings about leaving Liverpool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Would you ever leave – why? Why not?</li> <li>• Where would you go to</li> <li>• What would you miss/wouldn't you miss</li> </ul>	<p>What does your Liverpool mean to you</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How important is Liverpool to you</li> <li>• Do you feel an attachment towards your new location</li> <li>• What about towards Liverpool</li> </ul>	<p>Ideas of where you belong</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you feel like you belong</li> <li>• Do you feel an attachment towards Liverpool?</li> </ul>
			<p>Feelings about people from Liverpool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What do people think about Liverpool</li> <li>• What is the image of Liverpool? How has this affected you?</li> </ul>

# The Leaving of Liverpool

## Themes to think about

### RETURNEES

Practical	Emotional	Implications of moving and perceptions of Liverpool	Thoughts on your future and Liverpool
<p>About your house</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How long have you lived there for</li> <li>• Which other locations did you look at – why did you choose this on</li> <li>• Where did you live before</li> </ul>	<p>Feelings about Liverpool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Likes and dislikes</li> <li>• What you miss about your old area</li> <li>• What you don't miss</li> </ul>	<p>Family and friends</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changing relationships with family and friends</li> <li>• Kinship relationships</li> </ul>	<p>How do you see yourself in the future, eg, in 5-10 years time</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Where do you think you'll be living</li> <li>• Jobs, housing, education</li> </ul>
<p>Jobs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is your occupation</li> <li>• Where have you worked before</li> <li>• Education</li> </ul>	<p>Old destination and Liverpool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Likes and dislikes</li> <li>• Differences</li> <li>• Similarities</li> <li>• Would you consider leaving Liverpool again – why? Why not?</li> </ul>	<p>What does your house mean to you</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How important is your home</li> </ul>	<p>Ideas of where you belong</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you feel like you belong</li> <li>• Do you feel an attachment towards Liverpool</li> <li>• What about towards your new area</li> </ul>
		<p>What does your Liverpool mean to you</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How important is Liverpool to you</li> <li>• Do you feel an attachment towards your Liverpool</li> <li>• What about towards your old location</li> </ul>	<p>Ideas of where you belong</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you feel like you belong</li> <li>• Do you feel an attachment towards Liverpool</li> <li>• What impact does your origin have on feelings of belonging</li> </ul>
			<p>Feelings about people from Liverpool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What do people think about Liverpool</li> <li>• What is the image of Liverpool? How has this affected you?</li> </ul>

*Appendix 2:*  
**Summary of respondent's  
(non)migration biographies**

# *(Non)migrant's biographies*

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## *Stage one*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>(Non) migration status</b>	<b>(Non)migration biography</b>
Rebecca	22	Stayer	Rebecca lives on the Wirral and classifies herself as being from Liverpool. On some occasions she plays up her Liverpool identity, yet on others her Wirral identity. At the age of 18, Rebecca moved to Wavertree to begin her student life. After finishing her degree, Rebecca moved back with her parents so that she could afford to complete a postgraduate course. Rebecca now works as a journalist and, although happy living in Liverpool, she does want to leave in the future.
Audrey	67	Stayer	Audrey is a widow. She has five children, two of which live in Canada. Audrey doesn't like living in Liverpool but she believes that she is too old to leave and she likes the friends that she has made in her neighbourhood. Audrey thinks that all young people should leave Liverpool because there are better opportunities elsewhere.
Helen	43	Stayer	Helen loves Liverpool although her husband doesn't. This has led to problems. Her husband wants to leave for a quieter pace of life.

Although she is starting to come round to her husband's way of thinking and after finishing her part-time degree, she might consider leaving Liverpool for a more rural location.

Gill	53	Stayer	Gill has always lived in Liverpool and she loves the fact that she has close family networks nearby. Gill would never leave. Her loyalty towards the area within Liverpool where she was born (Kensington) dictates where about in Liverpool she would move to.
Simon	41	Stayer	Simon has always lived in Liverpool. However he doesn't like living in the city and stays only because of the family and friendship networks that he has built up around him. In fact, the only thing that he would miss if he were to leave would be his 'favourite kebab shop'. Despite this, Simon does not think he will leave because he wants to continue working as a nurse in one of the city's largest hospitals.
Gareth	21	Stayer	Gareth left school at 16 with no qualifications. He has not managed to hold down a full-time job since leaving and he has been 'sacked' from numerous positions. In 2002 he spent 5 months serving a prison sentence which he said wasn't his fault. Since then he has blamed discrimination on the fact that he hasn't been able to secure a job. Three months before the interview, Gareth decided to move away to Birkenhead (which he perceives as being in Liverpool) to be nearer to his (now ex) girlfriend



and for the opportunities that this new place would hold for him. However he has rarely spent a night there, preferring instead to spend time back at his parental home. Indeed, he wants to move back to live where his parents live and doesn't like where he's living now.

Charles	47	Stayer	Charles has a number of businesses in Liverpool and would never leave the city. Most of his friends have left but he can't see why they have because he believes he leads a much better standard of life living in a city which is so affordable, has a good location, close proximity and has an interesting night-life. Consequently, Charles would never leave Liverpool and thinks he will spend the rest of his days living in the city centre.
Tom	44	Returnee	Tom left Liverpool aged 18 to go to university in London. After finishing university he returned to live in Liverpool. In 1988 he decided to leave again because he wanted to start a family with his wife. They moved to Cheshire so their children would have a better quality of life – away from the stigma attached to a Liverpool place identity. However, when Tom divorced his wife, in 1992 he decided to return to Liverpool. In 2002 Tom married Clare. They are planning to leave Liverpool when they start a family
Paul	30	Returnee	Paul left Liverpool to study in Manchester and after graduating he decided to work there. Coincidentally, after working there for 3 years, he

was transferred through work back to Liverpool. At first he wasn't happy with the decision. However once he returned he realised that it was a great place to live and work. He loves Liverpool and plans to live in the city permanently.

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| Barbara | 37 | Returnee | Clare was born in West Yorkshire and left at 18 to train as a nurse in Liverpool. Upon graduating aged 22, Clare held a number of positions in a variety of different places including Manchester and Canada. At the age of 32 Clare decided to set up home in Liverpool. She loves the city and cannot see herself leaving.   |
| Phil    | 55 | Returnee | Phil was born in Oxford where he stayed until moving to Coventry to attend university aged 19. After graduating he moved to Liverpool aged 22 to live with his (future) wife and her family. At the age of 25 he went to work as a teacher in El Salvador, Spain with his wife, staying there for 3 years. In 1979, they returned to Liverpool because his wife was pregnant and she wanted to be with her family. Phil doesn't want to stay in Liverpool for much longer and is planning, along with his wife, to leave once they retire. |
| Carol   | 38 | Returnee | Carol left Liverpool aged 18 to attend university in Bristol. After student there for 5 years she then went to work in Berkshire for 5 years and then Manchester for 18 months. After divorcing her husband she decided to return to live in Liverpool because she wanted to be surrounded   |

by 'friendly people'. In 2001, Clare married Tom. Clare does not plan to stay in Liverpool when she has children and is making plans to leave.

Bill	53	Returnee	Bill works as an electrician and because of his job he has lived all over the world, in places such as America, the Middle-East and Canada. After spending almost 18 years living all over the world, Bill decided to return to live in Shropshire where he spent 4 years and then Hereford where he spent 3 years. At the age of 46, he decided to return to live in Liverpool because he wanted to be with his family who were still living there. Since then Bill has met his second wife who is a Liverpudlian. They're not planning to stay in Liverpool for much longer as they're both getting 'itchy feet'.
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Pete	30	Leaver	Pete left school aged 16 to join the arm. However he returned aged 17 to get the qualifications needed to go to university. After graduating Pete decided to rejoin the arm for a chance to see the world. In 1998 Pete left the army to return to live in Liverpool. He met Rachel, his wife, and decided to train as a teacher. In 1999 Pete began working in a Liverpool inner-city comprehensive school. In 2001 Pete decided to leave Liverpool because of the threat of violence in the area where he lived. He moved to nearby Southport because he wanted to still work in the comprehensive school in Liverpool. He loves living in Southport and
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wishes he'd left Liverpool sooner. He doesn't want to return to live in Liverpool.

David	38	Leaver	David left school aged 16 without any qualifications and had various unskilled jobs. Aged 28 David decided to gain some qualifications and began the long road to entering Higher Education. After 10 years, David graduated from university and found a job that suited his skills in Somerset. At the time of the interview David had been living there for only 6 weeks. David loves his destination and his new job. However, he thinks once he's gained more skills, he'd like to move back up to Liverpool.
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Sarah	34	Leaver	At the age of 28 Sarah decided to change her job and retrain as a make-up artist. Once qualified, Sarah moved to London to further her career. She loves London and can't see herself moving back to Liverpool.
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Jo	30	Leaver	Jo was born in Norfolk and lived there until going to university aged 18. Her experiences in Norfolk were quite traumatic and she did not get on with her parents. After graduating she moved to Liverpool because her (future) husband's family were from there. She lived in the city for 8 years. At the age of 29 she left with her husband because they wanted a better way of life. They decided to move to Shrewsbury where they believed the pace of life would be slower. After living there for 1 year they really love the life they have built up although they're still
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trying to establish friendship networks and attachments to the new location. They would never return to live in Liverpool.

Ian	49	Leaver	Ian was born in Durham and left aged 18 to study at The University of Liverpool. After completing his degree and a PGCE Ian applied for teaching jobs all over the country, (including Liverpool). The job he was offered in Liverpool best suited his skills and he decided to stay. In 1984 Ian left Liverpool to live in nearby Widnes because the lifestyle that he wanted to lead would be more affordable if he lived outside the city. He also wanted a garden and a garage which he wouldn't have been able to afford had he stayed in Liverpool. Ian loved living in Widnes and hopes to stay there.
Nicola	34	Leaver	Nicola lives in Somerset. She moved there from Liverpool aged 32. Nicola loves where she is living although she doesn't like the fact that she has to commute to work in London each day. Nicola would never return to live in Liverpool unless either of her parents needed her.
Bob	38	Leaver	Bob left school at 16 and was unable to get a permanent job. At the age of 26, he left to work in Somerset and spent 3 years working there as a court stenographer. After splitting up with his girlfriend, he moved back to Liverpool. After spending a year back in the city, he left to find employment in London. After working in London for a further three years, he moved to

Stafford where he has lived ever since. Bob loves living in a more rural location and would never consider moving back to Liverpool.

Jack	40	Leaver	Jack left school aged 16 without any qualifications. He then spent 4 years living on and off the dole. He decided to leave Liverpool so he could gain qualifications which would help him get a skilled job. In 1983 Jack left to study at Preston College. In 1985 Jack graduated and then went to work in London. After spending seven years there he returned to Liverpool to look after his sick father. However he was only able to stay for 2 months because he didn't like living there and he couldn't find a job. After that he moved with his wife to live in Shrewsbury. They've been living there since 1992. They love the life they're living and would never consider returning to live in Liverpool.
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Jean	55	Leaver	Jean left Liverpool in 1966 due to the post-war slum-clearance programme and was re-housed in Winsford. At first Jean didn't want to leave however when she got to Winsford, she realised it was just like living in Liverpool 'because most of the people were from there anyway'. After living there for 12 years, she decided to leave to live in the south-west. Jean would never return to live in Liverpool and thinks that she leads a far better life living in a more rural location.
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Lee	41	Leaver	Lee left school aged 18. He then spent several years working for Liverpool City Council. In
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1996 Lee left Liverpool to live work and live in London. He isn't happy about the cost of living in London although he loves the social life that he has built up in the city. Charles doesn't think he will move back to Liverpool and is hoping to spend some more time living in London before he plans his next move.

Sean            34            Arrivee        Sean is originally from Belfast. He left aged 18 to study in Dundee. After graduating aged 23, he worked in various different locations, including London, Hull, Manchester and Chester. At the age of 31 Sean was transferred to work in Liverpool. He didn't want to come to the city because of its reputation. However, the city isn't as bad as he thought it would be and quite likes it although he is trying to persuade his wife to leave so he can move back to Belfast.

Georgio        35            Arrivee        Georgio is originally from Greece. After training as a doctor in Athens, he left in 1996 to work in Southend-On-Sea. In 1999 Georgio decided to further his career and he applied for a number of positions around the UK. He was offered a job at Parks Hospital which is famous for its clinical expertise. Georgio was delighted at the chance to work in Liverpool because of the opportunities it held for working with 'poor people'. Georgio doesn't think he'll stay in Liverpool because he wants to further his career and to do so you have to be highly mobile.

## Stage two

Alice	66	Leaver	Alice left Liverpool to live in Zimbabwe when she was 19. She didn't want to leave but she wanted to be with her (future) husband. After spending a year there they returned to Liverpool because of the civil war. After having her children in the city Alice wanted to leave again because they wanted a better life for their two boys and the opportunity to own their own home. In 1963 they moved to Australia. They have lived there ever since and would never consider moving back to Liverpool because the life they're living in Australia is much better than what they would have had they stayed.
Ronald	60	Leaver	Ronald left Liverpool with his wife and daughter in 1979. They decided to move to America because they had 'itchy feet' (he blamed it on his Irish roots). They love Liverpool but would never return because they lead a good life in America.
Beryl	79	Leaver	Beryl left Liverpool in 1958 because she believed that she would have a better life living in Dorset. Beryl is now retired and is enjoying spending her retirement in a small village with a close-knit community. She still misses the 'rebellious attitude of Scousers' but she would not return.



Paula	60	Leaver	Paula left Liverpool aged 22 to work as a nanny in Canada. After having fun being a 'single English girl abroad', she married Fredrico, an Italian man and they have been together ever since. Although she visits every year and says her 'heart will always be with Liverpool' she would not move back.
Stephen	71	Leaver	Stephen left school aged 15 and went to work with British Rail at Lime Street Station (Liverpool). Between 1960 and 1962 he completed his National Service. Afterwards he went back to work on the trains and in 1966 he met and married his wife Betty. In 1973 Stephen was transferred to work in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne until his retirement in 1994. In 1995 they moved to Cyprus to enjoy his retirement years. They love the life out there and would never consider moving back to Liverpool.
Brian	50	Leaver	Brian left school in 1969 aged 17 and immediately began an apprenticeship as an electrician. In 1978 he became unemployed after the company went into bankruptcy and then found it hard to get work. With a pregnant wife to support, Brian decided to leave Liverpool. They left 28 September 1982, arriving in Perth Airport. One month after arriving, Brian found himself a job as a builder and he hasn't been out of work since. His wife hasn't had to work and they think their children have benefited from this. They

would never consider moving back to Liverpool.

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| Cliff | 43 |        | In 1982 Cliff went on holiday to Southern California and he liked it so much he decided he wanted to live there. In 1984 he moved out to California and has been there ever since. He doesn't feel he could live back in Liverpool because he has 'been spoilt by life' in California.   |
| Ray   | 67 | Leaver | Ray left to live in New York in 1965. Growing up in war-time Liverpool gave Ray a yearning to see the world. He believed the only way to do this was, at the time, to join the Merchant Navy. He says to an extent his desire to leave was influenced by films with Errol Flynn. He spent 10 years in NYC and now lives in Florida. Although he feels that Liverpool is his home, he could never return. |
| Rita  | 63 | Leaver | Rita joined the army at 17 because she wanted to see a bit of the world. However the only places she saw were small towns in England. After a few years in the army, Rita met her husband and left to live again in Liverpool. In 1983 they decided to move to Australia. Although she misses the Scouse humour, she would never return to live in Liverpool because her family are all in Australia.    |
| Julia | 47 | Leaver | Julia lived in Liverpool until she was married   |

in 1979. Although her husband was from Liverpool he was at Oxford University at the time so she moved to live with him there. After Julia's husband graduated, they moved to Derby and then back to Merseyside for 18 months. After that they moved to Scotland and then finally to America. All these moves were because of her husband's job. Each year they return to Liverpool to visit family and she very much believes that Liverpool will always be her home. However Julia could never imagine living in the city again.

Edward	63	Leaver	Edward left Liverpool to live in San Diego, California in 1975. He wanted a better life and it was difficult finding employment in the city. When he arrived in California he found work immediately and hasn't been out of work since. He would never return to Liverpool because it's 'filthy dirty' and people in the city 'don't care that they live in a dump'. He says that in America, people are proud to live there and they care about their place. Edward would never return to live in Liverpool and he doesn't like visiting.
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Joan	69	Leaver	Joan left Liverpool to live in America in 1963. Her and her husband wanted a better life for their children. They have lived there ever since. Her husband was able to get a job almost as soon as they arrived in America. After a few years Joan was able to give up work and concentrate on raising the family.
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She feels they would never have been able to afford to do this in Liverpool. Joan loves Liverpool but would never return to live there as she has been spoilt by her American life.

Sue

Leaver

Once she had qualified as a nurse, in 1963, aged 24, Sue left Liverpool for Australia. She met her husband, an Australian, and they have lived in Sydney ever since marrying in 1965. Although she returns every few years, Sue would not want to live in Liverpool again as she feels it's not a nice place anymore and has changed too much.

Kenneth

46

Leaver

Kenneth left Liverpool in 1979 to join the RAF because at the time he couldn't find any other job in the city. In 1986 he emigrated to Jax, America, and met his wife at an Expatriate social event. Kenneth feels that Liverpool is very similar to Jax because the cities have a similar layout. Although the people are not as friendly or funny as people in Liverpool. However he wouldn't move back because it's too expensive and he's used to everything being a 'drive through' or 'drive in' which makes life so much more convenient.

Henry

60

Returnee

I met Henry through the Internet website that I was using to contact people who had left Liverpool. It was Henry who set up the website used in this research. Henry left Liverpool aged 34 and spent ten years

working in Texas as an electrician. After Texas he worked in various places in the Middle-East. At the age of 50, he decided to return to Liverpool because he missed the city and the people there. He said the people were unlike any other. When returning he had the idea to set up the website based on his experiences of missing Liverpool. Henry does not feel he could ever leave Liverpool.