

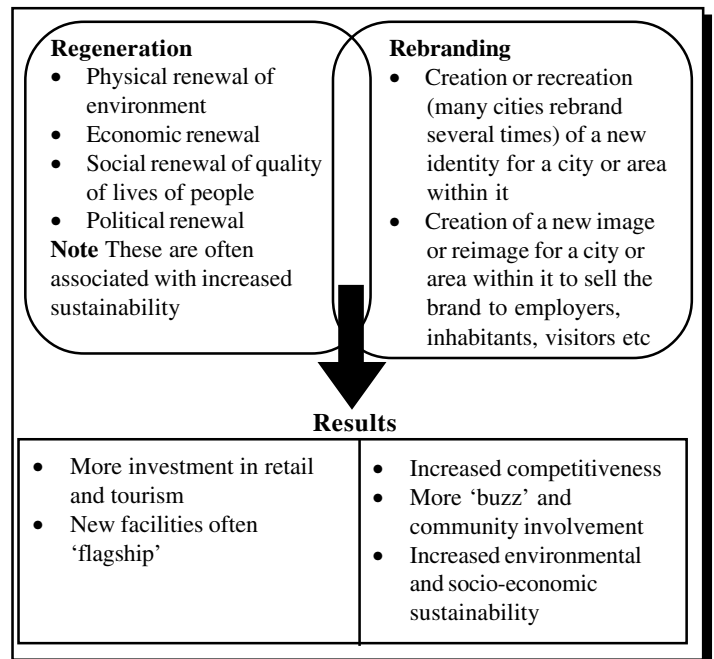


The Regeneration and Rebranding of Liverpool

Regeneration is the sustainable improvement to an area to benefit future generations. This can range from constructing new buildings to making improvements to old buildings. **Rebranding** involves the reworking of a city's existing identity but sometimes includes creating a brand new identity possibly as a result of re-imaging and regeneration. Key elements of rebranding include the changing of the urban environment (the **Brand artefact**), the **Brand essence** which looks at peoples experience of the city as employers, workers, inhabitants and visitors, and the **Brand strategy** (eg culture or sport). The result forms a **Brand scape** which enables comparison with other cities.

For many cities it can be difficult to decide which identity to choose since every city has many identities and a city can represent different things to different people. For some cities rebranding can counter negative images and encourage people (who live and work in them and those who may wish to visit or invest in them) to think about them in a different, more positive way. City rebranding is a global phenomenon and recently has been used successfully by cities such as Beijing and Barcelona to change their image. Yet others such as Detroit are striving to find a new brand, as a result of deindustrialisation, dereliction, depopulation and deprivation (the 4D effect).

Figure 1 summarises the roles of regeneration and rebranding in transforming cities

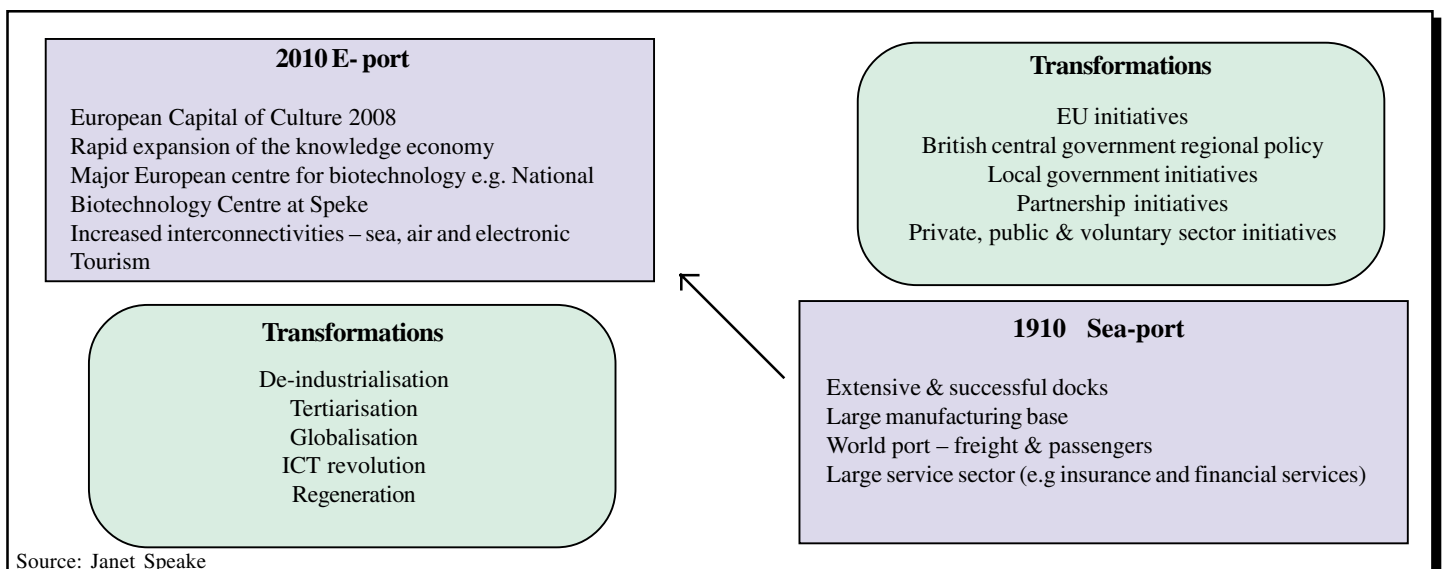


This Factsheet looks at the city centre of Liverpool and its regeneration leading up to its celebration as the European City of Culture in 2008 and its revival as a 'commercial brand'. It also considers how other parts of the city, both in the inner city and suburbs are also in need of regeneration and are undergoing transformation, and the extent to which they can become part of the rebrand.

The need to regenerate and rebrand

Over time, Liverpool has moved from a city dominated by commerce (19th century), via one where commerce and culture were dominant (mid 20th century), to one led by culture (early 21st century).

Figure 2 Transforming Liverpool



Source: Janet Speake

Liverpool started as a small fishing village at the start of the 13th century. The town grew slowly until it developed rapidly from the 1650s onwards as it developed as a port by sending cargo to America. By 1800's Liverpool was one of the UK's biggest ports because of the slave trade and the Lancashire cotton industry. The city continued to grow until the 1970s. Liverpool suffered very badly due to deindustrialisation in the 1960s & 70s. As a result of joining the EU in 1973, the countries that the UK traded with changed. This meant Liverpool's docks were on the wrong side of the country and the port was slow to embrace the change towards containerisation. Many of docks and related industries such as sugar refining closed (there were over 50,000 redundancies in Merseyside between 1975-78) leading to massive out-migration from Liverpool and environmental degradation in many poorer areas of the city.

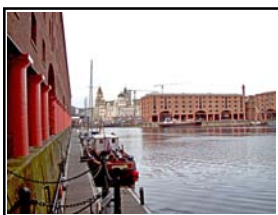
Rioting erupted in Toxteth on the southern side of the city centre in 1981 when the local immigrant community raised the nation's attention about the lack of job opportunities and poor housing. At that time, Liverpool was 2nd most deprived local authority area in England with 75% of the city's neighbourhoods in the 10% of the most deprived areas in Britain.

The national image & perception of Liverpool in the 1980's was very poor, emphasised by the media's sometimes negative portrayal of the city. Contemporary drama productions of the time such as the BBC's 'Boys from the Blackstuff' painted a depressing picture of the city of unemployment, poverty and despair. This was not helped by the city's militant council and their extreme left-wing politics, which clashed with the ideals of the National Government.

Early attempts

In 1981, the Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, appointed Michael Heseltine as Minister for Merseyside in the wake of the Toxteth riots. He set up the **Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC)** (a private-public partnership) to both regenerate and improve the image, particularly the derelict dockland areas of the city partly using EU funding to improve the deprivation. The MDC largely focused on waterfront regeneration e.g. The International Garden Festival (1984), the Brunswick Business Park and the Albert Dock.

This opened as a tourist destination in 1988 including the Merseyside Maritime Museum, the Tate Gallery, TV studios, restaurants, bars, offices and apartments. Since that time, the Albert Dock has rebranded itself again with hotels and the Beatles story museum as the TV studios and financial sector companies moved away.



The Merseyside Development Corporation was operational until 1998 but came in for a lot of criticism. It created over 700,000m² of non-housing development and 486 homes. It also created around 22,000 new jobs (although over 50,000 were lost in the Merseyside region between 1981 and 1991) attracting nearly £700m of private finance. Nearly 4 km² of derelict land was reclaimed and 97 km of new roads and footpaths opened. In 1988, the government Audit Commission called for the disbanding of the MDC as it was not 'fit for purpose'.

The 21st Century Rebrand

Since the demise of the MDC, regeneration in the city has largely focused on culture (arts, music and sport), with waterfront regeneration and re-regeneration, city centre living and retailing.

Much of the regeneration of the city centre has been led by Liverpool Vision, a company formed to redevelop the city centre. It works with other stakeholders in the public sector such as Liverpool City Council, North West Regional Development Agency and English Partnerships – and in the private sector by companies like JP Morgan, Barclays Wealth Management, Peel Holdings and the Grosvenor Group to attract the £4bn needed for the regeneration of Liverpool.

European Capital of Culture 2008

Liverpool's recent rebranding (as in many other cities) has been dominated by culture (popular music, arts and sport). Liverpool is known worldwide for its rich history in popular music (e.g. the Beatles), performance and the visual arts. Liverpool began planning for the Capital of Culture bid in 1999. Since 2003 when Liverpool was awarded the status of 2008 European Capital of Culture having won the bid against other UK cities, there has been a drive for major investment in the city centre and the city centre has been transformed.

The European Capital of Culture is a city designated by the European Union for a period of one calendar year during which it showcases its cultural life. In addition to the money that has been invested in the regeneration of the city, estimates show that Liverpool's role as European Capital of Culture has generated over £800 million for the city and surrounding areas in 2008 alone. It has also been estimated that over 15 million visitors were attracted to the city to visit an attraction or to view one of 7,000 cultural events. Visitor number records were broken at all of Liverpool's visitor attractions as attendances were up by over 30% at the Albert Dock attractions.

The events were funded from a variety of sources including Liverpool City Council and European Union Objective One Funding in the public sector, while the organisation was led by Liverpool City Council, the Liverpool Culture Company and Liverpool Vision (a QUANGO).

The European Capital of Culture served as a catalyst for £4bn of regeneration in the city centre including new buildings and the renovation of old buildings. In addition, the whole of the waterfront has been re-regenerated as the Albert Dock has once again re-invented itself following the departure of a number of financial services and media companies in the late 90's and early 00's. In 2004, Liverpool's waterfront was declared as a UNESCO World Heritage site, reflecting the area's historic importance as a trading port. A £19m liner terminal has been built in the Princes Dock area, while south of this the area known as the 'Pier Head', where the Mersey Ferries run from, has been revitalised by an extension of the Leeds-Liverpool canal and the re-building of the Museum of Liverpool, costing over £70m and scheduled to open in 2011.



Directly to the south of the Albert Dock is the Kings Waterfront, covering nearly 15 ha. For several years it was the largest undeveloped site in the City Centre. Between the re-opening of the Albert Dock in the 1980s and the development of the site between 2006 and 2008, it was used for car parking and occasional special events such as music concerts.

The centrepiece of the regenerated Kings Waterfront is the Liverpool Arena and Convention Centre, (comprising the Liverpool Echo Arena and the BT Convention Centre). The state of the art 11,000-seater Arena has hosted many events since it opened in early 2008 including the BBC Sports Personality of the Year later that year. Adjoining this development are two new hotels, retail outlets, riverside apartments, offices and a 1600 space multi storey car park. In the late 1960s, Liverpool had been the 3rd most visited shopping centre in the UK behind London's West End and Glasgow. By 2002, it had dropped to 17th place, with near neighbours Manchester (10th) and Chester (5th) well above in the popularity stakes. In 2008, it was estimated that shoppers in Liverpool would spend more money than any other UK centre apart from London, Birmingham, Glasgow and Manchester. Within 30 minutes drive, Liverpool has a potential catchment of 1.8 million people.

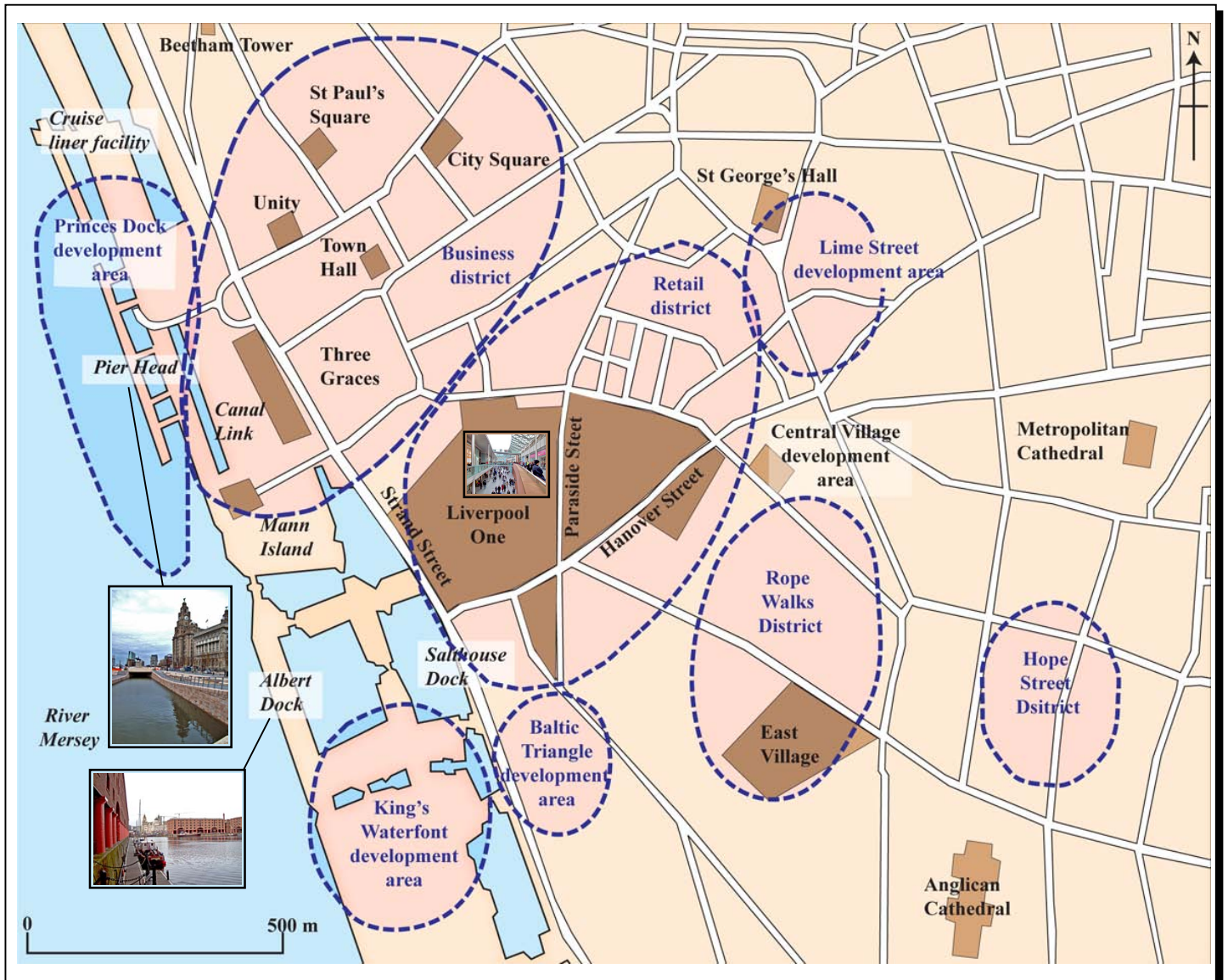
The Liverpool One shopping centre has been one of Liverpool's largest Flagship regeneration projects. It started life at the end of the 1990s when the city council decided to redevelop the area around the Paradise Street bus station. The area consisted of 17 ha. site of mixed uses such as transport, retail, warehousing and some housing.

The city council appointed the Grosvenor Group (owned by the Duke of Westminster, one of the richest people in the UK) as the principal developer of the Paradise Project as it was then known. Over the next few years, a development plan was put together, a public consultation was held and negotiations with potential development partners and other stakeholders such as the tenants of the anchor stores Debenhams and John Lewis. After a lengthy consultation process, various archaeological digs and the compulsory purchase of the land, work on the project started in the autumn of 2004.

The Paradise Project was re-branded as the Liverpool One shopping centre in November 2005 and the first phase opened in May 2008, with further phases opening in 2009. The development has been retail-led, with 160 stores, but with additional elements including leisure and dining (principally a 14-screen cinema and with cafes, bars and restaurants), over 600 residential units, offices, public open space and transport improvements. Liverpool One has 6 distinct districts (or quarters). The cost of the project was over £1bn, all of which was raised from the private sector (Fig 3).



Figure 3 Liverpool City Centre



City centre living and neighbourhood rebranding

In many city centres, former industrial districts/neighbourhoods have been regenerated to create a place in which people seek to live as well as to invest and develop economic activity. The RopeWalks area of Liverpool city centre is an area undergoing rapid change. Adjacent to the central docks, in the days of sailing ships its long straight streets were used by rope makers to bind rope. Also many fine 18th century houses were built for the city’s wealthy merchants. However, for much of the 20th century the central docks and their associated industries declined and for many years this was a run-down part of the city. It had large quantities of vacant and derelict warehouses, other buildings and land. However, since the early 1990s, RopeWalks has developed as the centre for Liverpool’s burgeoning night life and creative industries. Many businesses found in the RopeWalks area are from the media, publishing, design and communications sectors.

RopeWalks has also become a popular place for city centre living. Stakeholders and developers such as Urban Splash and Liverpool Vision have worked within the RopeWalks Partnership to refurbish many historic and listed buildings as trendy luxury apartments and there has been a lot of new building on vacant land in the area. An active residential community is now established in the area.

Elsewhere in central Liverpool areas similar transformations have taken place. One of the best known is the Mathew Street district that has been re-branded as the Cavern Quarter. This area contains the world famous Cavern club and is synonymous with the Beatles. Adjacent to the Cavern quarter is the Met Quarter (opened in 2006), an up-market shopping centre containing many designer shops.

Elsewhere in the city centre, there are areas on the fringe of the CBD that are now too, being redeveloped and regenerated. These areas include the Lime Street Station and St. Georges Plateau area, where the station frontage itself has been redeveloped. The East Village is an area around Renshaw Street, where many large retailers have now moved to more desirable locations within the CBD.

Beyond the City Centre

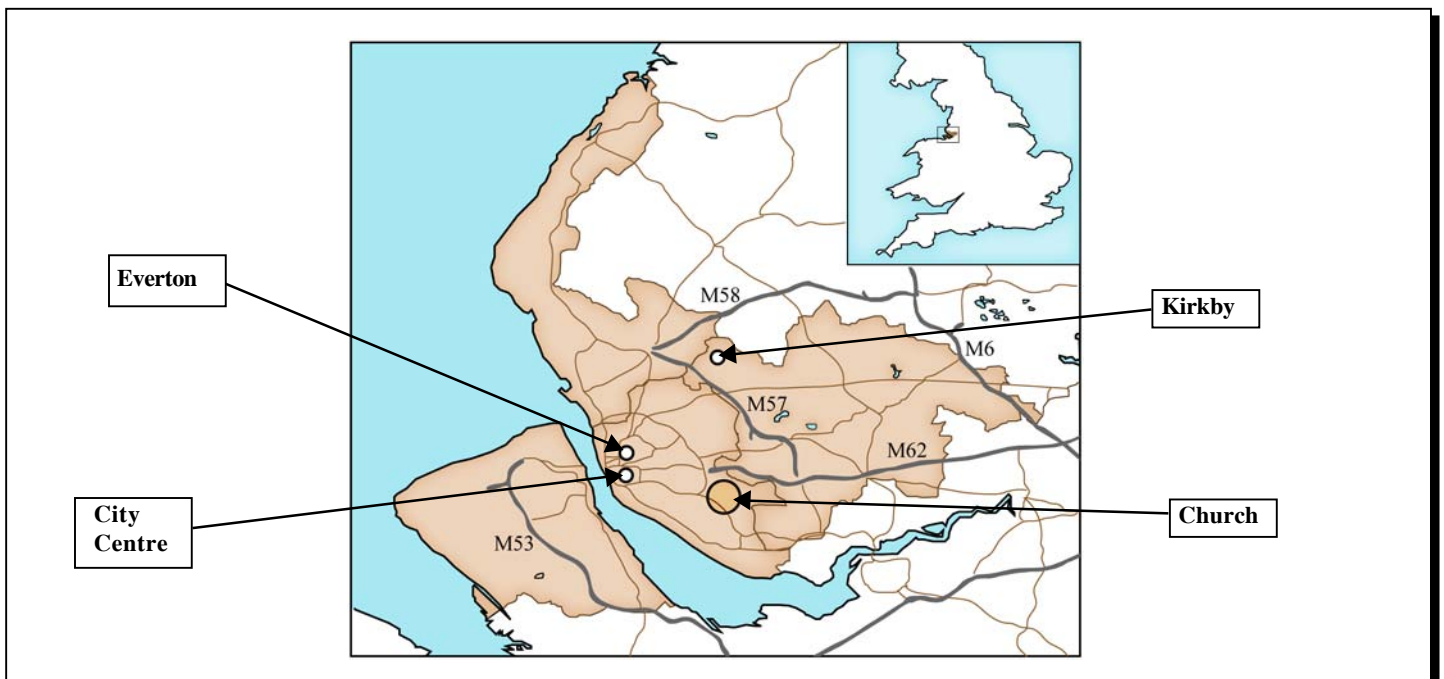
Everton – an inner city area

Around 3km north of the city centre, lies the ward of Everton. Everton is one of the poorest wards in the entire United Kingdom. In fact, Liverpool possesses 56 of the poorest 1% of wards in England (of which there are 325.) Everton grew up as a working class district of the city where many of the 50,000 or so men who worked as dock-workers in the port of Liverpool lived. Other men worked in the many industries associated with imported goods such as sugar refining, flour milling and cigarette manufacturing. The area expanded so much that in the 1901 census the population of the area exceeded 112,000 in an area covering about 3km². Many of the people lived in hastily constructed terraced houses built on the steep slopes of Everton Brow, a sandstone ridge that overlooks the city. Life expectancy and infant mortality rates in this area right up until the 1950’s were those we would now expect to see in the least developed nations of the world. Many houses lacked bathrooms and indoor toilets and were heated by open coal fires.

In the 1950s, the city council started an ambitious slum clearance programme, rehousing residents of Everton and surrounding areas in out of town estates such as Kirkby, Cantril Farm (since rebranded Stockbridge Village) and Speke. High rise flats were built in Everton and for some, they stayed in Everton and moved in to these, the most notorious of which were the so-called ‘Piggeries’ as they resembled pig-pens from a distance. At this time, local councils were paid extra money for building taller tower blocks.

As with all of the redevelopments of inner city areas period from the 1950’s to the 1970’s, the planners who conceived and designed them never intended to live in them and there were many problems associated with their construction and design. By the late 1990’s most local authorities had either pulled down the tower blocks or sold them to private developers to be re-branded as ‘luxury living spaces’. In Everton and surrounding areas such as Vauxhall, the city council took note of the resident’s wishes and replaced the tower blocks with semi-detached houses for families and for the elderly, bungalows.

Figure 4 Case study locations



(Everton) Eldonian Village Case Study:

The Eldonian Village was an early example of localism and was a newly built housing co-operative development for the less affluent, situated in Vauxhall around a kilometre to the NW of Everton, which was previously also an area of poor housing conditions. Major factory closures such as the Tate & Lyle sugar refinery in the 1970's and 80's (as well as the decline of the docks) led to high levels of unemployment in Liverpool, however there was a strong sense of community amongst the people who remained in the area.

The city council wanted to relocate people who were living in poor quality housing built in the 1940's and 50's to replace Victorian housing, but they refused (having seen the experiences of people in Everton). They preferred to stay put in the area and have new housing built there where all their friends and connections were. Eventually it was agreed and the people worked with architects to create the living space they needed.

The first phase consisted of 145 homes to rent which was a mixture of one, two and three bedroom bungalows, houses with between two and four bedrooms and some housing adapted for the disabled. The homes were built to a much higher standard and constructed so that every home was overlooked by others as a form of surveillance to prevent crime. Facilities within the development included a village hall, sports centre and a home for the elderly. Today the community is thriving and expanding, with a waiting list of hundreds who wish to live there. It has won awards for its design and has been copied elsewhere in the UK and abroad. Now privately owned housing has been built by developers adjacent to it because of what was started by the co-operative, to create a pleasant inner city residential area.

Why does Everton need regeneration?

One of the justifications for regenerating an area within a city is to improve the quality of life for residents of that area. Table 1 shows some indicators for multiple deprivation for the Everton ward and Church ward for Liverpool (see figure 1). Whereas Everton is regarded as one of the poorer wards in Liverpool, Church ward contains the wealthier suburbs of the city including Childwall and Calderstones. Multiple deprivation is defined as a measure of disadvantage with regard to several socio-economic indicators and relates to the occurrence of several forms of deprivation, such as low income, poor housing, and unemployment.

Table 1 (a) Housing Tenure

	RSL Housing	Privately owned*	Average House prices for semi-detached house (2009)
Everton	56.1 %	37.2%	£108,000
Church	2.1%	97.9%	£238,000
Liverpool	26.8%	72.2%	£116,000
United Kingdom	17.4%	82.6%	£159,00

RSL – Registered Social Landlord

* also includes privately rented

Table 1(b)Recorded Crimes per 1000 population (2009)

Everton	76.9
Church	17.8
Liverpool	48.8
United Kingdom	79.0

Table 1(c) Work and Worklessness (2009)

	Incapacity Benefit Claimants %	Jobseekers Allowance Claimants %	Worklessness %	Mean Household Income (2008)
Everton	24.5	10.7	42.6	£23,750
Church	5.4	2.6	9.3	£39,400
Liverpool	12.9	6.8	24.0	£29,000
United Kingdom	9.4	5.2	16.9	£34,400

The figure for worklessness is the percentage of households where no-one works.

Table 1(d) Health Indicators

	Life Expectancy Male	Life Expectancy Female	Mortality Rate Cancer	Mortality Rate Circulatory Diseases
Everton	69.2	76.0	193.5	119.6
Church	79.3	84.1	108.5	80.8
Liverpool	73.9	78.7	136.1	116.9
England & Wales	77.5	81.7	100	100

Table 1(e) Education Achievement –Pupils gaining 5 A*-C at GCSE (2009)

Everton	65.5
Church	86.0
Liverpool	72.5
England, Wales and NI	67.1

Source: Liverpool Ward Profiles, Liverpool City Council (2010)

Project Jennifer

Currently in Everton, there are few amenities for population who now live there. There is one shopping centre in Great Homer Street, but many of the shops have closed and the few that remain are fast food outlets. It was also the site of an open-air market. Anyone want to purchase fresh food such as fruit and vegetables would have to travel out to the suburbs or to the city centre. In 2004, Liverpool City Council proposed the regeneration of the Great Homer Street area and called it Project Jennifer. They appointed a development company called St. Modwen to realise the project.

The centre-piece of the plan is a new £150 million district centre is seen as a flagship scheme that will create a new heart for the area. The scheme includes a 10,000m² Sainsburys superstore, 7,500m² of non-food retail stores, a market hall and outdoor market, 480 new homes, facilities for a Primary Care Trust centre, a new library and leisure facilities, 7,500m² of light industrial units and a public transport interchange. The scheme has been subject to a number of delays, mainly concerned with Liverpool City Council's choice of Sainsburys as their preferred redevelopment partner. Tesco mounted a legal challenge to this decision as they wanted to build a store there too. Their challenge was finally defeated in the High Court in June 2010 and construction is due to commence in 2012.

Kirkby – an outer city area

Kirkby is situated some 15 km NE of Liverpool city centre and was created in the 1950's as an overspill for people displaced by slum clearance in the areas around the docks such as Everton, Kirkdale and Vauxhall. It was designed similarly to many other post-war New Towns, it consisted of mainly social housing divided in to neighbourhoods with local services, primary schools and clinics. There was also an industrial estate located on the eastern outskirts of the town on the site of a Second World War bomb factory. This provided work for local residents and meant that they didn't have to travel to the city for work.



Blighted by the economic problems faced by the region in the 1980's, it has never really recovered despite numerous attempts to regenerate the town. It too, has many problems with high indices of multiple deprivation. Table 2 shows some selected data for North Kirkby, South Kirkby and Knowsley the local authority. Like Everton, life expectancy is significantly below the national average while educational achievement is way below the levels experienced in Everton. Despite the fact that Kirkby is on the very edge of the Liverpool conurbation, its socio-economic indicators resemble that of an inner city area. This may be that many of the inhabitants of Kirkby are members of families originally from the inner city.

Table 2(a) Housing Tenure

	RSL Housing	Privately owned*	Average House prices for semi-detached house (2009)
North Kirkby	34 %	66%	£103,000
South Kirkby	31%	69%	£99,000
Knowsley	35%	65%	£115,500

RSL – Registered Social Landlord * also includes privately rented

Table 2(b) Work and Worklessness (2009)

	Incapacity Benefit Claimants %	Jobseekers Allowance Claimants %	Worklessness %
North Kirkby	17	5.0	28.4
South Kirkby	19	5.7	31.4
Knowsley	13.6	4.2	22.8

Table 2(c) Education Achievement –Pupils gaining 5 A*-C at GCSE including Maths and English (2009)

North Kirkby	15.7
South Kirkby	23.9
Knowsley	26.8
England	51.0

Table 2(d) Recorded Crimes per 1000 population (2009)

North Kirkby	68.5
South Kirkby	123.0
Knowsley	85.0

Table 2(e) Health Indicators

	*L.E. Male	*L.E. Female	*S.M.R	Adults smoke %	Adults regularly binge drink %
North Kirkby	73.5	76.5	139	43.2	30.7
South Kirkby	72.4	77.9	135	39.7	36.3
Knowsley	73.9	78.4	128	32.6	31.4

*Life Expectancy (L.E.) *The Standardised Mortality Rate (S.M.R.)takes into account all deaths from Cancer and Circulatory Diseases. The England and Wales average is 100.

Source: Area Partnership Board Profiles (unpublished), Knowsley Data Exchange Group (2008), Knowsley Homelessness Review (2009), Knowsley MBC and Dept for Education website

Rebranding Kirkby

In 2006, Everton FC announced that they were looking to move to Kirkby and develop a new stadium close to the town centre. Their own stadium, Goodison Park, has no room to expand and the current capacity of 38,000 is not enough for them to realise their ambitions of being a more successful club. The new stadium would cost £78 million with £52 million being provided by Tesco, who also would build a £400 million shopping development covering nearly 38,000m²

In 2005, Tesco had purchased much of the centre of Kirkby for £77 million. They would be in partnership with the local authority, Knowsley Metropolitan Council, who would also contributing large sums for the regeneration and were planning to rebrand Kirkby as the 'home of Everton'

There was much opposition to the development both locally in Kirkby and in Liverpool where Warren Bradley, the Leader of Liverpool City Council described the development as "a cowshed in a small town". Objections also came from neighbouring local councils such as West Lancashire, who were redeveloping the post-war new town of Skelmersdale and the developers of Liverpool One and "Project Jennifer". After many objections the planning proposal went before a planning enquiry held in Kirkby in 2008 before being finally turned down by central government in November 2009. Everton FC had previously looked at another site in Kirkby on a municipal golf course and also on the Kings Dock area, where the Echo arena was eventually constructed.

In July 2010, Spenhill (Tesco's urban regeneration subsidiary) announced revised plans for the town centre without the football ground. These are due to go before the local planning committee early in 2011 after public consultation with the people of Kirkby. The proposals for a large Tesco Extra, 30-40 new stores, new leisure facilities and a range of food outlets would provide up to 1200 new jobs, half of which would go to the long-term unemployed. In other areas, where Spenhill have been involved with regeneration such as in Litherland in Liverpool and Gateshead in the North East, long-term unemployed people have been successfully trained to re-enter the job market. This will be a major challenge in Kirkby where about 30% of home are workless i.e. no adult in the home has a job. Development should start in 2013.

Conclusion

Whether the new City Centre rebranding developments outlined in this GeoFactsheet makes a difference to areas such as Everton and Kirkby remains to be seen. The city centre of Liverpool was redeveloped in a period of relative prosperity before the recession and current period of austerity. Its development was driven by the European Capital of Culture, yet in areas such as Everton, this was hardly a cause to celebrate. Even today, three years after the opening of flagship projects such as Liverpool One, they make little difference to the everyday lives of the people. New investment spurred by its status as European City of Culture failed to boost local income or employment, according to the Department for Communities and Local Government in 2008. Yet more ambitious plans exist for the Mersey waterfront to the north of the city centre and on the Wirral opposite to Liverpool city centre such as Peel Waters and Liverpool Waters. These will include more shops, apartments and offices. But does the city need more apartments at a time when Liverpool is struggling to sell all those that have been built, more shops when many in some parts of the city centre are unoccupied and offices when both private and public sector are laying off workers?

Further Reading

Discovering Cities: Liverpool Geographical Association 2006 J Speake
Liverpool A Case Study of Rebranding Geography Review February 2010 J Speake & R Morris

acknowledgements; This Geo Factsheet was researched and written by Robert Morris teaches Geography at Shrewsbury School and is an experienced examiner and author. Curriculum Press, 105 King Street, Wellington, TFI 1NU