

# JUSTICE IN THE REDEVELOPMENT OF URBAN HERITAGE SITES

MSc Thesis  
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July 2022

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This thesis is the final product of the Metropolitan Analysis, Design and Engineering (MADE) master, a joint degree of Wageningen University and Delft University of Technology and hosted by the Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Metropolitan Solutions.

# JUSTICE IN THE REDEVELOPMENT OF URBAN HERITAGE SITES

*An analysis of Socio-Spatial Justice in the  
Redevelopment Process of the North Shore area,  
Liverpool*

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Metropolitan Analysis, Design and Engineering (MADE)

Wageningen University and Research  
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# Abstract

The evolution of global maritime trade in the twentieth century dramatically reshaped the functional reality of port cities and pushed operational port areas away from historic urban centres. The docklands vacated by port operations have been identified as strategic zones for redevelopment, and their redevelopment has given rise to a global typology - the port-urban waterfront regeneration project. The manner in which redevelopment of these port-urban waterfront areas has occurred has been linked to numerous urban challenges, including the destruction of cultural heritage. This thesis utilises the *Policy Arrangement Approach* to analyse to what extent socio-spatial justice has been considered in the redevelopment process of one such port-urban waterfront zone - the *North Shore*, Liverpool (UK). The research finds that applying a socio-spatial justice lens to the *Policy Arrangement Approach* creates an effective tool for the interrogation of redevelopment processes, and makes specific recommendations to improve the ongoing redevelopment process at the *North Shore*.

**Keywords:** Socio-Spatial Justice, Urban Redevelopment, Policy Arrangement Approach, Procedural Justice.





# Preface

*Liverpool* and *Culture* have, to understate it slightly, been pervasive themes in almost all of my research projects over the course of my studies at both Bachelors and Masters level. My tendency to write about the two topics is now so commonly known, that when explaining what I would be writing about in my thesis to friends who have known me for all that time, the surprised “again?” had been almost universally replaced by a much more resigned “of course you are” (a sign perhaps that I really do need to move on and study something else!)

However, it has to be said that the reason I enjoy writing about these topics is, for lack of a more nuanced explanation, they feel important to me. There are of course ‘more important’ and ‘more pressing’ issues in need of resolution in today’s world than the ‘protection’ and ‘enhancement’ of culture - the climate crisis, world hunger, military conflict, the rising cost of living and pandemics of varying types, to name but a few.

Interestingly, up until beginning my Masters degree I had perhaps considered these ‘more important’ challenges to be of a purely, or predominantly, technical nature - which now, thanks to the educators of MADE and my peers, I have come to realise is categorically untrue. There is in fact not just scope to include considerations of culture in devising solutions to these problems, but an imperative need to do so in order for the solutions devised to be effectively adopted and to meaningfully change anything for the better.

So, whereas I once had difficulty rationalising my decision to answer certain questions when others seemed more ‘important’ I now have a fresh outlook and a renewed appreciation of how research that interests me can contribute, in some small way, to solving society’s and the world’s most important challenges.

I hope that the work I have produced over my time on MADE, and in particular over the course of this thesis, some day proves useful - and it has only been made possible through the help and input of a number of individuals.

I would firstly like to thank my supervisors Dr. Roberto Rocco and Dr. Karin Peters for their supervision and guidance that allowed me to take an incredibly vague thesis idea and develop it into something that I am very proud of. It is also necessary for me to thank everyone associated with the development of Liverpool’s North Shore area that helped me in my research by providing me with documents and interview responses. And of course, a huge thank you to my friends and family who have supported me throughout.







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# 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Problem Definition

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The evolution of global maritime trade in the twentieth century, in particular the onset of containerisation as the dominant form of freight transportation, dramatically reshaped the functional reality of port cities and pushed operational port areas away from historic urban centres towards the urban periphery, where the extra space and more advanced transport infrastructure required for modern port operations could be more readily accommodated (Pagés Sánchez & Daamen, 2020).

The port-urban waterfront - the docklands vacated by port operations which are in close proximity to city centres - have been identified as a strategic zone for redevelopment by numerous researchers and international organisations, such as the OECD (Merk, 2013; Daamen & Vries, 2013; in Pagés Sánchez & Daamen, 2020). Local and national governments also see opportunities in supporting the redevelopment of the port-urban waterfront (Urban Task Force, 1999; Bryan, 1999), for example. as a tool to satisfy demand for development in the form of new housing and workspaces, in addition to educational and leisure facilities (Xiao, 2017; Moules, 2016; Cowling & Lee, 2017), or to gain a strategic advantage over rival cities in pursuit of capital investment (Desfor and Jorgensen, 2004; Gordon, 1997).

This spatial resource of port-urban waterfront sites has facilitated a global trend of “port-urban waterfront regeneration projects” which began in North America in the 1960’s and gradually spread to all parts of the world over the succeeding decades; The most pronounced European examples began in the 1980’s with redevelopments in cities such as London, Rotterdam, Barcelona, Bilbao and, more recently, Hamburg (p.130, Pagés Sánchez & Daamen, 2020; Guimaraes, 2006).

However, to such an extent has the manner in which ‘port-urban waterfront areas’ develop become a foregone conclusion in the public’s perception that numerous scholars have theorised the existence of a “waterfront imaginary” (p.131, Pagés Sánchez & Daamen, 2020). This ‘waterfront imaginary’ is a collection of ideas about what a port-urban waterfront zone *should* develop into and has come about because of the consistent inclusion of certain elements, narratives and building-types within port-urban waterfront



redevelopments around the world. Typically included elements include leisure facilities, high-end residential apartments and significant cultural buildings such as art galleries (Bilbao's Guggenheim) or music venues (London's Millenium Dome or Hamburg's Elbepharmonie) (Bianchini, 2006; Lindner, 2006). Some authors have gone as far to suggest the 'waterfront imaginary' constitutes an "informal social expectation" that heavily influences how governmental actors devise policy and redevelopment plans (p.131, Pagés Sánchez & Daamen, 2020; Bianchini, 2006; Lindner, 2006).

Some authors, including Diedrich (2013), have found that the 'waterfront imaginary' stifles and restricts discussion of other potential redevelopment pathways which could deliver greater benefits for either the environment, the waterfront site's cultural assets, local residents, or for some combination of those three (also: Breen & Rigby, 1996; Boland et al. 2017; Marshall, 2001; Hein, 2016). Further, other authors, including Charlier (1992) found that this 'informal social expectation' of what the port-urban waterfront should be redeveloped into leads to insensitive development outcomes which are harmful to the unique qualities, and heritage characteristics, of waterfront sites (also: Norcliffe et al., 1996).

Many organisations at local, national and international level work towards the protection of culturally significant sites - such as those sites at risk of insensitive redevelopment in historic port-urban waterfronts - and aspire to guide any redevelopment that does happen in those locations to holistically deliver sustainable development (meaning development which balances economic, social and environmental concerns; see Brundtland, 1987) which is also responsive to the unique cultural context of the site, in both its tangible and intangible aspects (UNESCO, 2016; UCLG, 2004 & 2015; British Council, 2018; Balta Portoles, 2018).

More specifically, these organisations and bodies seek to avoid the problematic outcomes associated with earlier culture-led urban redevelopment projects, which have been claimed to cause damage to: the 'public good' value of cultural sites (Arbaci & Tapada-Bertelli, 2012; Slater, 2006; Balsas, 2004); the socio-economic prosperity and spatial quality of nearby areas (Banks 2017; Banks & O'Connor 2009; Lavanga 2006, 2009, 2013; Oakley & Banks, 2021); in addition to the environmental quality of nearby areas (Smith, 1987 and 1996; Moulaert et al, 2003; Levine, 2000; Dieleman and Robert, 2000; Lees, 2003).

Some of the measures these organisations have at their disposal to support their culture-responsive redevelopment objectives include the power to award and, depending on the legal context, enforce specific 'heritage' designations - for example, the UK's 'Listed Building Status' and UNESCO's 'World Heritage Status'. Attempts have also been made, by these organisations and academics, to reformulate conceptualisations of sustainable development to more prominently incorporate the cultural aspect of sustainability (see UNESCO, 2016; UCLG, 2004 & 2015; British Council, 2018; Balta Portoles, 2018)

These frameworks for culture-responsive sustainable development are, through their inclusion of the notion of 'cultural rights', underpinned by the consideration of socio-spatial justice (Baltà Portolés & Dragičević Šešić, 2017). Socio-spatial justice is defined as a principle, or set of principles, that seek to create cities that are more responsive to the needs of their residents, through better development processes and urban designs (Harvey, 1973). Thus, within the context of port-urban waterfronts it is clear how an application of socio-spatial justice principles within a redevelopment process might lead to an outcome antithetical to that reached by a project which conformed with the ideas of the 'waterfront imaginary', and therefore could deliver redevelopment which avoids the problematic outcomes associated with the redevelopment

patterns the waterfront imaginary has been claimed to cause.

The North Shore area of Liverpool (UK) is one such culturally significant port-urban waterfront zone that is undergoing a process of redevelopment. As with many other historic docklands, it was vacated by major port industries during the mid-twentieth century and left in an abandoned state for several decades (p. 130, ICOMOS, 2004). Owing to the lack of redevelopment, and the ensuing maintained authenticity and integrity of the heritage assets on the site, it formed a constituent component of *Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City*, a collection of historic neighbourhoods in the city which were awarded 'UNESCO World Heritage Status' in 2004 (History of Liverpool, 2022).

Shortly after the awarding of the World Heritage Status, new owners of a significant plot within the North Shore area came forwards with a redevelopment proposal, called Liverpool Waters, worth approximately £5 billion. The actors within this redevelopment process, and those involved with other redevelopments that have since emerged in the North Shore area, have universally committed to delivering outcomes that are both sustainable and responsive to the cultural value of the North Shore. As is typically the case within urban redevelopment projects (Scott, 1998; Elsenaar, 2013), there have been fundamental disagreements within the process about the nature of the outcome, with well-publicised international debate framing the arising conflict as 'the need to develop' versus 'the need to preserve heritage' (Hickman, 2021; Dunton, 2019; Wicks, 2018). Much of the research into the North Shore's redevelopment has focused on reconciling these two viewpoints, mostly seeking to prove they are not mutually exclusive objectives (Parkinson, 2021; Hughes, 2020), but there has been a distinct lack of research into the process itself, and no attempts have been made to understand if the process of redevelopment is giving the project the best possible chance of achieving a culture-responsive and sustainable outcome.

This research aims to address that research gap and explore in what ways, and to what extent, the North Shore area's redevelopment process has incorporated socio-spatial justice principles such that, in the words of David Harvey (p.97, 1973), "a just outcome might be justly arrived at".

## 1.2 Research Aim

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The aim of this research is to understand how the redevelopment process of Liverpool's North Shore area, a culturally significant port-urban waterfront site, has occurred - and is still occurring - and, specifically, to uncover the extent to which the process is undertaken in a socio-spatially just manner.

With a greater understanding of this redevelopment process it is hoped it might be possible to highlight where, and how, deficiencies in the existing process have impeded the undertaking of a more socio-spatially just process - and accordingly, suggest how this process could be improved to increase its socio-spatial justness.

These lessons, though specific to the exact case analysed, may have transferable elements for other urban heritage redevelopment processes undertaken in similar locales in nations facing similar social, economic, environmental and cultural challenges as the UK.



### 1.3 Research Questions

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The problem definition and research aim as laid out above led to the creation of the principal research question, which is articulated below.

*To what extent has the redevelopment process of Liverpool's North Shore area been undertaken in a socio-spatially just manner?*

This principal research question will be answered through an analysis of formal and informal communications relevant to the redevelopment process. The interrogation of these communication sources will be made possible through the construction of a theoretical framework derived from socio-spatial justice literature and Arts and Leroy's (2004) *Policy Arrangement Approach* framework.

### 1.4 Reading Guide

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Chapter 2 of this report introduces and explains the theoretical concepts employed in order to answer the principal research question: Socio-spatial justice, culture-inclusive sustainable development and the policy arrangement approach. It concludes by presenting the theoretical framework which is later used to analyse both official and informal communications in order to answer the principal research question.

Chapter 3 explains the methodology of the research plan, explaining which official and informal communication sources are analysed, why they were selected for analysis and how they are analysed. This last point is achieved through an explanation of the discourse analysis methods employed, which are of particular relevance for the informal communications.

Chapter 4 provides context on the case under investigation, Liverpool's North Shore area. It explains briefly the relevant history of the area, its composition (including 'boundaries') and provides an overview of the area's development up to the time that the particular 'redevelopment process' under investigation in this research begins.

Chapter 5 uses the structure of the devised theoretical framework to guide a thorough analysis of the 'redevelopment process' undertaken for the North Shore area and exposes the ways in which socio-spatial justice has been, or has not been, considered throughout the process. It finishes with a conclusionary section that highlights important findings from the analysis of the official and informal communications and attempts to explain the motivations behind these findings with respect to socio-spatial justice principles.

Chapter 6 states the conclusions of the research and attempts to locate the value of the research done in this thesis with respect to the wider literature on the topic of socio-spatial justice and culture-responsive sustainable development. Recommendations on the improved use of the policy arrangement approach in future research into the socio-spatial justness of redevelopment processes is also made, as well as potential recommendations for policy which might lead to more socio-spatially just redevelopment processes being undertaken within, or in the surroundings of, urban heritage sites moving forwards. Identified avenues of future academic research will also be highlighted.



# 2

## Theoretical Background

### 2.1 Introduction

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This chapter will provide an introduction to the theory underlying the concepts investigated in this thesis through an analysis of the existing literature on the topics addressed, which are: *Cultural sustainability* and its place within *sustainable development*; *Socio-spatial justice*; and the *Policy Arrangement Approach*.

Before that, because of its repeated use in documents and discourses associated with the redevelopment of the North Shore area, it is necessary to briefly discuss the use of the terms 'redevelopment' and 'regeneration'.

In the chapter summary, the theoretical framework, devised from the aforementioned socio-spatial justice literature and the *Policy Arrangement Approach*, is shown and explained.

### 2.2 Redevelopment vs. Regeneration

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Due to the appearance of both terms frequently within urban development-related policy it is important to highlight the distinction between 'regeneration' and 'redevelopment'. Often, the terms are employed in an interchangeable manner by organisations and public authorities, and the use of one term over the other has few practicable consequences (Chantry, 2015).

The term 'regeneration' is commonly used in British public policy literature (for example in the name of the recently announced *Levelling up and Regeneration Bill*) and defined by the *Royal Town Planning Institute* as "a holistic process which aims to reverse the economic, social and physical decline where market forces alone will not suffice. The planning process provides the opportunity to enhance the role and capacity of communities as well as balancing community, business, environmental and individual needs" (p.7, Department for Communities and Local Government, 2010).

In contrast to this, 'redevelopment' has often been defined more literally, with definitions of the term stating little more than it being the action of constructing something new on the site of something which was previously existing, without the implication of the new construction being part of a more holistic process (Caves, 2005).

Thus, 'regeneration' is inherently more nuanced than 'redevelopment' and implies, as previously stated, an approach to the solution of other social, environmental and economical issues by means of the new construction which is occurring (Caves, 2005). For the sake of clarity, this thesis opts to use 'redevelopment' in order to avoid indirectly implying that the development taking place on the case study site is an 'improvement' on the existing situation; adjudging whether the redevelopment is in fact an improvement is not within the scope of this thesis and irrelevant to the research undertaken. The term 'regeneration' will be used, however, when directly quoting literature or formal and informal communications.

## 2.3 Cultural Sustainability

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Academics, such as Kangas, Duxbury and De Beukelaer, have found that cultural sustainability is generally defined in one of two ways, either as an outcome of efforts to ensure the sustainable continuation of "cultural and artistic practices and patterns, including... identity formation and expression... [and] cultural heritage conservation" or, conversely, as a tool to "compose part of the pathways towards more sustainable societies... [through culture's underpinning of] practices and beliefs that can support and inspire the necessary societal transition to more sustainable [ways of] living" (Kangas et al., 2017, p. 130; Duxbury, 2021). Hawkes (2001; also Pascual & Hawkes, 2014) found that the two aforementioned definitions of cultural sustainability are not mutually exclusive, and that culture should not only be considered a tool to help us achieve sustainable development but that sustainable development can also facilitate the ongoing development of culture.

In order to appreciate the relevance and necessity of considering culture within the wider discourse of sustainable development it is pertinent to understand how theories of sustainable development have evolved since the publication of *Our Common Future* (see Figure 1). The model of sustainability championed in *Our Common Future* (Brundtland, 1987) has since become known as the three pillars model and has served as the basis for two, previously divergent, culture-inclusive interpretations of sustainable development.

The first branch (blue arrow in Figure 1) sought to establish that the three pillars should not in fact be considered of equal importance. O'Riordan et al. (2001) constructed a new model, the so-called nested model, which tried to make clear that the economy cannot exist without society and that society cannot exist without the environment, and that the relationship between the three should be reconfigured accordingly. Giddings et al. (2002) advanced this notion further by declaring that the economy should be treated as a societal construct within definitions of sustainable development; they recognised that it indeed played a role with regards to the achievement of sustainable development, but that it could be changed in order to facilitate such a change and did not need to be 'protected' in the way that the environment and society ought to be.

The second branch (red arrow in Figure 1) stemmed from the so-called four pillar model developed by

Hawkes (2001) who theorised that environmental, financial and social sustainability require a foundation in culture if they are to be understood and implemented at an individual level (Hawkes, 2001, in Oakley & Banks, 2021). His work built on the principles outlined by the economist David Throsby who believed it was impossible “to speak about sustainability without also talking about culture” (p.96, Lavanga & Drosner, 2021). Oakley & Banks (2021) advance this conceptualisation of culture as an integral component of sustainable development whilst also recognising that culture - which Hawkes (2001) understood to mean ‘arts and heritage’ - is a ‘societal construct’ in the same manner as the ‘economy’ within Giddings et al.’s sustainability model. They further identify another split between functional culture (which is economically productive) and anthropological culture (which is often intangible or otherwise non-monetizable); this split occurs in a different dimension to the arts-heritage split, thus it is possible for heritage and arts to have both functional and anthropological components.

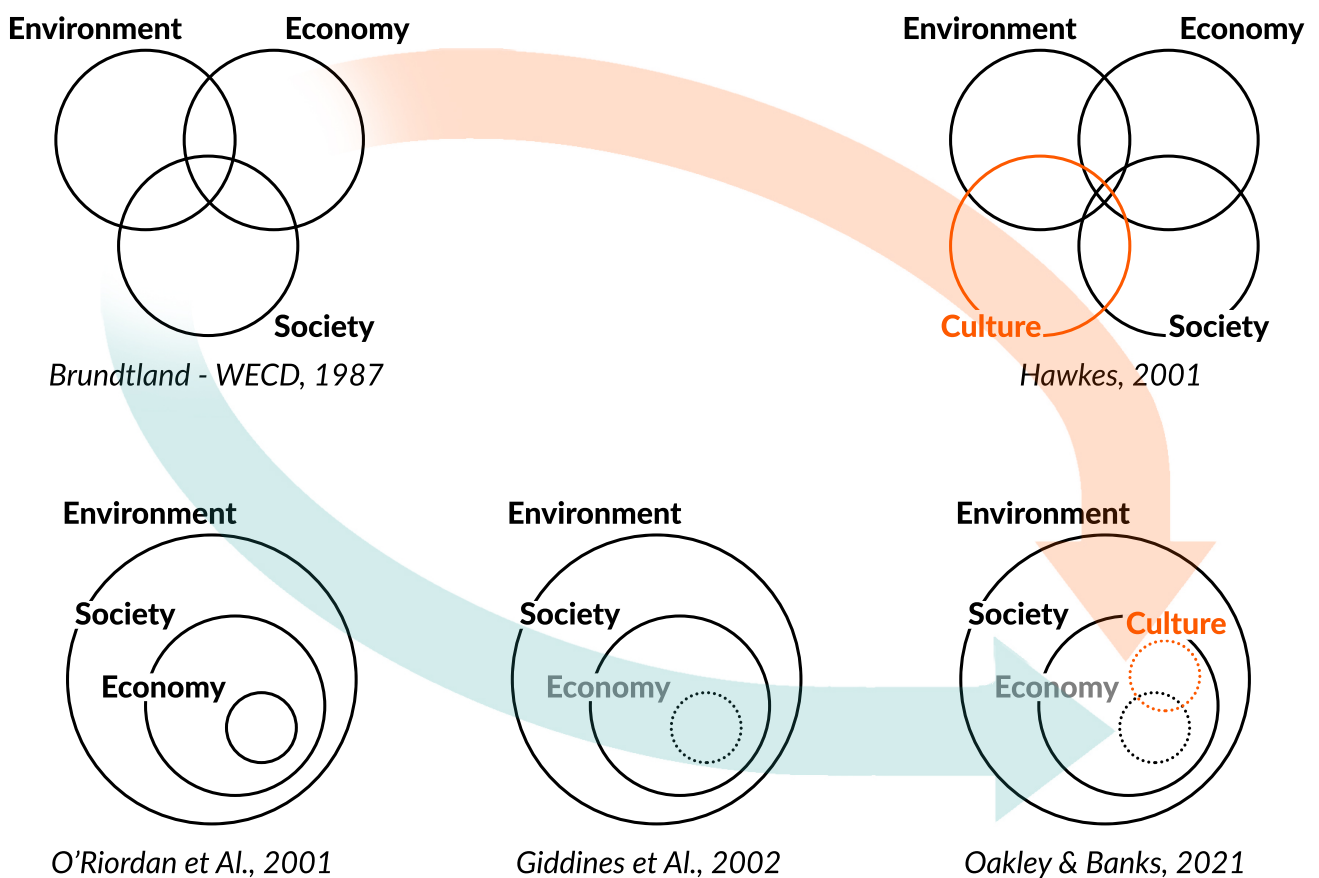


Figure 1: Conceptualisations of Sustainable Development (adapted from Oakley & Banks, 2021)

National and international organisations advocating for the protection of cultural, and heritage, assets such as UNESCO (2016), the British Council (2018) and the United Cities and Local Governments (2004; 2015), in addition to academics (Baltà Portolés, 2018; Radcliffe, 2006), have sought to operationalise culture-inclusive sustainable development theorisations and provide frameworks by which sustainable development that protects and enhances culture can be achieved.

However, in practice, the application of 'culture-led' or 'culture-inclusive' sustainable development principles in redevelopment schemes have been shown, in some instances, to fail to solve or even exacerbate urban problems in the vicinity of the redeveloped site (Arbaci & Tapada-Bertelli, 2012; Balsas, 2004). Mould & Comunian (2015, p. 2359) especially criticised culture-led redevelopment practices in the UK and they talk about "a sense that a [culture-inclusive redevelopment project in the UK] is inherently a vehicle for wealth generation". Further, Lombardi et al. (2011, p.274) found that the UK planning culture has an engrained "develop-at-almost-any-cost" philosophy which has been shown to benefit developers' and larger stakeholders' interests over those of residents and smaller stakeholders, who have oftentimes been found to be excluded from the process altogether (see also: Ward, 2003; Dunton, 2016; Elsenaar, 2013; Mould & Comunian, 2015; Mould et al., 2013; Zukin, 1985).

Research into more successful culture-inclusive redevelopment projects (defined as 'more successful' by the cited researchers because of the projects' better delivery of benefits, and better avoidance of causing harm, to stakeholders) has generally found that the paradigmatic opposite approach of the hypothesised 'existing UK approach' as identified by Mould and Comunian (p.2359, 2015) is necessary in order to deliver "viable" culture-inclusive sustainable development - this more viable approach places greater emphasis on, amongst other things: public engagement; protection of existing cultural assets even if they are less profitable than ones which could be introduced; and, a rejection of redeveloping for cultural tourism purposes to the detriment of local residents' needs (Coe, 2000; Porter & Shaw, 2009; Christophers, 2008; Evans, 2009). Furthermore, other authors have identified that existing UK approaches to cultural sustainability are failing to properly facilitate or nurture bottom-up cultural redevelopment initiatives to the same degree as top-down redevelopment initiatives (Oakley, 2004; Brown et al., 2002; Mould & Comunian, 2015).

The core finding from the aforementioned research into culture-inclusive sustainable redevelopment in the UK is that the primary distinction between a 'more viable' and 'less viable' project lies in the application of socio-spatial justice within the process (Mould & Comunnian, 2015; Checker, 2011). Although socio-spatial justice is incorporated, in some manner, within all of the earlier identified culture-inclusive sustainable development frameworks (UNESCO, 2016; UCLG, 2004; UCLG, 2015; British Council, 2018; Baltà Portolés, 2018) it is the application, in practice, of this one element in particular that many redevelopment projects within the UK have been found to insufficiently achieve (Mould & Comunnian, 2015; Checker, 2011).

## 2.4 Socio-Spatial Justice

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Socio-spatial justice is a concept that has been gaining increasing relevance as a guiding principle in the development - and redevelopment - of urban areas, especially in light of "the neoliberal turn [that] has restored class power to rich elites" since the 1980's (Harvey, 2012, p.15; Marcuse et al., 2009; Agyeman et al., 2003; Gülçin & Yıldırım, 2017; Jones et al., 2019). Simply understood, socio-spatial justice seeks to create cities that are more responsive to the needs and values of their residents (Harvey, 1973).

The concept of social justice being combined with spatial considerations was first mentioned by John Naylor (1959) when he spoke about the social injustices inherent in the spatial configuration of privately-

owned land in Spain during the 1950's. The link between social justice and its inherent spatial quality was first named as such by Bleddyn Davies (1968) through his presentation of the concept of 'territorial justice'. At a similar time Henri Lefebvre published *Le droit à la ville*, later translated into English as *The Right to the City* (1996), which sought to explain the influence of capitalism-led urbanisation had on rising inequality in cities and argued for the need to re-orient the focus of cities' development back towards their citizens, and their citizens' needs (Marcuse et al., 2009).

David Harvey, in his book *Social Justice and the City* (1973), suggests social justice should be thought of as a "principle, or set of principles, for resolving conflicting claims... [and as] a particular application of just principles which arise out of the necessity for social cooperation in seeking individual advancement" (p.96).

Harvey (1973) goes on to equate his theories on socio-spatial justice to Marxist theories by stating "[if] through the division of labour it is possible to increase production: the question then arises as to how the fruits of that production shall be distributed among those who cooperate in the process... [then] the provision of social justice therefore applies to the division of benefits and the allocation of burdens arising out of the process of undertaking joint labour" (p.96). Translating this into the context of the city he surmises that if we consider 'the city' to have been jointly produced by its citizens, then each citizen should enjoy a fair division of the benefits of the city, and shoulder a fair share of the burdens.

Harvey had some further ideas about the way in which this fair distribution of 'benefits' and 'burdens' should be arrived at, referencing the need to consider "the locus of power and decision-making authority... the distribution of influence... [and] social and institutional arrangements" (1973, p.97). These components link directly to three of the four components of Arts & Leroy's, independently arrived-at, 'Policy Arrangement Approach' (2006) which posits that a holistic analysis of a decision making system can be undertaken through the consideration of four interconnected components "[the] actors... [their] power and influence... [the] discourses [which occur within the process]... [and the] rules of the game [more simply understood as the rules of interaction between the actors]".

As a consequence of the introduction of social justice into the geographical domain later researchers have taken further steps to elaborate on the ethical ideology which could underpin the application and understanding of social justice. Harvey aligns his thinking on the ideology underpinning social justice to that of social psychologist Garry Runciman (1966) who describes how social justice can be achieved by "redistributing society's income" through a loose ordering of considerations from "need" to "contribution to common good" to "merit" (p.107, Harvey, 1973). Since then notable ideological theories which have been adopted by researchers to understand social justice include: Rawls' assertion that all humans have an equal right to basic liberties including alleviation from economic and social inequality through the redistribution of society's resources to benefit the most disadvantaged; and the concept of *Utilitarianism* developed by Bentham and Mill which advocates for the strict allocation of resources and responsibilities to whomever has the need and capacity to achieve the 'greatest good' from having them (Marcuse et al., 2009). Between these two concepts, which are in essence at the extreme ends of the 'justice' spectrum, lie a plethora of more palatable combinations of ideas from each (Israel & Frenkel, 2020). However, Marcuse et al. (2009, p.3) found that a pervasive problem within the discourses around socio-spatial justice is the lack of attempts at operationalising the concepts discussed into applicable principles.

Critical to the creation of practicable socio-spatial justice principles is the need to consider whether the primary focus is on delivering justice through the process, 'procedural justice', or through the outcomes, 'distributive justice'. Research on the first variant stemmed initially from the 'communicative rationality' proposed by Habermas (1990), and has become most associated with communicative urban planning proponents such as Healey (2003) who claim that unique situations require unique approaches, and that the definition of justice is situationally-grounded. The opposing viewpoint, that socio-spatial justice is a universal absolute, is supported most notably by movement such as *The New Urbanism* (see: Katz, 1994; Marcuse et al., 2009, p.7).

Connolly and Steil (in Marcuse et al., 2009, pp.231-232), amongst others (Fainstein 2010; Fischer, 2009), argue that approaches to conceptualising socio-spatial justice in the process and in the outcome are not mutually-exclusive and are "at important points necessarily dependent on one another" (Fischer, 2009, in Marcuse et al., 2009, p.232). Complimentary to this holistic consideration of socio-spatial justice in the process and the outcome, Barnett (2017, p.248), summarises the notion of socio-spatial justice in practice, not as an absolute or ideal, but as "a condition that is approached through processes of repair, recognition, redress, reparation, and redistribution" which is to be determined by the actors to whom justice is to be served on a case-by-case basis, and via a continuous dialogue.

Furthermore, particular attention has been paid in recent writings within the field of social sciences (Soja, 2010; Israel & Frenkel, 2018), to the subject of quantifying socio-spatial inequality (and thus, the authors claim, injustice) through metrics such as "education, political participation, health, crime, environment and human development" in an attempt to create a normative theory of socio-spatial justice (Lamont, 2018; in Israel & Frenkel, 2020, p.1).

These attempts at increasing the normativity of socio-spatial justice represent a significant line of inquest within the discourse on this topic, and build on the earlier work done by authors such as Fainstein (2010), Balta Portoles & Dragicevic Sestic (2017), Zarate (2015) and Harvey (2002) in the pursuit of socio-spatial justice frameworks for the delivery of socio-spatial justice within the process and outcomes of urban development.

## 2.5 Policy Arrangement Approach

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The Policy Arrangement Approach is a versatile tool that allows researchers to analyse "the temporary stabilisation of the content and organisation of a particular policy domain" (Van Tatenhove et al., 2000, p. 54). The approach achieves this by building on diverse sources from sociology and the political sciences including Network Theory, Discourse Analysis and Power in Policy Processes (Hehn, 2016).

The Policy Arrangement Approach details how a policy arrangement can be understood and inspected through an analysis along four intrinsically interconnected dimensions: the *Actors*, their *Power & Influence*, the *Rules of the Game*, and the *Discourses* (Arts & Leroy, 2006: see Figure 2). The Actors dimension relates to the individuals and organisations associated with the policy domain, and the informal and formal coalitions they form (Arts & Leroy, 2006, p.47). The Power & Influence dimension relates to the distribution of resources between the Actors, and how they are able to use these resources to drive the process in their

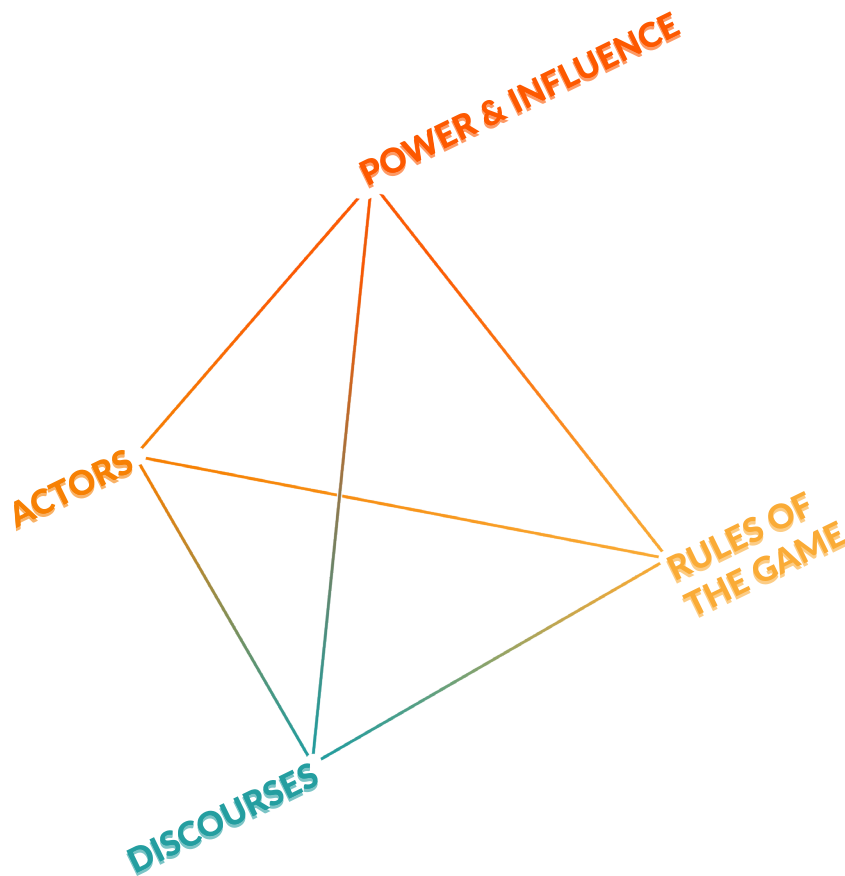


Figure 2: The Policy Arrangement Approach (adapted from Arts & Leroy, 2006)

desired direction (Arts & Leroy, 2006, p.47). The Rules of the Game dimension relates to both the formal and informal arrangements for interaction between the actors that exists within the policy domain (Arts & Leroy, 2006, p.47). The final dimension, the Discourses, is of a different nature to the other dimensions because it concerns substantial aspects of the policy domain rather than organisational aspects, it relates to the narratives within the policy domain (Arts & Leroy, 2006, p.47).

The diagrammatic representation of the Policy Arrangement Approach (Figure 2) as a tetrahedron provides a clear visualisation of how each dimension interrelates with every other dimension and how changes in one dimension have wholesale repercussions for the entire policy domain (Arts & Leroy, 2006, p.48). For example, “The appearance of new actors or a change in the composition of coalitions, for instance, may add new elements to the prevalent discourse or lead to another distribution of resources” (Arts & Leroy, 2006, p.48). As an outcome of this interrelatedness, and in the context of this thesis’ research question, it is functionally unimportant which dimension is considered first as long as they are all considered.

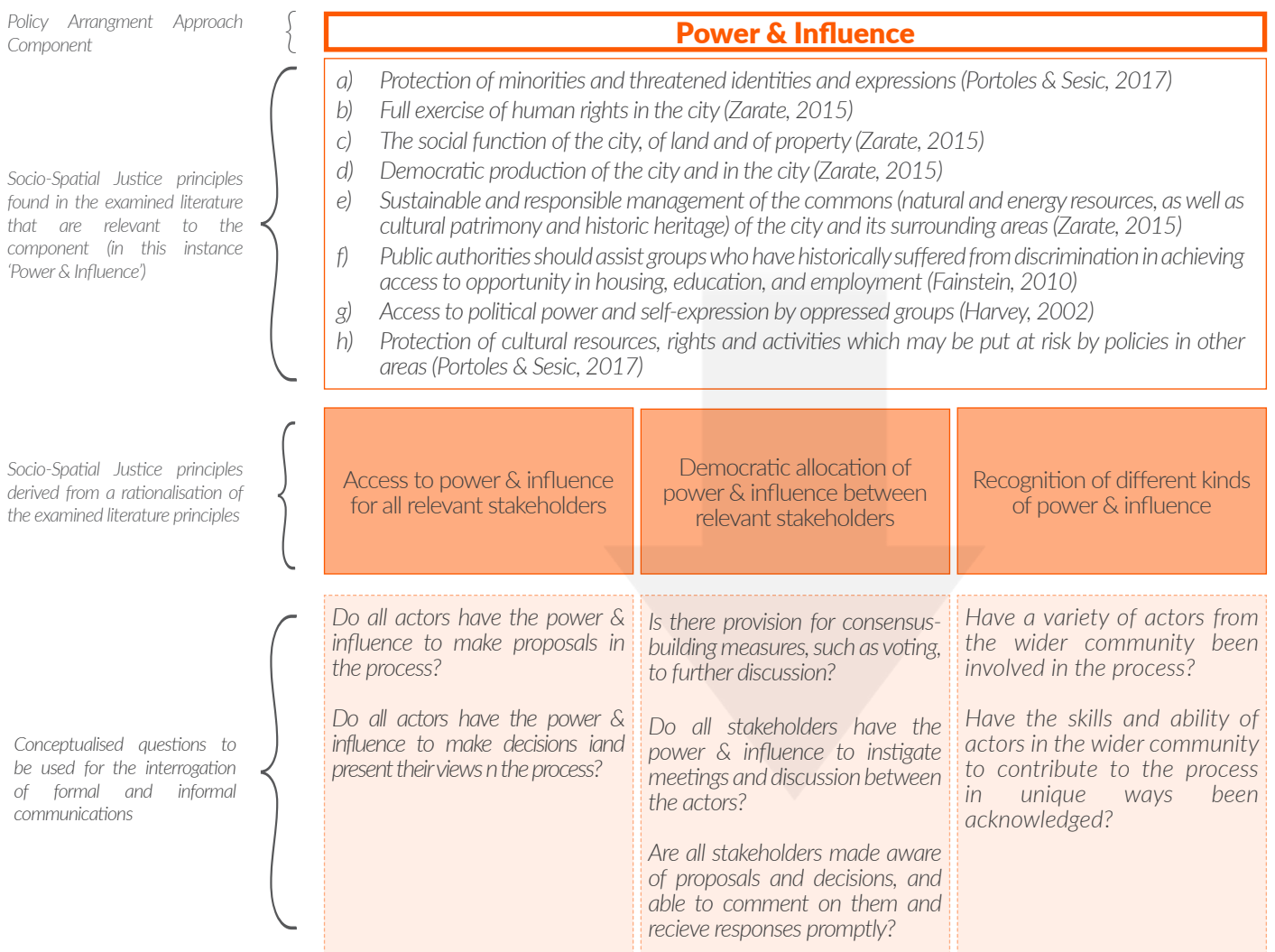
Academics interested in the study of environmental sustainability have been the most keen to adopt the Policy Arrangement Approach as a tool for their research. Hehn (2016) explored the application of the approach in the UK context, with a focus on environmental sustainability. Other authors have studied environmental policy arrangements in different contexts including The Netherlands (Veenman et al., 2009; Janssen, 2015), South Korea (Park, 2015) and Brazil (Rittl et al., 2015). Despite the established use of the Policy Arrangement Approach in the analysis of environmental sustainability, there is a scarcity of its application for the study of other concepts including socio-spatial justice.

## 2.6 Summary - Theoretical Framework

In order to create the Theoretical Framework used in this thesis, four frameworks for the delivery of socio-spatial justice within the process and outcomes of urban development schemes have been transposed, as an analytical lens, onto the Policy Arrangement Approach.

The four frameworks which are used to derive the socio-spatial justice 'lens' are taken from: *Spaces of capital: Towards a critical geography* (Harvey, 2002); *The Just City* (Fainstein, 2010); *Right to the City for All: A manifesto for social Justice in an Urban Century* (Zarate, 2015); and *Cultural rights and their contribution to sustainable development: implications for cultural policy* (Balta Portoles & Dragicevic Sestic, 2017).

These frameworks were reviewed and their principles were allocated, where relevant, to one or more of the components of the *Policy Arrangement Approach* framework namely: Actors, Power & Influence, Rules of the Game, and Discourses. Subsequently the principles were amalgamated in order to create a single, more holistic, socio-spatial justice framework (see Figure 3) capable of analysing a multi-actor urban redevelopment process. The final step involved conceptualising the newly-derived principles such that they could be used to interrogate and analyse the formal and informal communications collected during the research.





## Actors

- a) *Participation in policy decision-making and management (Portoles & Sestic, 2017)*
- b) *Full exercise of human rights in the city (Zarate, 2015)*
- c) *The social function of the city, of land and of property (Zarate, 2015)*
- d) *Democratic management of the city (Zarate, 2015)*
- e) *Sustainable and responsible management of the commons (natural and energy resources, as well as cultural patrimony and historic heritage) of the city and its surrounding areas (Zarate, 2015)*
- f) *Households or businesses should not be involuntarily relocated for the purpose of obtaining economic development or community balance except in exceptional circumstances (Fainstein, 2010)*
- g) *Economic development programs should give priority to the interests of employees and, where feasible, small businesses (Fainstein, 2010)*
- h) *Public authorities should assist groups who have historically suffered from discrimination in achieving access to opportunity in housing, education, and employment (Fainstein, 2010)*
- i) *Groups that are not able to participate directly in decision-making processes should be represented by advocates (Fainstein, 2010)*
- j) *Access to political power and self-expression by oppressed groups (Harvey, 2002)*
- k) *Protection of minorities and threatened identities and expressions (Portoles & Sestic, 2017)*
- l) *All new commercial development when possible should facilitate the livelihood of independent and cooperatively owned businesses (Fainstein, 2010)*
- m) *Plans should be developed in consultation with the target population if the area is already developed. The existing population, however, should not be the sole arbiter of the future of an area. Citywide considerations must also apply. In planning for as yet uninhabited or sparsely occupied areas, there should be broad consultation that includes representatives of groups currently living outside the affected areas (Fainstein, 2010)*

Access to the process for all relevant stakeholders	Representation within the process for relevant stakeholders unable to self-advocate	Protection within the process for all relevant stakeholders
<p><i>Can relevant stakeholders easily become involved in the process?</i></p> <p><i>Are all relevant stakeholders involved in the process?</i></p> <p><i>Are steps taken to ensure the inclusion of formerly excluded stakeholders?</i></p>	<p><i>Are human stakeholders not involved in the process still represented in some way?</i></p> <p><i>Are non-human stakeholders represented in the process in some way?</i></p>	<p><i>Have conflicts between actors been resolved constructively without the exclusion of actors?</i></p> <p><i>Have actors sought to prevent the exclusion of other actors?</i></p>

## Rules of the Game

- a) *Participation in policy decision-making and management (Portoles & Sestic, 2017)*
- b) *Access to and participation in cultural activities (Portoles & Sestic, 2017)*
- c) *Protection of minorities and threatened identities and expressions (Portoles & Sestic, 2017)*
- d) *Democratic management of the city (Zarate, 2015)*
- e) *Megaprojects should if at all possible, they should be developed incrementally and with multiple developers (Fainstein, 2010)*
- f) *Planners should take an active role in deliberative settings in pressing for egalitarian solutions and blocking ones that disproportionately benefit the already well-off (Fainstein, 2010)*
- g) *Public authorities should assist groups who have historically suffered from discrimination in achieving access to opportunity in housing, education, and employment (Fainstein, 2010)*
- h) *Access to political power and self-expression by oppressed groups (Harvey, 2002)*
- i) *The elimination of forms of marginalisation of social groups (Harvey, 2002)*
- j) *Elimination of cultural imperialism (Harvey, 2002)*

Inclusiveness within the process	Opportunities for the process to evolve	Democracy in the making of decisions	Spirit of egalitarianism in the process
<p><i>Has there been an interrogation of the barriers stakeholders might face to enter the process?</i></p> <p><i>Have those barriers been removed?</i></p>	<p><i>Have new actors joined the process over time?</i></p> <p><i>Have new, or existing, actors been able to evolve the process?</i></p> <p><i>Is there a culture of seeking continuous improvement in the way the process operates?</i></p>	<p><i>Have all actors and relevant stakeholders been able to meaningfully influence decisions on the scheme?</i></p>	<p><i>Have the core actors been willing to accommodate the wants, needs and values of other actors?</i></p> <p><i>Has there been a concentrated effort to involve all stakeholders meaningfully?</i></p>

## Discourses

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Access to and participation in cultural activities (Portoles &amp; Sestic, 2017)</li> <li>b) Protection of minorities and threatened identities and expressions (Portoles &amp; Sestic, 2017)</li> <li>c) Protection of cultural resources, rights and activities which may be put at risk by policies in other areas (Portoles &amp; Sestic, 2017)</li> <li>d) Full exercise of human rights in the city (Zarate, 2015)</li> <li>e) The social function of the city, of land and of property (Zarate, 2015)</li> <li>f) Democratic production of the city and in the city (Zarate, 2015)</li> <li>g) Sustainable and responsible management of the commons (natural and energy resources, as well as cultural patrimony and historic heritage) of the city and its surrounding areas (Zarate, 2015)</li> <li>h) Democratic and equitable enjoyment of the city (Zarate, 2015)</li> <li>i) All new housing development should provide units for households with incomes below the median, either on-site or elsewhere, with the goal of providing a decent home and suitable living environment for everyone (Fainstein, 2010)</li> <li>j) Housing units developed to be affordable should remain in perpetuity in the affordable housing pool or be subject to one-for-one replacement (Fainstein, 2010)</li> <li>k) Reconstruction of neighbourhoods should be conducted incrementally so that interim space is available in the vicinity for displaced households who wish to remain in the same location (Fainstein, 2010)</li> <li>l) Economic development programs should give priority to the interests of employees and, where feasible, small businesses (Fainstein, 2010)</li> <li>m) All new commercial development should provide space for</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>public use (Fainstein, 2010)</li> <li>n) Megaprojects should be subject to heightened scrutiny, be required to provide direct benefits to low-income people in the form of employment provisions, public amenities, and a living wage, and, if public subsidy is involved, should include public participation in the profits (Fainstein, 2010)</li> <li>o) Fares for intra-city transit (but not commuter rail) should be kept very low (Fainstein, 2010)</li> <li>p) Households should not be required to move for the purpose of obtaining diversity, but neither should new communities be built that further segregation (Fainstein, 2010)</li> <li>q) Boundaries between districts should be porous (Fainstein, 2010)</li> <li>r) Ample public space should be widely accessible and varied; where public spaces are provided by private entities, political speech should not be prohibited within the property (Fainstein, 2010)</li> <li>s) To the extent practical and desired by affected populations, land uses should be mixed (Fainstein, 2010)</li> <li>t) Public authorities should assist groups who have historically suffered from discrimination in achieving access to opportunity in housing, education, and employment (Fainstein, 2010)</li> <li>u) The elimination of forms of marginalisation of social groups (Fainstein, 2010)</li> <li>v) Elimination of cultural imperialism (Harvey, 2002)</li> <li>w) Mitigation of the adverse ecological impacts of social projects (Harvey, 2002)</li> <li>x) Full exercise of human rights in the city (Zarate, 2015)</li> </ul> |
|--|---|

Equitable access to facilities and participation in site activities	Proof of socio-economic benefit to the community	Development in the interest of employees and small enterprises	Protection of cultural assets
<p>Is there extensive public access across the site and improved amenities?</p> <p>Do Public transportation options provide access to the entirety of the site?</p> <p>Is provision made for disability access to the site and its amenities?</p>	<p>Is there provision for the employment of local people?</p> <p>Will housing on the site be accessible to local people?</p> <p>Are any steps being taken to mitigate the impacts of gentrification?</p>	<p>Have small local enterprises been consulted?</p> <p>Is there provision within the plans for small business spaces?</p> <p>Have local people been consulted to understand their needs regarding future employment on the site?</p>	<p>Are there plans to protect the site's cultural assets?</p> <p>Are the site's cultural assets able to be freely interpreted?</p> <p>Has there been consultation on the interpretation of the cultural assets? Who was involved?</p> <p>Are there provisions made for the site to be used as a site of cultural gathering?</p>
Complimentary Land Uses within and beyond the site	Mitigation of Ecological Impacts	Incremental site development with the Community	Sustainable Management of the Commons
<p>Are the threshold areas of the site of an equal or improved quality, with respect to public access and visual quality, to those areas adjacent to the site?</p> <p>Are there plans for mixed land uses on the site which are complimentary to the surrounding areas?</p>	<p>Have specialists in the study of ecological impacts been consulted?</p> <p>Has the future risk presented by rising sea levels been considered in the scheme's environmental strategy?</p> <p>Will the development improve the environmental resilience of the wider area?</p>	<p>Is the development happening incrementally?</p> <p>Are lessons learnt for each step of the process and applied to the next?</p>	<p>Will the site be managed by a broad selection of actors once the development is completed?</p> <p>How will the site be managed once the development is completed?</p>

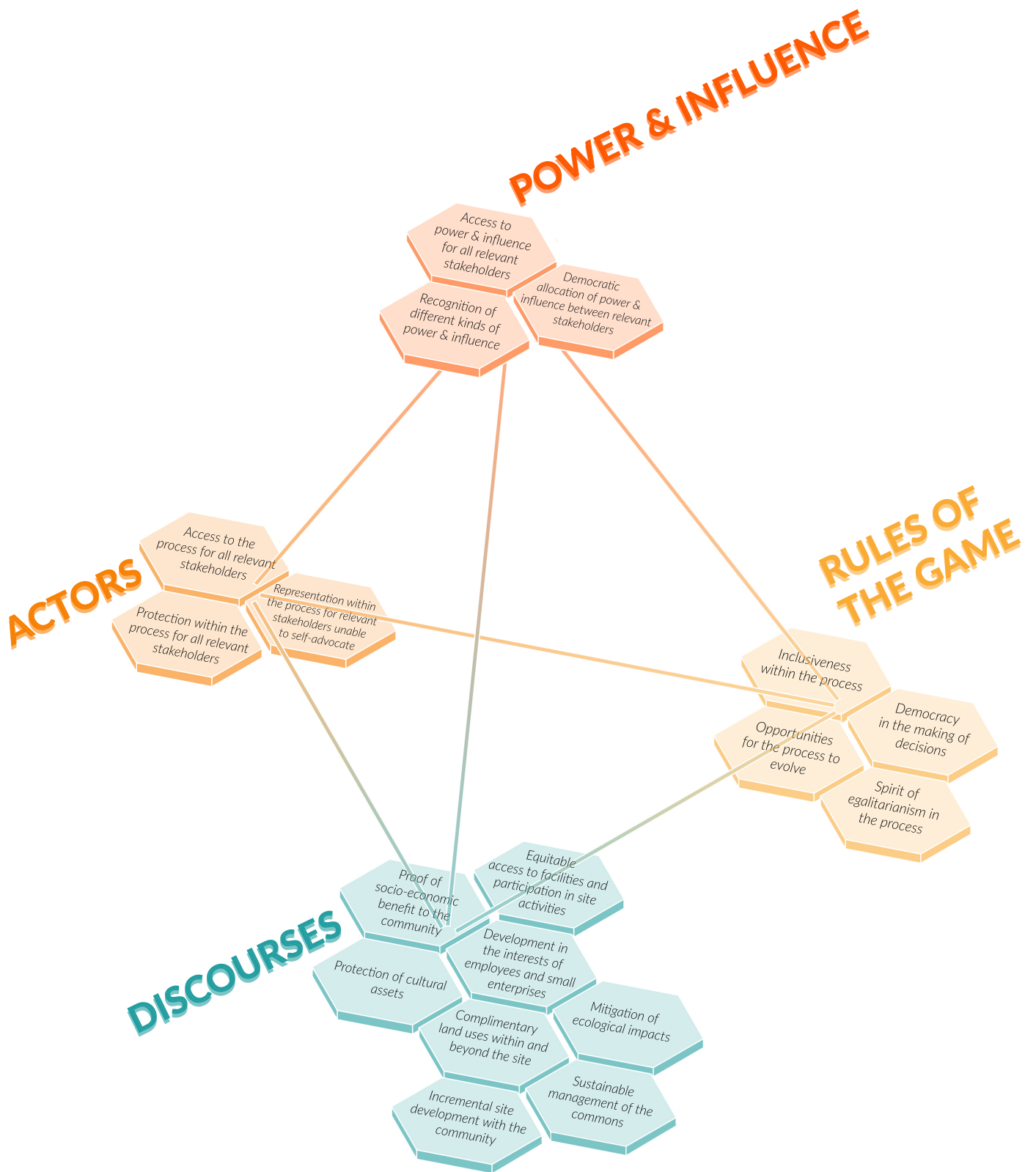


Figure 3: Visualisation of the 'Socio-Spatial Justice' Policy Arrangement Approach

# 3

## Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

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As previously stated, this thesis seeks to understand the process undertaken in the redevelopment of Liverpool's North Shore area, a site of heritage and cultural value, and evaluate the process' socio-spatial justness - this chapter explains the methodology applied in order to do that. Section 3.2 briefly clarifies the method undertaken for the gathering of the academic literature referenced in this report. Section 3.3 (Study Design) presents the methods which have been used, and the rationale behind their use. In the subsequent sections 3.4 and 3.5 the relevant policy documents, public consultation reports, development strategies, and, interviewed individuals and organisations will be presented. Before finally, in section 3.6, the methods of analysis, used to interpret the evidence from these aforementioned communications, will be explained.

### 3.2 Literature Research

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Relevant literature has been found through a systematic literature review in line with the first and second steps of the *CRD Handbook guidelines* identified by Cooper et al. (2018) - they are namely, an electronic database review of articles by means of a key terms search and a review of the referenced literature within those primary articles, an approach equivalent to that advocated for in Wohlin's (2014) *Snowballing method*.

### 3.3 Study Design

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The empirical evidence collected for this thesis has come from two types of source: official communications and informal communications.

In general, the official communications were used to gather information relating to the 'discourses' component of the policy arrangement approach - their very nature making it difficult to draw meaningful

insights into the 'power & influence' and 'rules of the game' components, although by reviewing who published these documents, and to what ends it is possible to infer certain things about these two components.

Informal communications refers to the evidence gathered through the conducting of semi-structured interviews with actors engaged in the redevelopment process of the North Shore area, and also, to a lesser extent, the email communications received from actors who were unable to find time for a full interview. Actors were sought out for interview because of their involvement in the redevelopment process, they were initially found by examining relevant official communications relating to the redevelopment - any individual or organisation mentioned in these documents was emailed and invited to take part in the research as an interviewee. Over the course of conducting these interviews, the interviewees were asked to pass on any relevant contact information for other process members who had not been identified in the official communications.

The collection of empirical evidence from both official and informal sources allowed for a holistic understanding of the process to be attained.

### 3.3 Official Communications

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A total of 29 official communications were analysed. These documents were found through desktop research of key search terms related to the development of the entire North Shore area, and its components (which are explained in greater detail in Chapter 4). Additionally, Liverpool City Council's website was searched for policy documents, frameworks, strategic plans and other documents related to planning proceedings. Once found, documents were searched methodically for mention of other relevant documents which were then also analysed and added to the list of official communications (Table X).

The authors of the official documents analysed include:

Liverpool City Council (LCC) - The legislative and executive authority with responsibility for the granting of planning consent for development within the North Shore area, in this capacity it is also within their remit to define expectations regarding the quality, scale and use of developments on the property.

Liverpool Waters - A subsidiary of Peel L&P, the principal developer and owner, of the 'Liverpool Waters' site, which occupies the western half of the North Shore area (explained in greater detail in Chapter 4).

Liverpool City Region Combined Authority (LCRCA) - The 'metro-region' authority of which Liverpool is a constituent part (alongside five other local authorities: Halton, Knowlsey, Sefton, St Helens and Wirral). It was established in 2013 and has limited executive authority related to the delivery of coordinated economic development, public transport and post-school education in the 'City Region'. It does not play an active role in planning decisions and does not have an oversight role over Liverpool City Council.

Liverpool Vision - A former 'Urban Regeneration Company' technically private but partially-owned by Liverpool City Council and responsible for bringing together public and private actors to fund redevelopment

Author	Date	Document Title
LCC	Unknown	Design for Access for All Supplementary Planning Document (SPD)
LCC	Unknown	Public Transport SPD
LCC	April 2009	World Heritage Site SPD Public Consultation Summary
LCC	October 2009	World Heritage Site SPD
Liverpool Waters	November 2011	Transport Assessment
Liverpool Waters	November 2011	Public Realm Characterisation and Precedent Study
Liverpool Waters	November 2011	Planning and Regeneration Statement
Liverpool Waters	November 2011	Heritage Impact Assessment
Liverpool Waters	November 2011	Environmental Statement Non-Technical Summary
Liverpool Waters	November 2011	Destination Strategy
Liverpool Waters	November 2011	Conservation Management Plan
Liverpool Waters	November 2011	Sustainability Appraisal
Liverpool Waters	November 2011	Design & Access Statement
LCC	2012	City Centre Strategic Investment Framework
LCRCA	November 2014	Visitor Economy Strategy and Destination Management Plan
Liverpool Vision	2015	Business Plan 2015-18
LCRCA	2016	Growth Strategy
LCRCA	June 2016	Sustainable Urban Development Strategy
LCC	September 2017	Ten Streets Spatial Regeneration Framework
LCC	Late 2017	World Heritage Site Management Plan 2017-2024
Liverpool Waters	July 2020	Urban Design & Heritage Report
Liverpool Waters	July 2020	Land Use Implication Verification Report
Liverpool Waters	July 2020	Parameters Plan Report
Liverpool Waters	July 2020	Planning Justification Statement
MTF & others	September 2020	North Shore Vision
Team Liverpool	October 2020	City Plan
LCC	January 2022	Liverpool Local Plan First Draft
LCC	January 2022	Public Consultation Report on Block C02 of Liverpool Waters
LCC	March 2022	Historic Environment Planning Policy Advice Note

Table 1: The formal communications analysed

projects in the city. Its operations and most of its staff were subsumed by Liverpool City Council in 2018.

Mayor's World Heritage Taskforce (MTF) - An advisory body assembled by the previous incumbent mayor of Liverpool, the taskforce's role was originally to try to reset the relationship between the city and UNESCO but morphed into being the lead authors of the 'North Shore Vision', a document which attempted to create a cohesive narrative for the redevelopment of the North Shore area.

Team Liverpool - A newly-formed loose collaboration of numerous 'third sector' (their words) organisations including members from education (University of Liverpool, City of Liverpool College), health (Liverpool Clinical Commissioning Group, Mersey Care NHS foundation, Liverpool University Hospitals NHS Trust), public services (Merseyside Police, Merseyside Fire & Rescue) and others (Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, Liverpool Charity and Voluntary Services, Torus Housing Association) in addition to the city council.

### 3.4 Informal Communications

After a thorough analysis of the formal communications produced regarding the redevelopment of the North Shore area, interviews were organised with process actors and other relevant stakeholders. Of particular consideration within the organisation of interviews was ensuring that representatives from as many as possible of the four sectors of society identified within the *Stakeholders in Real-Life Living Lab Context* (Steen and Van Bueren, 2014: see Figure X) diagram were involved. Ensuring representation from each sector demonstrates that the evidence found is sufficiently balanced and comprehensive to be considered valid within a multi-stakeholder setting, such as the redevelopment process of Liverpool's

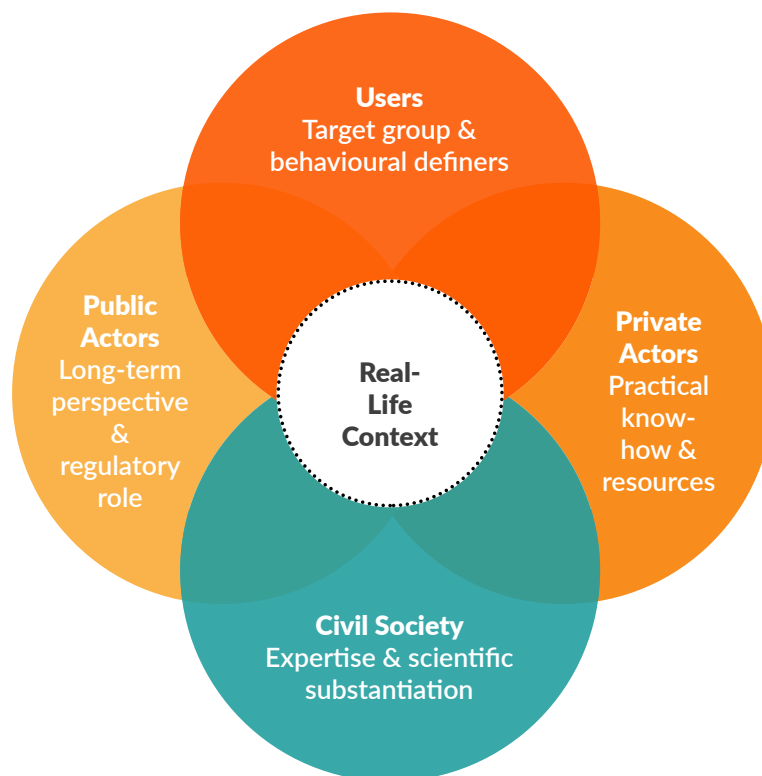


Figure 4: Stakeholders in Real-Life Urban Context  
(adapted from Steen and van Bueren, 2014)



North Shore (Steen and Van Bueren, 2014).

Contact was made with individuals and organisations for the purpose of gathering information on the redevelopment process in a number of ways. In the first instance, individuals and organisations involved with the writing of the official documents were contacted and invited to partake in a semi-structured interview. Secondly, individuals and organisations, who were not authors, but were referred to by name in any of the analysed official documents were invited to be interviewed in a similar manner. During the interviews, actors from the two aforementioned groups were asked if they knew of any other actors that should be spoken to in order to better understand the redevelopment process. As a final step, organisations located within, or in close proximity to, the North Shore area that were not specifically named within any of the relevant literature, or mentioned by the other interviewees, were contacted and invited to provide reflection on their experiences of the process, or lack thereof.

Ultimately, 9 interviews were conducted, and a further 5 actors responded that they were unable to attend an interview but provided a written communication - either via email, or via a link to a document they had previously written - which they agreed could be used, in effect, as a personal communication on the thesis topic.

Interviewees were invited to discuss 'the process' that had been undertaken in the redevelopment of the North Shore area. The invitation avoided references to 'socio-spatial justice' and other such terms which

No.	Interviewee Organisation	Interviewee Role
1	Engineering & Consultancy Firm	Planning Consultant for Liverpool Waters
2	WHS Steering Group & National Museums Liverpool	Senior Museum director & WHS Steering Group
3	Liverpool City Council Planning Department	Planning Officer for Liverpool Waters
4	Mayor's Taskforce & University of Liverpool	Senior Academic and member of the Mayor's Task Force
5	Mayor's Taskforce & University of Liverpool	Senior Academic and member of the Mayor's Task Force
6	Heritage Consultancy	Former Heritage Officer at LCC, now Heritage Consultant
7	Urban Design & Landscape Architecture Firm	Urban Planner for Liverpool Waters & Ten Streets
8	Formerly Liverpool City Council	Formerly Councillor with Heritage Portfolio
9	Liverpool Waters (Peel L&P)	Senior director at Liverpool Waters

No.	Written Communication Respondee Organisations	Written Communication Respondee Role
1	Liverpool-based Housing Association Body	Umbrella grouping of housing associations
2	Merseyside Archaeological Society	Senior member of the Merseyside Archaeological
3	Merseyside Industrial Heritage Society	Senior member of the Merseyside Industrial Heritage Society
4	Engage@Liverpool (University of Liverpool department)	Public Participation Research & Practice Organisation
5	WHS Steering Group & University of Liverpool	Senior Academic and member of the WHS Steering Group

Table 2: The actors (and organisations) engaged in personal communications - by interview or written communication

might insinuate the broader objective of the research project, this was done for three principal reasons. Firstly, if interviewees were to know the exact aim of the research then they may have answered in a way that made themselves, or their organisation, 'look good' ie. more 'socio-spatially just'. Secondly, they might have recited pre-prepared answers related to 'public engagement' in a false belief that it was specifically information regarding this topic that the interviewer was looking for. Thirdly, in line with discourse analysis theories it is usefully revealing to see whether the interviewees arrive at discussions of justice within the process of their own accord, if interviewees were to do so or not would indicate the degree to which, and in relation to which themes, a concern for socio-spatial justice permeated the 'process'.

The interviews were semi-structured, lasted between 25 and 45 minutes, were conducted online and were digitally recorded - with the express permission of the interviewee - for later transcription and analysis of the interviewee's responses.

At the beginning of each interview, interviewees were asked a simple open question (as recommended by Williamson et al. 2018) to explain their connection to the North Shore process and the role, or roles, they had fulfilled within the process before more specific questions were asked relating to the scope of their organisation's role within the process; their relationship/interactions with other actors within the process; the major points of discussion between actors; the objectives of the redevelopment; and the changes they had experienced regarding how the process was conducted. Follow-up questions were asked seeking to gain greater insights into the process from an 'actors', 'power-influence', 'rules of the game' and 'discourses' perspective.

Researchers such as Moser and Kalton (2017) advocate for taking special care to avoid asking 'leading questions' that might indicate the interviewer's bias and influence the interviewee's answer. Accordingly questions were phrased as openly as possible in the first instance, and follow-up prompts were prepared in advance in attempt to reduce the likelihood of interviewer bias permeating those questions.

Further, researchers including Williamson et al. (2018) found that interviewees respond more positively to interviewers that are 'similar' to them, which they also identify as being a very important factor for successful semi-structured interviews. As such, early within each interview it was clarified to the interviewee that the interviewer was from a location near Liverpool and had worked previously as an architectural assistant in the city, and thus was familiar with specific place names and important actors.

### **3.5 Content and Discourse Analysis**

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In order to answer the sub research questions it is necessary to define the process by which the official and informal communications will be analysed. This will be done by conducting both content analysis and discourse analysis.

Content analysis is quite simply an analysis of what is written, or said, in a communication, and discourse analysis is a discipline that can be used to assess a text or speech and help to "interpret what the writer or speaker intended to convey in context" (p.41, Rocco, 2022). By undertaking a process of discourse analysis, using a variety of specific tools, the author's beliefs, biases, assumptions and hidden agendas can

be revealed (Burr, 2015).

The value of using discourse analysis within the thesis is to better understand the evidence provided by official and informal communications. It is particularly useful within the context of the Policy Arrangement Approach because it “is impossible to separate discourses and power processes” (p.10, Peters, 2017; in relation to: Foucault, 1977; and Foucault & Rainbow, 1984) thus, it is possible to garner an extra level of insight into the power dynamics of the redevelopment process by understanding *how* the actors talk about: other actors, the process and the discussion points; not only *what* they say about these things (which will also be analysed).

Content and discourse analysis are both forms of qualitative research. Lofland et al. (2006, pp. 195-196) identified a number of defining characteristics of the qualitative research process, they summarised that: the analysis process is predominantly inductive rather than deductive; the researcher is the primary analytic agent; and, that the inductive and researcher-driven nature of the analysis leads to a highly interactive process between the researcher and the data. This research project has followed the best practice recommendations of researchers who have written on the process of conducting qualitative research, who recommend overlapping the process of data collection with that of data analysis such that the researcher is able to be flexible and adapt their approach between interviews in order to find answers to the most relevant questions which appear and pursue promising leads (Charmaz, 2014; Lofland et al. 2006).

The actual process undertaken to analyse the data was as follows: After completing each interview and downloading the recording to a backed-up digital storage folder, the video was uploaded to a specialist data analysis software (MAXQDA); Once uploaded, the video transcription was reviewed and coded, firstly based on relevance to the principles identified in the *Socio-spatial justice Policy Arrangement Approach*; and then adjudged on whether or not it suggested the presence or lack of socio-spatial justice within the redevelopment process based on the content or meaning of the words spoken.

# 4

## Context

### 4.1 Introduction

---

In order to understand how and why the redevelopment process of Liverpool's North Shore area has been undertaken it is necessary to appreciate certain elements of the area's history, geography and politics. The value of understanding this context will become apparent in the analysis section of this thesis when particular events, landmarks, spaces and actors are referenced.

### 4.2 The Location and Components of the North Shore area

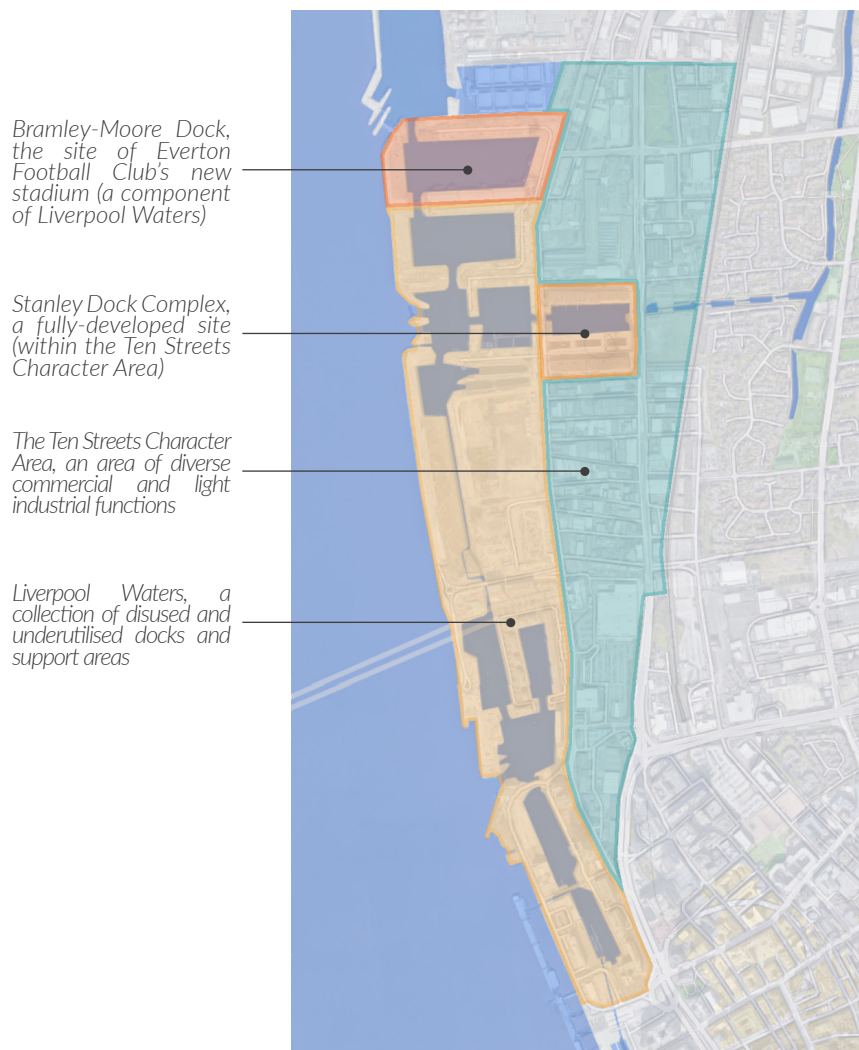
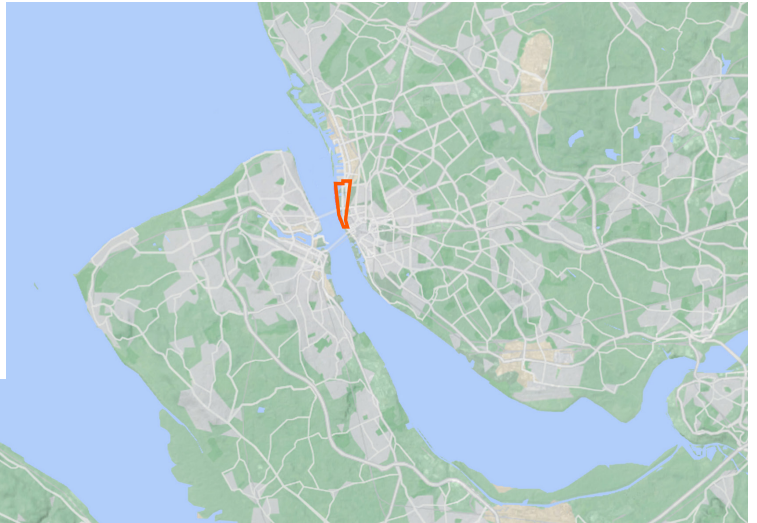
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The North Shore area is located along a 2.25km stretch of coastline on the banks of the River Mersey, in Liverpool, UK. Liverpool itself is located in the North West region of England and faces out onto the Irish Sea, via the River Mersey and Liverpool Bay.

The "North Shore area" is identified as such in only one of the documents studied during this thesis project, the *North Shore Vision* published in September 2020, before that there are no written references to the area as a whole. The namesake of the area is the 'North Shore Coffee House' which "once sat as an early focal point for the north Liverpool communities that grew with and around the docks, and is first shown on the Liverpool map of 1809" (p.8, *North Shore Vision*, 2020). Despite the lack of use of the term in common parlance within the city and the name's lack of recognition even amongst stakeholders only tangentially involved in its redevelopment, the 'North Shore' is the only name for the unified area with precedent in literature, and thus the area as a whole is referred to accordingly in this thesis.

According to the *North Shore Vision* (2020) there are four constituent developments to the North Shore area, two of which are best described as development zones and the other two are individual projects of particular significance which, technically, fall within those aforementioned development zones.

Liverpool Waters (yellow on Figure 7) is the long site adjacent to the River Mersey, it consists of 12 docks



Figures 5, 6 & 7: The location of Liverpool within the UK; the location of the North Shore area within Liverpool; and, the components of the North Shore area (adapted from Google, 2022)

and their immediate surroundings up to the boundary line formed to the east of the site by the combination of Regent Road - Waterloo Road - Bath Street - New Quay. The boundary to the south of the site is formed by St. Nicholas Place, on the other side of which is located Liverpool's Pier Head (the waterfront's centre-of-gravity), and the boundary to the north is formed by the division between Bramley-Moore Dock and Sandon Dock, which is filled by a wastewater treatment facility. Everton Football Club's Bramley-Moore Dock Stadium is proposed to occupy the Bramley Moore Dock (Orange on Figure X) and its immediate surroundings, the large scale of this project and the significance of having such an important venue on the site have warranted the inclusion of the stadium as one of the four constituent components of the North Shore area (this is consistent with the components of the area identified in the *North Shore Vision*).

To the east of the boundary line formed by Regent Road - Waterloo Road - Bath Street - New Quay lies the other major development area within the North Docks District, the so-called Ten Streets Area (blue on Figure X). The area is named for a significant arrangement of ten streets (from north-to-south: Saltney Street, Dublin Street, Dickson Street, Cotton Street, Carlton Street, Regent Street, Porter Street, Vulcan Street, Vandries Street, Oil Street) which are oriented in an approximately east-west configuration and share an intertwined history with the adjacent docklands, for which they hosted auxiliary industries. The ten streets themselves are immediately to the south of the Stanley Dock Complex (orange on figure X). The Stanley Dock Complex is the second significant individual project within the North Shore area. It was previously captured in its entirety within the World Heritage Site boundary, and the subdivision of the World Heritage Site associated with the northern docks was named after it, as the 'Stanley Dock Conservation Area'. There are three buildings on the complex site, all of which have already undergone, or are undergoing renovation, being transformed into a hotel and mixed-use leisure-residential buildings. For the most part, the Stanley Dock Complex was developed prior to, and independently of, the other areas within the North Shore area, and its inclusion within the wider plan of the area is a retrospective step which will have a greater bearing on the development of the other components than on itself.

### 4.3 A History of Development and Decline

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Liverpool has a large number of heritage assets, several of which are located along the shores of the River Mersey and constitute the historic docklands (History of Liverpool, 2022). These docks were constructed in stages from the 17th century onwards as the port, and thus city, grew in size and importance to eventually become one of the largest in the world during the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Sharples & Pollard, 2004; Hughes, 1993)

In the aftermath of the second world war the UK experienced a pivoting of trade towards Europe and away from the rest of the world which greatly disadvantaged Liverpool in comparison to ports on Great Britain's southern coast (Marshall, 1988). Further changes within international maritime trade, principal amongst those the onset of containerisation (for which the city's old docks were ill-equipped), further pushed Liverpool's port operations into decline. Ultimately these developments led to the collapse, in the early 1960's, of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board which had overseen the operation of the Port of Liverpool. Large swathes of dockland were abandoned in short order and left to decay as the city went into a period of stagnation and decline - In a 1984 study of economic health in the European Communities 102 largest cities, Liverpool was ranked 102nd (Marshall, 1988).

This state of affairs continued for almost 20 years from the 1960's until the mid-80's, as the city, along with several other urban centres in the UK, experienced increasing unemployment and poverty levels which culminated in the 'Toxteth Riots' of late June and early July 1981. The situation sparked an ideological struggle in the British Government over whether to subject the city to a 'managed decline' or to reduce the role of the local government and implement a series of reforms that would see a "business-led, centrally appointed urban development corporation" take over many of the functions of the local government with regards to development (Parker, 2019).

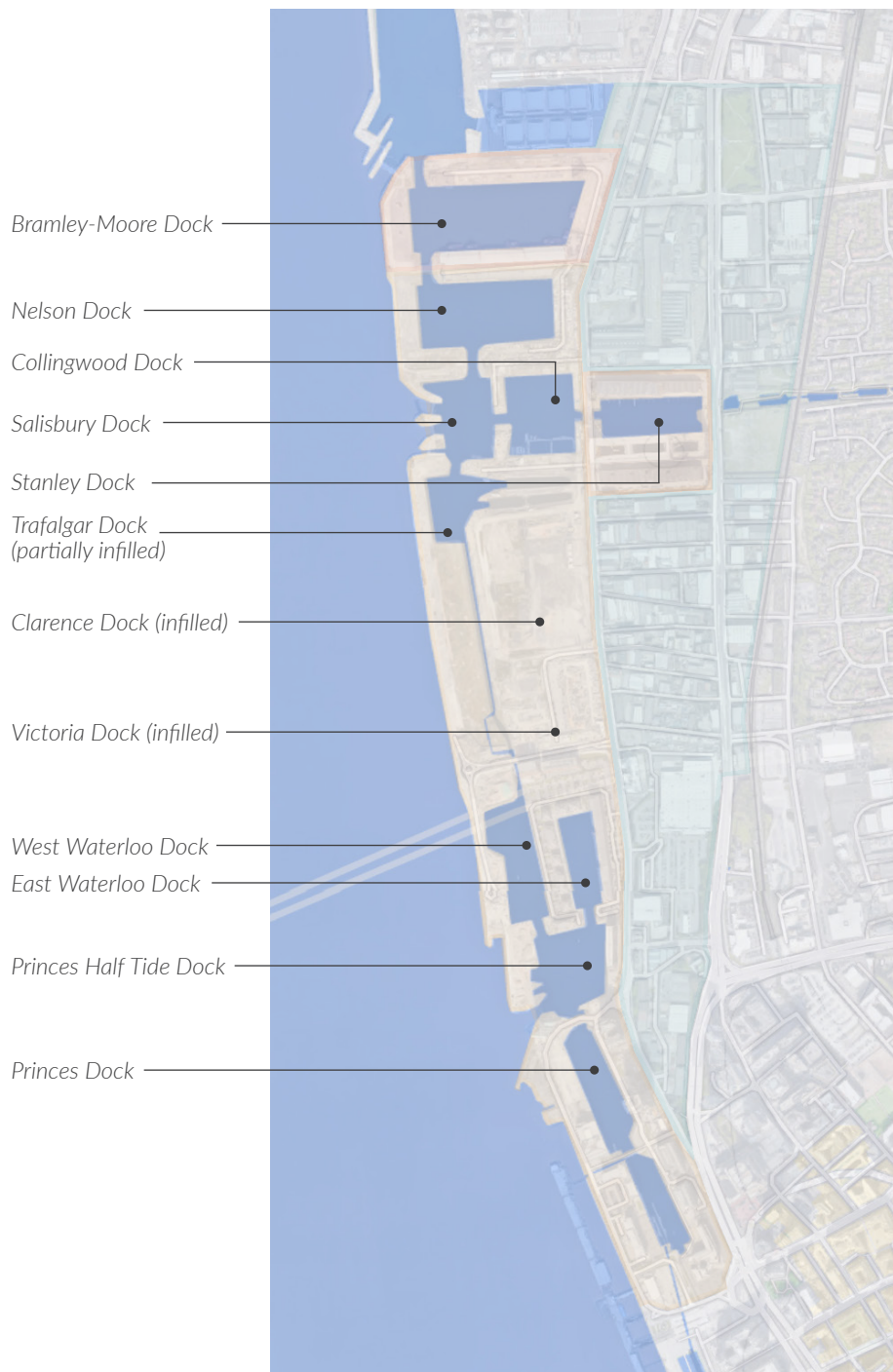


Figure 8: The North Shore area's docks (adapted from Google 2022)

The latter option was decided upon, and led to the creation of the Merseyside Development Corporation. Its first flagship project was the renovation and repurposing of the Albert Dock (which in 2018 was granted a Royal charter and renamed the *Royal Albert Dock*). Since the re-opening of the Albert Dock as a mixed-use-cultural-residential property in 1984 there have been numerous smaller interventions along the southern portion of the dock network but large parts of the docklands are still widely disused or underutilised. The North Shore area is comprised of several of these disused and underutilised docks and the adjacent neighbourhood which was dominated by port-related auxiliary industries that suffered in lock-step with the docklands (Hughes, 1993).

Within the North Shore area there are 10 water-filled dock basins and 2 dock basins which have been infilled, they were constructed between 1821 (Princes Dock) and 1848 (Salisbury, Stanley, Collingwood, Nelson and Bramley-Moore Docks) (North Shore Vision, 2020, p.21). To give a sense of scale, Liverpool has had 43 docks over its history, 30 of which remain as water-filled basins, with the remainder having been filled in for various reasons over the past 300 years. The 12 docks within the North Shore area were acquired through the purchase of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company (the successor organisation to the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board) by Peel Ports in September 2005.

In the year preceding the docks' acquisition by Peel Ports Liverpool had been successful in its bid to receive international heritage recognition in the form of UNESCO World Heritage Status. A significant component of that inscription in the World Heritage List was related to the city's role in the early development of international maritime trade within the British Empire and the "innovative technologies and methods in dock construction and port management" that were used to enable Liverpool to become "the supreme example of a commercial port at the time of Britain's greatest global influence" (UNESCO, 2004). A large portion of the North Shore area, including the majority of the 12 docks to the north of the Pier Head, was located within the designated World Heritage Site and those parts which fell outside that particular boundary were still caught within the city-encompassing 'buffer zone', with their development demanded to be of a high standard of heritage value and authenticity accordingly.

Soon after acquiring the 12 docks The Peel Group (the parent corporation of Peel Ports) came forward with proposals for a project called *Liverpool Waters*, a £5.5 Billion scheme which was initially designed to provide almost 2,000,000 square metres of new commercial and residential premises, including over 23,000 apartments and 4 hotels. The physical scale of the scheme was judged to be inappropriate by various heritage bodies in comparison to the lower-lying industrial architecture present in the North Docks District - The tallest historic building in the area, Stanley Dock's Tobacco Warehouse is 38 metres tall, whereas Liverpool Waters was proposed to possess multiple towers of over 175 metres (UNESCO, 2022). Ultimately, the Liverpool Waters scheme evolved into a series of increasingly more modest proposals (Parkinson, 2021). However, in 2012, after Liverpool City Council approved an outline planning permission for the Liverpool Waters project UNESCO acted to prevent what they saw as a major threat to the 'outstanding universal value' which saw the World Heritage Status conferred upon Liverpool in the first place by placing the entire site on the "World Heritage in Danger" list (UNESCO, 2012). The outline planning permission has still, ten years later, not been fully implemented and only small segments of the Liverpool Waters property have been developed, mostly around the southernmost docks which are located closest to the city centre. Specific planning permissions for individual plots on the Liverpool Waters site continue to come before the city council, and one in particular is of significant importance -



Everton Football Club's proposed Bramley-Moore Dock Stadium.

The stadium, if built, will see the existing Bramley-Moore Dock mostly filled-in with only a small access channel left for maritime traffic on the river-side of the site. The scheme represents an almost £500,000,000 investment, of which £50,000,000 has been committed to the preservation of heritage assets in the immediate vicinity of the stadium (Prentice, 2021). Nevertheless the plans were met with disapproval by Historic England and the Victorian Society, with UNESCO particularly scathing in their assessment of the scheme describing it as potentially having “a completely unacceptable major adverse impact on the authenticity, integrity and outstanding universal value of the World Heritage Site” (UNESCO, 2021, p.56).

As a direct consequence of the planning approval of the Bramley-Moore Dock Stadium and the subsequent decision of the UK's Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government not to ‘call in’ the scheme for a public enquiry (the last opportunity to prevent consent for construction from being given), UNESCO voted in 2021 to remove Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City from the World Heritage List. The stadium proposal was not cited as the only reason for the removal of heritage listing, but was individually identified in ICOMOS' report recommending Liverpool's status be rescinded alongside remarks about the wider development of the North Shore area (UNESCO, 2021, p.54).

#### 4.4. Socio-Economics and Politics in the North Shore area

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There are two pertinent items to be aware of regarding the political and governmental situation in the North Shore area.

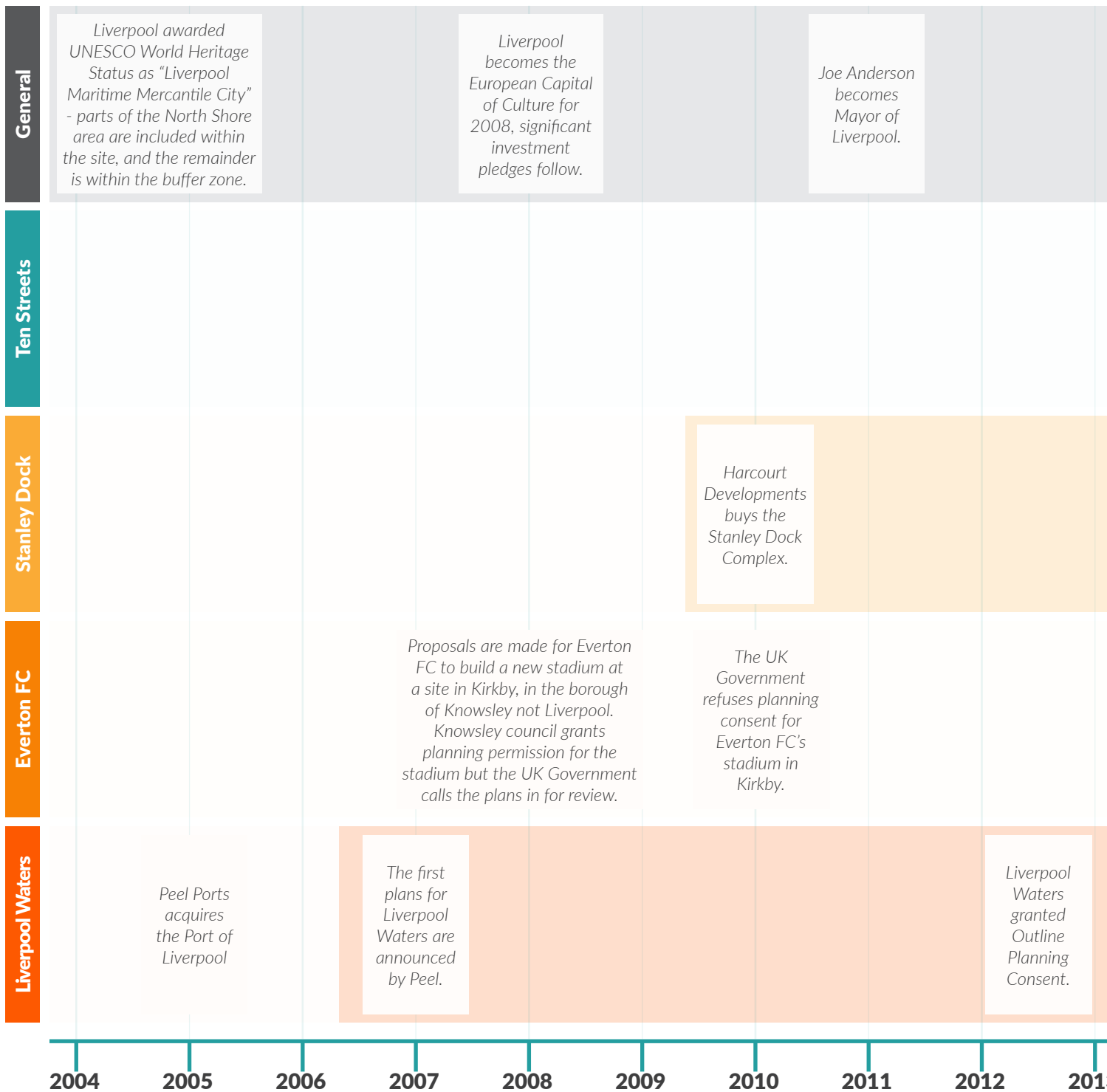
The first item is that the North Shore is located entirely within the Kirkdale ward of Liverpool City Council. Kirkdale ward is the fourth most deprived in the city (out of 30 wards) and is immediately adjacent to the most (Everton), second-most (County) and third-most (Anfield) deprived wards in the city - as well as the fourth least deprived, the city centre ward (Liverpool City Council, 2021a; 2021b; 2021c; 2021d; 2021e). The socio-economic profile of the immediate area places it within the top 10% most-deprived areas in the UK (North Shore Vision, 2020, p.31).

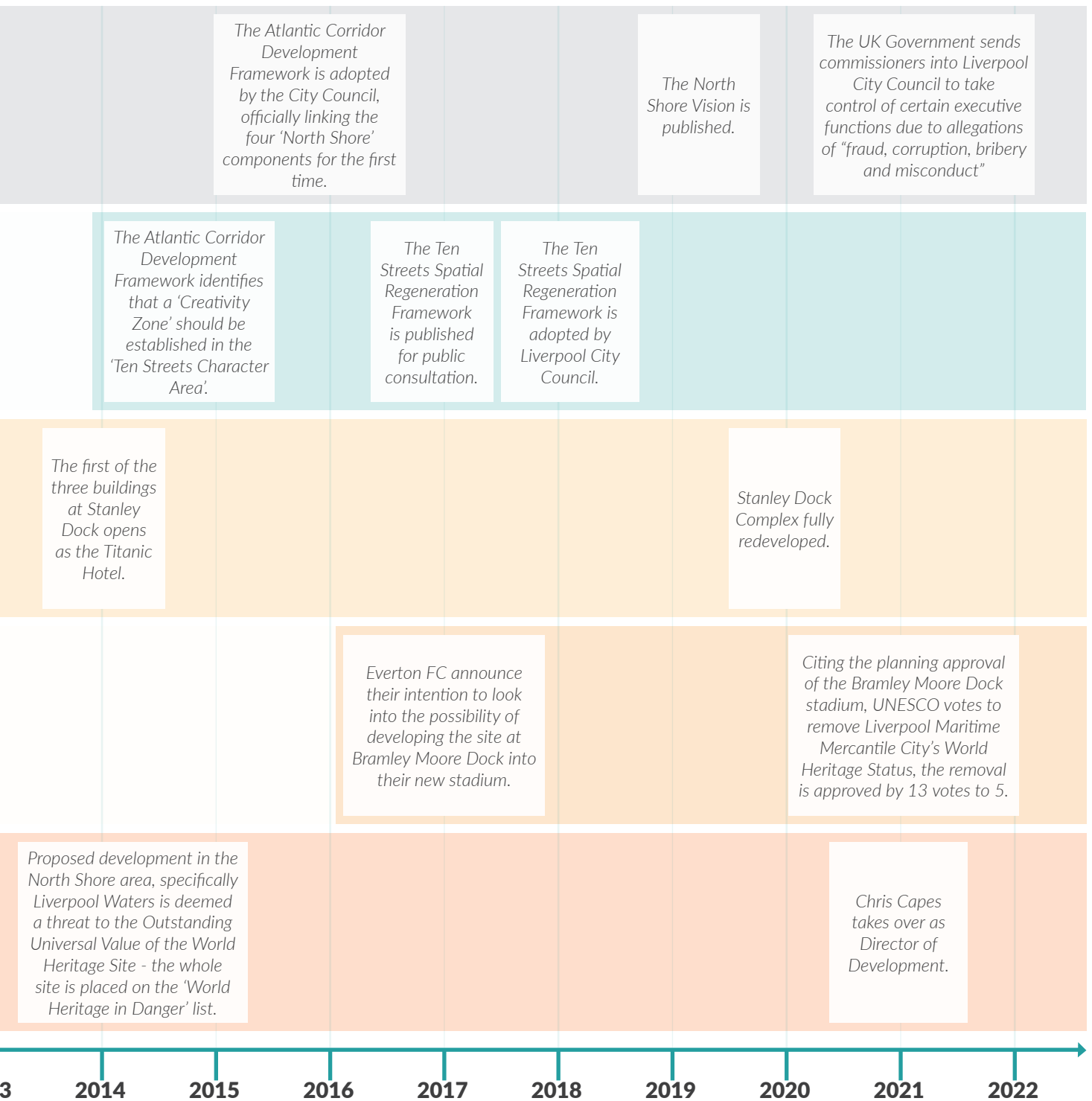
The second item of relevance refers to the political administration within Liverpool where, like in many other British urban areas, the *Labour* political party (centre-left) enjoys widespread support. This is noteworthy because of the extent of support they enjoy (currently controlling 66% of council seats) and the fact that the party has been in control of the council since 2010, at the peak of their popularity in 2015 they held 90% of all council seats. This has allowed them, as a party, to be in a position to drive the development agenda in their desired direction from almost the very beginning of the North Shore area's modern redevelopment process. Also of possible relevance to the thesis is the ongoing political turmoil surrounding Liverpool City Council which has seen the UK Government take control of certain departments, including the regeneration department, owing to accusations of a “deeply concerning picture of mismanagement, a breakdown of scrutiny and accountability” (Pickard, 2021).

## 4.5 Development Timeline

The key events that have influenced the redevelopment of the North Shore area, from 2004, when the World Heritage Status was awarded by UNESCO, to the present.

The coloured bars in the background indicate approximately when the individual components first came under their current ownership.





## 4.6 Actors and Stakeholders in the North Shore area

In the methodology chapter it was mentioned that stakeholders would be identified through an analysis of the formal communications, questions in interviews and desktop research on the North Shore area. All of the found actors and stakeholders in the redevelopment process of the North Shore area are detailed in the table below (Table 2).

Users	Private Actors	Public Actors	Civil Society
Local Residents	Major Developers	Liverpool City Council	Education Institutions
Tourists & Visitors	Peel Group	Politicians	Academics
Local Businesses	Everton FC	Planning Department	Universities
Businesses in Ten Streets	Harcourt Developm.	Culture Department	Colleges
	Sub Developers	City Region Combined Authority	Local Civil Groups
	Roman Capital	Politicians	Merseyside Civic Soc.
	Consultancies & Designers	IGOs	M. Industrial Heritage Soc.
	Sustainability Consultants	UNESCO	M. Archeological Soc.
	2030 Hub	National QuANGOs	Victorian Society
	Urban Planners	Natural England	Liv. Preservation Trust
	Planit IE	Historic England	Engage Liverpool
	Planning Consultants	Local QuANGOs	Blackburne House Group
	ARUP	Nature Connected	Save Waterloo Dock
	Local Advocacy Groups	Liverpool in Work	Eldonian Housing Assoc.
	Arts Regen.Consortium	Local Advisory Bodies	YMCA
	North Liv. Business Forum	WHS Steering Group	Cultural Institutions
	Local Housing Associations	Mayor's Task Force	National Museums Liv.
	NW Housing	Blue Green Adv. Group	National Industry Bodies
	Torus Housing		RIBA (North)

Table 2: All types of Stakeholder Organisation and Actor identified over the course of this research (important actors are named)

## 4.7 Summary

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Later references within the thesis to specific locations and important events can hopefully now be more easily followed, and it is also hoped this additional perspective on the area's, and wider city's, socio-economic and governmental challenges provides a valuable insight into the climate in which the redevelopment process is occurring.

Understanding the heritage context of the North Shore area and its significance to the city, and to the world, is relevant as, in spite of the lost UNESCO status, the site is still appreciated as possessing cultural value by all stakeholders involved with its development. It is not the intention of this thesis to argue or even discuss the particulars of the authenticity of the design outcomes or whether or not the developments which led to the removal of Liverpool's World Heritage Listing should ever have been approved or if UNESCO got their assessment of the redevelopments' heritage value wrong. For this thesis it is simply enough to acknowledge that the developers, council and heritage bodies have all reached a consensus that the development of the North Shore area should occur in a manner that is "heritage-led" (North Shore Vision, 2020, p.33).

# 5

## Analysis

### 5.1 Introduction

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This chapter presents the empirical findings from the official and informal communications collected during this research project, it simultaneously provides interpretation for those findings with regards to socio-spatial justice in the North Shore area's redevelopment process. The subsections follow the same sequence as the one by which the Policy Arrangement Approach dimensions have been introduced and used throughout this thesis: Power & Influence (*section 5.2*), Actors (*5.3*), Rules of the Game (*5.4*), and Discourses (*5.5*). The Framework Principles, which were introduced in the theoretical framework at the end of Chapter 2, guide the presentation of the findings and interpretation within each subsection. Finally, a summary of the key findings is presented (*5.6*).

### 5.2 Power & Influence

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#### 5.2.1 Access to power & influence for all relevant stakeholders

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*Do all actors have the power & influence to make decisions in the process?*

According to the official communications, decisions are principally taken after a period of interaction between the core actors within the process. Specific mention is made within the Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City SPD of "informal agreement" regarding proposals which might impact heritage "ideally" being reached "in advance of submitting an application" (Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City SPD, 2009, p.72). This document references the involvement, within these pre-application discussions, of developers, consultant teams, planners, surveyors, heritage experts and 'other agencies'. However, residents and local businesses are an obvious exclusion from this list of involved actors who are to party to the 'informal agreement' to the scheme in advance of submitting a proposal.

Further, the majority of the membership of the advisory bodies, council, developers and consultants are

from Liverpool or live in the city (North Shore Vision, 2020, p.10). Interviewees were quick to highlight their strong connections to the city, and the desire to see the city succeed seemed as much a personal goal as a professional one. Thus, those individuals who were involved in the decision making process genuinely appear to have a stake in the outcome. However, the membership of the North Shore Vision proposal team describe themselves as a “diverse group” (North Shore Vision, 2020, p.10) whilst all being university-educated established professionals, the diversity between them predominantly stemming from the variety of organisations they represent. Their view appears potentially damaging in light of the fact that no public consultation, or engagement, was undertaken on the North Shore Vision document itself. This lack of engagement and their perception of their own diversity may be intrinsically linked, a view supported by a later excerpt from the North Shore Vision in which they state that in-depth research into the area was somewhat unnecessary because the history and present status of the area were “known because the members have lived it” (North Shore Vision, 2020, p.10).

Similar, though less obvious, examples of other actors in the process holding this view were apparent in interviews with the Liverpool Waters developer and the consultants on that project, but to a lesser extent with the planning department. It appears problematic from a socio-spatial justice perspective to have a process in which the current actors believe they have all the expertise and experience needed to completely understand the issues and solutions at hand, as this might limit their enthusiasm and willingness to pursue connections with other potential actors and invite them to play a greater part in the process.

There is no established recourse for the direct participation (e.g. through referenda) of local residents in the decision making process. Their only two opportunities to influence the decision are indirect. Firstly, local residents have the opportunity to elect local councillors who, if selected for the planning committee, may vote to approve or reject planning proposals. Secondly, local residents may express their disapproval of a scheme to Liverpool City Council in writing or in person by attending the relevant planning committee meeting. Although, as interviewees stressed, there is no guarantee that the efforts of concerned local residents to influence decisions will actually have an impact, before or after the decisions have been made.

Ultimately the power to overrule planning consent decisions resides with the UK’s Secretary of State for Housing Communities and Local Government. Whilst not inherently unjust, having the final decision made by an actor who has no involvement in the scheme beyond this one role reduces the importance of consensus-building amongst the other actors as, in the end, the developers only need to successfully convince one individual that the proposal is worthwhile implementing. It is rare for the Secretary of State to become involved and ‘call in’ planning decisions for review but interviewees spoke of a genuine concern this might have occurred with Everton Football Club’s stadium proposal - the previous iteration of which had been called in by the Secretary of State in 2010.

Interviewees from Liverpool City Council’s planning department and the Bramley Moore Dock stadium development team spoke of their desire to avoid having a scheme called in ‘at all costs’. In order to avoid having a scheme called in, the proposal must be shown to be sensitive and beneficial from an economical, social, environmental and (in the case of Bramley Moore Dock) heritage point of view.

Interviewees spoke highly of the role that the extensive public consultation process undertaken by Everton Football Club played in convincing the Secretary of State that the scheme enjoyed such widespread public

support that the benefits outweighed the harms. Everton FC's report into their public consultation claimed 94% support from respondents for the site at Bramley Moore Dock, with 20,168 responses (Everton Reveals Huge Response To New Stadium Public Consultation, 2019).

*"[The planning department and Everton Football Club] were working hard to try and secure a permission that ideally would have avoided the public inquiry and all the sorts of efforts and the cost that involved"*

- Planning Officer at Liverpool City Council -

More recently, the intention to establish a 'Ten Streets Steering Group', which representatives of all businesses in the Ten Streets area are invited to attend, represents a positive evolution in the way Liverpool City Council are seeking to communicate with smaller local enterprises about the development of the area (Ten Streets SRF, 2017b). The steering group for the Ten Streets idea has been brought about because of the perceived successes of the WHS Steering Group in uniting representatives of important stakeholders in the process and facilitating interactions between secondary actors who, were it not for the formation of the steering group, might not have come into contact. A specific example might be the case of the Museum of Liverpool, along with the design team for its most recent project, coming into contact with the Liverpool Waters development team, along with their urban planning consultants. The subject of the project the museum was undertaking, the refurbishment and repurposing of two graving docks, was of great interest to the Liverpool Waters developers because of the presence of two similar graving docks on their site for which they had not yet found a use. As an outcome of the interactions first instigated through the steering group the museum and developers have entered into an informal agreement to advise each other on the opportunities of developing the graving docks, and explore the future possibility that the museum may conduct tours of Liverpool Waters' graving docks.

Interviewees also spoke about the power imbalance between Liverpool City Council and developers in the late 2000's and early 2010's because the Council appeared to be so desperate to see the North Shore area redeveloped, in light of the 2008 global recession, that they acted against their own best interests when negotiating with developers - and permitted much more extensive development than they would have liked to. However, interviewees noted a general trend which has seen the power of developers in the North Shore area reduce over time relative to Liverpool City Council. This shift has been brought about mostly because of external factors such as the effect the Covid pandemic has had on the desires of home-buyers and renters, but also the persistent advocating by heritage bodies. These changes have 'forced' the developers to work more closely with the Council to achieve their objectives and have allowed the Council to push for the greater inclusion of local residents and higher quality design principles in the proposals.

### ***Do all actors have the power & influence to make proposals and present their views in the process?***

Liverpool City Council claims to seek consensus with developers and their agents, and there is specific mention of the desire to find "site specific solutions" and a clear reference to the preservation, though not enhancement, of the Outstanding Universal Value of the heritage within the North Shore area (Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City SPD, 2009, p.72). However, there is an implicit insinuation within the Liverpool



Maritime Mercantile City SPD that the council is seeking to work with developers and their agents who can “bring investment to the WHS” (p.72). Conversely, there is no mention of working with community groups or smaller businesses, who may not be in a position to bring much financial ‘investment’ to the table, but who may be instrumental in bringing social, cultural or environmental ‘investment’ in terms of their time and expertise.

Interviewees broadly familiar with many development processes in Liverpool commented that the power to submit proposals ultimately resides with the developer, and the ability of other actors to contribute to, or shape, the proposal is dependent on the willingness of the developer to involve them.

*“Once again, it depends substantially on the primary developer who is able to influence the way that proposals are made and delivered, but ultimately the power to submit proposals lies with [the developer]”*

- Planning Officer at Liverpool City Council -

The Ten Streets SRF, produced much later than the Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City SPD, explicitly mentions that Liverpool City Council will seek the “views of the local community and other key stakeholders” and following that “make appropriate revisions” to their strategies (Ten Streets SRF, 2017b, p.11).

Even more recently, the *North Shore Vision* (2020) was created through the efforts of the Mayor’s Heritage Taskforce and the urban planners for Liverpool Waters and the Ten Streets, with minor input from the World Heritage Site Steering Group and the planning consultants for Liverpool Waters. The fact that this document was instigated, created and published by a loose collaboration of actors who themselves lacked the capacity to fund the developments proposed, and that the document was only later endorsed by the Liverpool Waters developers and Liverpool City Council, reflects a genuine shift in the way non-developer actors have engaged with the North Shore redevelopment. The North Shore Vision represents, for the first time, proposals for the redevelopment of the North Shore area coming from individuals and organisations who did not directly stand to benefit financially (through ownership or taxation) from the proposal being implemented.

It is also relevant to note that prior to the commitment to establishing a steering group in the Ten Streets there have been no recorded attempts to give local enterprises decision making powers, or influence of that sort within the process. Local enterprises have always had the capacity to make proposals, so long as they independently had the finances to support their proposals. There is no evidence of bottom-up initiatives or collaborations between the local enterprises to combine their resources and either pursue greater decision making power within the process or give proposals. Interviewees working for, or with, local enterprises described the rationale behind their collective lack of desire to demand greater influence or make proposals came from their relative satisfaction with what was currently being proposed without their direct input. Simply stated, local enterprises saw no need to dedicate time and resources to the North Shore redevelopment process because they felt they didn’t stand to gain anything significant enough for their investment to be worthwhile.

## 5.2.2 Democratic allocation of power and influence between relevant stakeholders

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### *Is there provision for consensus-building measures, such as voting, to further discussion?*

Indeed, as has previously been mentioned, the advancement of the process has relied at certain stages on 'informal agreement' between some of the actors. Additionally, the general trend for increasing public and non-core actor engagement has been positive with commitments in more recent policy documents to strive towards compliance with SDG 17 which concerns better public participation in development (Ten Streets SRF, 2017b; North Shore Vision, 2020).

However, whilst the intention may be there in policy, there have been no instances of referenda, or other consensus building measures that involved the wider community as a holistic body thus far in the process. There was also no mention of this being considered within any of the interviews, but there were discussions on increasing the use of, and quality of, public engagement, which potentially allows for greater public input into the design of any future interventions.

### *Do all stakeholders have the power & influence to instigate discussion between the actors?*

As has already been noted, the implementation of steering groups has proved successful thus far because each group has been given the freedom to, within reason, explore objectives and proposals beyond their initial scope. Further, the steering groups have provided a vehicle for actors, who lack sufficient resources to meaningfully influence the process on their own, to combine their resources and devise proposals which the core-actors have later adopted (e.g. the North Shore Vision). If this level of freedom is also accorded to steering groups such as the Ten Streets Steering Group, which has been formed from local businesses and social associations rather than civic institutions and knowledge experts (as was the case with the Mayor's Heritage Taskforce and the World Heritage Site steering group), then it looks likely they will also be successful, and able to bring proposals forwards that capture the interest of core actors (such as Liverpool City Council and the Liverpool Waters developers).

However, according to interviewees (including one who has tried) private actors who have sought to instigate discussion and activities, related to the redevelopment of the North Shore area, have encountered great difficulty in bringing others on board. This is especially true of the core actors. Interviewees spoke of facing great difficulty requesting the presence of Liverpool City Council employees for meetings or events if they were not speaking on behalf of a larger organisation, even when personal contact was pre-established. According to the interviewees who spoke on this, the principal reason provided for the council staffs' lack of availability was the lack of time that could afford to dedicate to actors who were unable to provide tangible investment into the city in the form of physical development, even if they could offer other valuable resources.

Furthermore, according to interviewees, more junior Liverpool City Councillors were hesitant to 'get in the way' of planning officers and become engaged in the redevelopment process, despite being elected representatives of the local people and being perfectly entitled to 'get in the way' of planning officers. This perhaps reveals either an underlying culture within the planning department that was hostile to the

involvement of 'less-informed' public actors, or a mentality amongst some councillors that they lacked the authority to critique development proposals and thus were unable to fulfill the role the public might expect from them.

*"The Planning Officers were the experts on this, I didn't really want to get in their way, it wasn't my job to get involved"*

- Former Councillor at Liverpool City Council -

***Are all stakeholders made aware of proposals and decisions, and able to comment on them and receive responses promptly?***

Several interviewees expressed the view that awareness of the redevelopments occurring in the North Shore area was very common amongst the citizens of Liverpool, owing to the length of time that the process has been ongoing and the prominent international disagreements with UNESCO about the proposed outcomes. Additionally, interviewees mentioned that Liverpool City Council and the developers had made limited, but increasing efforts to spread awareness of the value of the North Shore area's heritage assets and for people to make their thoughts known about how the area should develop. Furthermore, interviewees told that up to this point there had been a reliance within the process on passionate residents within the city to be 'loud voices' in order to express their issues with the scheme and try to force their way into the process, rather than a continuous dialogue with the public being facilitated. Infrequent public consultation events are held in accessible sites close to, or within, the North Shore area, but organised exclusively at the behest of core actors within the process.

The public engagement process conducted by Everton Football Club, in particular, was singled out for praise and described by all interviewees who spoke about it as 'exemplary' in the way that it spread awareness of Everton's proposals, allowed the public to pose questions, and effectively answered them.

However, with respect to the Liverpool Waters and Stanley Dock Complex redevelopments, the public consultation processes that have occasionally taken place were described by interviewees as generally consultative rather than engaging in nature. Meaning that proposals were typically presented to the public as a *fait accompli*, through presentations or on physical boards, and the bulk of public feedback was received as short responses to specific agree-disagree questions on a questionnaire. Interviewees, including those from the Liverpool Waters developers, expressed the view that the public consultation had been done in this way to comply with the minimum regulations as laid out in national planning policy, but with little intention of the feedback actually shaping the proposals.

Interviewees remarked that the hiring of external public engagement consultants by the Liverpool Waters developers had begun to occur. In principle this is positive evidence of the process evolving to be more interactive with local residents. However, the interviewees who were members of the development and design teams seemed to lead with the assertion that the role of the specialist consultants was to present the narrative of their proposals to local residents 'more effectively than they could do themselves', and

only followed this with comments regarding local residents being able to have a greater say in the design proposals for the scheme after further questions were asked. When pushed to explain why they had initially said that the purpose of bringing public engagement specialists on board was to better explain the proposal and only afterwards mentioned how the public would have a greater influence over the proposal, interviewees universally blamed engrained habits and ways of thinking about public interactions but commented that this process in particular was changing their perceptions.

*"Consultation to me is very much what I do. I'm a planning consultant. Whereas engagement is what [we] really should do, especially with the public, we're now asking their opinion, we're not telling them what we're doing, [and then asking] do you like it? Yes or no?... We're now saying what do you want?"*

- Planning Consultant for Liverpool Waters -

### 5.2.3 Recognition of different kinds of power & influence

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#### *Have a variety of actors from the wider community been involved in the process?*

Interviewees commented that recently, with the shift in senior staff at Liverpool Waters, there has been an increased willingness to invest in public engagement specialists, a role which under the previous director team had been performed by the planning consultants. When interviewed, the planning consultants spoke of their desire to have better and more public engagement and, far from seeking to sell their own services and profit from this newly-enhanced role, specifically spoke about the need to bring a new consultant on board with a more socially-oriented mindset that was more suited to getting the 'qualitative' answers needed than the planning consultants' technical mindset would be.

On a separate point, there are certain roles within the process that can only be held by serving councillors, such as the Mayoral Lead for Heritage role. Yet there is no specific characteristic of the role, as it is described by interviewees, that makes a serving councillor a better fit for it than a non-councillor. The role, as described by interviewees, appeared to address a key gap amongst the current process of connecting the core actors and the members of the wider citizenry of Liverpool that typically engage less with public consultations such as younger people, people from ethnic minorities and people with fewer financial resources (Hurenkamp et al., 2006; Tonkens et al., 2015). However, when the last Mayoral Lead for Heritage lost her seat as a councillor in 2019 the position was not allocated to someone else, and even though the former councillor continued in a voluntary capacity she faced exclusion by other actors who, in the interviewees' assessment, would be willing to help an elected official but lacked the time to assist a private citizen.

The introduction of the Mayor's Heritage Taskforce represents the next iteration of the Mayoral Lead for Heritage role, and although the re-introduction of such a role represents a positive step from a socio-spatial justice perspective it performs a very different function to the Mayoral Lead for Heritage position. Both the Mayor's Heritage Taskforce and the World Heritage Site Steering Group were created in order to fulfill similar functions, simply put, to convince UNESCO to maintain Liverpool's World Heritage Status.

However, their roles morphed over time as it became clear they would be unable to fulfill their initial objective - which is not to say that their efforts were lacking, conversely, all of the interviewees involved with these two advisory bodies spoke about their sense that the decision to remove Liverpool's Status had 'already been made' and they took pride in the work the advisory bodies did complete. Rather than dissolve the advisory bodies once it became apparent they would fail to convince UNESCO, the decision was made by the Mayor and Liverpool City Council to keep the bodies running and ask them to use their combined expertise and experience to deliver advice on potential future opportunities for the North Shore area, with no specific outcome requirements.

Though, as had been the case for the Mayoral Lead for Heritage, interviewees told how the research knowledge, expertise and experience of the advisory bodies was scarcely called on by Liverpool City Council's planning department in their consideration of proposals for the North Shore area.

Interviewees were also keen to make clear that the Mayor's Heritage Taskforce wasn't established through the pro-active thinking of Liverpool City Council or the Mayor, or as part of a comprehensive strategy. Instead the group was assembled based on a suggestion made by the former director of *National Museums Liverpool* to the Mayor of Liverpool that Liverpool City Council might have more success with UNESCO if a 'buffer' of important local individuals and stakeholders were established. Interviewees who were members of the Taskforce also recognised that their original task, in convincing UNESCO that Liverpool City had 'changed its attitude' and realised the importance of the World Heritage Status, amounted to a simple 'charm offensive' and nothing deeper than that.

*"I was on the task force that that they established. Yes. Rather belatedly in a desperate attempt to make sure that we didn't lose the status"*

- Member of the Mayor's Heritage Taskforce -

### ***Have the skills and ability of actors in the wider community to contribute to the process in unique ways been acknowledged?***

Interviewees commented that when the Liverpool Waters project was first proposed the scheme was heavily criticised by heritage bodies for its lack of sensitivity to the North Shore area's heritage assets. Liverpool City Council's planning department strongly advised the developers to appoint a heritage consultant, which they subsequently did do. Interviewees, who were involved with Liverpool City Council at the time, commented that the developers went beyond expectations and appointed a 'very well respected and well qualified' consultant, and significantly changed their scheme based on the consultant's recommendations.

Further ways in which wider community actors contributed to the process included the outreach initiative for young people instigated by the former Mayoral Lead for Heritage, the *Young Heritage Champions*, was well received. According to interviewees, Historic England in particular highly-praised the initiative for engaging stakeholders (young people) who would typically not be involved in heritage redevelopment, and suggested it should be developed nationally. However, after the Mayoral Lead for Heritage lost her

position the *Young Heritage Champions* initiative collapsed due to a lack of support from other actors in the process, despite their previous recognition of its value.

Conversely from an acknowledgement of skills and abilities point of view, interviewees who were involved in the advisory bodies, or otherwise interacted frequently with planning officers, spoke about the 'leading' role the planning department representatives played in guiding discussions and taking decisions during the early stages of the advisory bodies' formation. Interviewees comments suggest they did not feel empowered themselves to take a stronger role in the process, and that they understood their role to be one of giving advice rather than proposing solutions. As earlier referenced, junior councillors seemed to endure a similar relationship with the planning department as described by the advisory body members.

More recently, once the loss of the World Heritage Status became apparent, the advisory bodies' activities appear to have been less tightly controlled by planning officers and the bodies have been undertaking an organic self-lead process of 'figuring out what they are going to become'. This newfound freedom has allowed the advisory group membership to focus on more natural applications of their skills and expertise.

Furthermore, in many ways the actors within the advisory groups, particularly the World Heritage Site Steering Group, have benefitted simply from having a forum in which to meet and discuss. This opportunity to meet has led to the formation of smaller coalitions of actors working collectively to solve challenges specific to them, and allowed for synergies between different actors' needs, values and skills to be uncovered.

#### **5.2.4 Socio-spatial justice in the Power & Influence dimension**

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A reflection on the socio-spatial justice inherent within the process through the Power & Influence dimension reveals a mixed picture. In general local residents and small local enterprises have barely been acknowledged as stakeholders by the core actors who have predominantly communicated amongst themselves to bring the redevelopment to its current level. Indeed, there is a worrying picture of actors who had previously been involved with the process being excluded once they became private citizens rather than representatives of a larger body.

Positively though, there are clear and substantive ways that this paradigm appears to be shifting towards greater socio-spatial justice within the process. Everton Football Club have invested substantial effort and money into public engagement - bringing increased power and influence to local residents - and the developers of Liverpool Waters, now that they have a new leadership team, appear to be following their lead. Liverpool City Council have also been shown to be willing to entrust advisory bodies with significant proposal-making authority and are increasingly embracing the potential to form steering groups that give smaller actors (including local residents and businesses) the combined standing to influence the process and outcomes on a similar level to the core actors within the process.

### 5.3.1 Access to the process for all relevant stakeholders

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#### *Can relevant stakeholders easily become involved in the process?*

Public consultations have occurred in some capacity for all of the four component projects in the North Shore area (Liverpool Waters, Ten Streets area, Bramley Moore Dock Stadium and Stanley Dock) - although interviewees commented that these processes have not been continuous and have, in some instances, been marked by multi-year periods lacking in any form of public consultation.

Interviewees also identified that there have been differing approach to public consultation between different actors, and changes to the approach of certain actors over time as organisational structures and personnel have changed. In particular Everton Football Club were highlighted as having conducted extensive and 'exemplary' public consultation, and were contrasted favourably by interviewees to Liverpool Waters' developers - at least prior to the arrival of a former senior council employee as development director.

Since the arrival of that aforementioned new development director, interviewees commented that there has been "a noticeable shift" in the way that Liverpool Waters has approached interactions with the public with a specialist public engagement company, being brought on board.

There was a period of consultation in February 2017b on the overall vision for the Ten Streets area with particular focus on the "Ten Big Ideas" but it isn't explicitly stated who was involved beyond it being a "comprehensive engagement with a number of stakeholders" (Ten Streets SRF, 2017b, p.10). The report commissioned regarding this period of consultation doesn't provide details on who was involved beyond there being 189 completed surveys (Ten Streets Next Steps, 2017b, p.6). However, the report provides a comprehensive overview of the questions asked and responses given, which shows that most questions began with 'Do you agree with *Big Idea 1/2/3/etc?*' and didn't provide an opportunity for respondents to suggest their own *Big Ideas* (Ten Streets Next Steps).

#### *Are all relevant stakeholders involved in the process?*

Many stakeholders have been involved in some way with the North Shore area's redevelopment process, although there are a number of groups who have not been involved, or insufficiently been involved given their stake in the North Shore area.

The general public were, as previously mentioned, only able to access the process in a limited way up until the arrival of the new development director at Liverpool Waters and the public engagement undertaken by Everton Football Club concerning their stadium at Bramley Moore Dock. This has meant that, in general, the views of the public have only been sought in relation to developments which are yet to be decided upon and there is a pervasive view within the development team that certain, typically broader, aspects of the project have received outline planning consent and thus are no longer open for discussion at all. The potential issue with this approach from a socio-spatial justice perspective is two-fold. In the first place,

potential opportunities for constructive dialogue with community members have been shut down and their capacity to contribute has been dismissed. Secondly, there is clear evidence that broad changes to the scheme, which are completely contrary to the outline planning consent, are indeed possible when they are supported by the developer and elected councillors, as can most obviously be seen from the decision to support and approve the Bramley Moore Dock stadium despite interviewees revealing that the original planning consent had guaranteed this dock would become a marina.

*"It's a very complex, complex application. There's a lot of people on social media or just general objections from applications I've seen in the past who don't understand the consent, but that's not their fault - It's a very technical application... and it's for us to bring them up to date and engage with them to say, look, you're objecting to this, but we have got permission for it. There's a lot of stuff like that"*

- Planning Consultant for Liverpool Waters -

Also important to note is that despite the removal of the World Heritage Status, there was recognition from several interviewees that UNESCO still has a role to play within the redevelopment of the area as there is a commonly-held view that the city will re-apply to have certain areas of the city re-listed as World Heritage in the future. As such, it is in all of the Liverpool-based actors best interests to maintain links and, if possible, positive relations with UNESCO.

Interviewees commented that access for all relevant stakeholders to the process has become an increasingly important theme for all of the core stakeholders, and the way this engagement is occurring is also evolving into a more dialogue-based interaction.

### ***Are steps taken to ensure the inclusion of formerly excluded stakeholders?***

Potentially excluded stakeholders within planning processes have been identified as people from ethnic minorities (Balta Portoles & Dragicevic Sestic, 2017b), people with disabilities (Kitchin, 1998) and young people (Joseph, 2006).

The involvement of, specifically, ethnic minorities within the process was not mentioned during the interview sessions and is scarcely mentioned within the official communications with a short line about compliance with SDG 10 containing a reference to "working to align the diversity of the workforce with the local demographics with a focus on race, religion and disability" (North Shore Vision, 2020, p.39).

The necessity to engage with people with disabilities is particularly pertinent in the North Shore area as they make up a significant portion of the population within Kirkdale ward (where the North Shore is located) and the three adjacent wards of similar demographic profiles (Everton, County and Anfield: see Liverpool City Council 2021a; 2021c; 2021d; 2021e). Specific mention of designing in a disability inclusive way only occurs within the official communications provided for planning consent and provides only claims of involvement from "representative disabled groups" and references to complying with City Council access policy (p.41, Liverpool Waters Design and Access statement; also see Public Transport SPD, Liverpool Waters Planning and Regeneration Statement, Liverpool Waters Statement of Community



Involvement). None of the interviewees specifically mentioned the involvement of people with disabilities or groups representing those people in the redevelopment process.

Interviewees and official communications (North Shore Vision, 2020) mentioned that young people in the North Liverpool area experienced much poorer life prospects than the average within the city and nationally. Interviewees commented that in an effort to reverse this situation some of the city's universities have established specific initiatives to get young people from this area into higher education. It was also identified during the interviews that a defeatist mentality persisted amongst young people from this area regarding what they could achieve in life. Interviewees expressed hope that the successful redevelopment of the North Shore area could work towards improving young people's perceptions of their future prospects and the quality of life they would be able to have.

*"[Employment and career] opportunities just don't exist in that part of the city and that links to educational attainment, and even aspirational levels of young people in certain parts of the city [implying the North Shore area and surroundings] are quite low"*

- Member of the World Heritage Site Steering Group -

Young people were involved in the creation of future visions for the waterfront" area, and the wider city, through an initiative started by the former Mayoral Lead for Heritage called *Young Heritage Champions*. The Mayoral Lead took part in outreach events with local schools that ultimately culminated in a week-long summer programme at St. George's Hall featuring presentations from members of the planning department and other 'experts'. Interviewees recounted how the work produced by the young heritage champions was then presented by the Mayoral Lead at meetings of the World Heritage Steering Group, and highly praised by the representative of Historic England on the Steering Group as an initiative that ought to be rolled out nation-wide. Interviewees familiar with the scheme recalled how it was strongly supported by the former Mayor of Liverpool, and more than sufficient funds and support were made available for its undertaking. Unfortunately, with the failure of the Mayoral Lead to be re-elected in the 2019 local elections the initiative ceased operations.

### 5.3.2 Representation within the process for relevant stakeholders unable to self-advocate

#### ***Are human stakeholders not involved in the process represented in some way?***

Those unable to self-advocate' generally includes two distinct sub groups, those who are unable to self-advocate because they lack access to the process, and those who are unable to self-advocate because they lack the time or means to involve themselves in the process even though they technically have access. In a socio-spatially just redevelopment process both groups' needs and values should be advocated for on their behalf by other actors who do have the time, means and ability to access the process. This role would most typically be filled by elected representatives (councillors) or planning departments (as executive officers working for the elected representatives) but certain civil society actors could also fulfill this role.

The official communications indicate that numerous council services exist to provide developers with access to “experts and users” with respect to disability access (p.3, *Design for Access for All SPD*). More specifically on this point there is mention of Liverpool City Council retaining the services of an “Access Officer” who, if requested, is able to work with developers in the “pre-application” phase to “convince them of the benefits of ensuring inclusive access and to aid them in implementing those recommendations” (*Design for Access for All SPD*, p.17).

Liverpool City Council also runs a group which they call the ‘Corporate Access Forum’. It is composed of “various local and national disability groups” who are able to act in a “consultative” capacity to assist both the City Council, in the development of policy, and Developers, in the preparation of inclusive designs for their schemes (p.18, *Design for Access for All SPD*). However, in spite of these facilities, it is emphasised throughout the *Design for Access for All SPD* that applicants for planning permission are ‘encouraged’ to take advantage of the City Council’s offer of assistance regarding inclusive design and that accepting this assistance is not a prerequisite for the granting of planning consent - Interviewees told that in reality only the minimum thresholds for accessible design, as laid out in national legislation, need to be met and there is no requirement for the engagement with external bodies in order to fulfill this criteria.

It is the stated aim of the council through its “Local Development Framework” that planning policies “reflect the needs of all Liverpool’s residents and give priority to the most disadvantaged communities and neighbourhoods” (*Design for Access for All SPD*, p.57). There is also a “crucial policy target” to facilitate “inclusive growth” within the city such that future successes are shared amongst residents, this is to be achieved through the “recently formed Liverpool Strategic Partnership” and codified in the new City Plan (2022a; *North Shore Vision*, 2020, p.32). Interviewees responses paint a mixed view of the extent to which this principle of inclusive growth is applied in practice. Most interviewees expressed the view that the redevelopment of the North Shore area would likely lead to some gentrification, and was unlikely to provide dwellings suitable for people in the immediate local area to move into, but that market forces and movement of people from elsewhere in the city to the North Shore area would free up dwellings which were more accessible to the residents of North Liverpool that needed them. When pressed on whether displacement of people from North Liverpool would simply move socio-economic problems around rather than solve them all interviews responded with a similar sentiment that previous development examples in the city had previously solved problems, and to do nothing in the North Shore area would be negligent.

According to interviewees, in reality, it appears that the bar set by the actors involved in the process with the capacity to protect those unwilling or unable to self-advocate (the councillors, the planning department, etc.) is drastically lower than that established by the official literature. There is a recognition amongst interviewees that they have an important role to challenge the objectives of the developers and ensure developers do the right thing for this generation and future generations, but ultimately the minimum expected level of performance according to interviewees working for Liverpool City Council is to not make the situation any worse than it currently is. Furthermore, interviewees claimed that the power of the planning department and council when opposing developers is strengthened because of these policy protections which provide a recourse for the planning department to pressure developers into seeking greater public consensus. There are also recent instances of the planning department taking advantage of these codified protections to side with community groups, who lacked any formal power to influence the decision outcome, against developers and refuse planning permission (see Public Consultation report on

***Are non-human stakeholders represented in the process in some way?***

Advisory bodies and groups representing environmental interests, and advocating for the consideration of environmental concerns, do operate within the city and have been involved in some capacity with the redevelopment of the North Shore area. Locally (within Liverpool) there are the *Blue Green Advisory Group*, *Mersey Forest organisation* and, the local government-led nature partnership for the Liverpool City Region, *Nature Connected* which collectively aim to “bring together public, private and community sector organisations to ensure the natural environment is harnessed to support economic, social and environmental goals” (LCR Sustainable Urban Development Strategy, 2016, p.4). Other involved environmental protection bodies include *Natural England*, who interviewees said have played only a marginal role within discussions on how the North Shore area has developed so far. However, interviewees, especially those involved with Liverpool Waters, have commented that the involvement of environmental protection bodies within the process is set to increase significantly in the near future. Part of the reasoning given by interviewees for the recent increase in consideration for environmental concerns within the process is that UNESCO’s departure from the process has left something of a power vacuum and there is now space for a new protection body to rise up and fill the role of being ‘the loudest detractor’ with respect to developers’ proposals.

Owing to the recent loss of World Heritage Status there is, according to some interviewees, a public perception that standards will drop and ‘anything will go’ regarding new developments in the North Shore area. However, most interviewees claimed that actually that perception is entirely unfounded because the protections are now written into adopted legislation, and nothing which wouldn’t have been approved previously because of its negative impact on the North Shore area’s heritage will now be approved.

**5.3.3 Protection within the process for all relevant stakeholders**

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***Have conflicts between actors been resolved constructively without the exclusion of actors?***

Interviewees claimed that the shift in public engagement approach that has come about with respect to Liverpool Waters has as much, if not more, to do with improving the image of its developers as it does with enabling local residents to have more say over the proposals. At present the perception of the developers within the city is generally understood to be quite poor, this has also been apparent through the way that interviewees have spoken about the Liverpool Waters developers in comparison to other actors such as Everton Football Club.

*“We’ve got this outline consent for a hell of a lot of development, but we don’t want to keep conflicting. We don’t want people to see Peel [the principal Liverpool Waters developers] as the nasty developers. We want them to be seen, instead of just a developer for Liverpool, as a key partner within Liverpool”*

- Planning Consultant for Liverpool Waters -

According to interviewees, in spite of the long project length and multiple opportunities for disagreement, conflicts between all of the developers, Liverpool City Council and the residents of Liverpool have been generally constructive in nature because all parties urgently wish to see something (or almost anything) happen with the North Shore area. Several interviewees reflected that there is plenty of common ground between these actors and it is only the particulars that are the subject of conflict.

Interviewees overwhelmingly stated that the major conflict has come between heritage preservation bodies such as UNESCO and Historic England on the one hand, and Liverpool City Council with the developers on the other hand. Generally though, interviewees said that the relationship of the Council and developers with Historic England was constructively fractitious, characterised by compromise and an acceptance of each others' arguments. This is evidenced by the fact Historic England were still invited to take a very influential role even in the World Heritage Steering Group, even though the initial purpose of that group was, in effect, to argue against the strict interpretation of heritage authenticity and integrity applied by UNESCO. Further on that point, interviewees almost universally regarded UNESCO as being aloof, unresponsive and, most critically, negligent to the socio-economic problems the city faced. Although, on balance and in fairness to UNESCO, it is an inescapable fact that their role is to protect global heritage and all interviewees accepted that they had been completely clear about what they expected from the outset.

*"[The World Heritage Steering Group] spent a lot of time trying to convince UNESCO that, you know, cities are living, breathing and things and they change. And that's how this works. And, and so there was a lot of kinds of, it felt a lot like with corporate, a lot of old grounds, really, we went around, did a lot of circles at the time"*

- Member of the World Heritage Site Steering Group -

### ***Have actors sought to prevent the exclusion of other actors?***

The former Mayoral Lead for Heritage spoke of the difficulties in trying to connect with planning officers as a private citizen in comparison to as a councillor when attempting to continue her *Young Heritage Champions* initiative - with her own private funds - after leaving elected office. She placed significant emphasis on the value of being connected to the Mayor when approaching other actors, not just private actors but also those working within the planning department, and claimed that opened many doors for her.

The newly-arrived development director at Liverpool Waters received praise from multiple interviewees for the way he has so far supported Liverpool City Council's efforts to involve new actors in the process. Further, any interviewees, including those intimately familiar with the interactions between the principle Liverpool Waters developer, Peel, and Liverpool City Council claimed that the relationship between the two bodies had changed from 'actors who work together because they want to achieve similar outcomes' into a 'genuine partnership with a shared vision of how the process and outcomes should look'.

### 5.3.4 Socio-spatial justice in the Actors dimension

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Reflecting on the socio-spatial justice implications of the Actors dimension reveals a similar picture of the process as could be seen in the Power & Influence dimension. Broadly speaking, from an Actors perspective, when the process first began it performed poorly in justice terms. Relevant non-core stakeholders (e.g. local residents) were only able to give their views on the proposals in a limited way, only when they were asked to do so, and through outreach events organised by relatively disinterested developers.

Official communications and policy documents clearly detail opportunities to involve specialists in disability access, as well as legislating for the involvement of heritage and environmental consultants when relevant - but disappointingly from a justice perspective, interviewees' remarks show that, at least earlier in the process, these opportunities were scarcely taken advantage of. In most instances, official communications have been demonstrably more socio-spatially just than the actions of the actors within the process to include all relevant stakeholders have been.

There has been a great deal of conflict within the process between the core actors (Liverpool City Council and the Liverpool Waters developers) and actors seeking the protection of the North Shore area's heritage assets (Historic England and UNESCO). Positively with regards to socio-spatial justice, a general trend has emerged whereby conflict in this arena has very gradually shaped the proposals, and the core actors have sustained their relationships with these heritage bodies rather than exclude them from the process. Indeed, interviewees implied that Liverpool City Council, acting as the middle ground between a very profit-driven developer and very development-averse heritage bodies, stood to gain substantially by keeping both sides talking. This allowed them to guide the process towards their desired outcome in a way they would not have been able to without the presence of the two other powerful opposing actors.

More recently, following the influence of Everton Football Club on the process, all actors have improved the processes by which they engage with the wider public. The creation of multiple steering groups has also been significant as it has given smaller actors a bigger say in the process through their collective might - whereas previously interested smaller actors had often found themselves excluded.

## 5.4 Rules of the Game

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### 5.4.1 Inclusiveness within the process

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#### *Has there been an interrogation of the barriers new actors might face?*

Interviewees mentioned a general lack of leadership within the process, and commented that when leadership was present within the process it was often an autocratic kind of leadership. Simply put, there were times when none of the existing actors were seeking to bring new actors into the process because they did not see it as their role to do so, and other times when new actors were not sought because the aim of the actor taking charge was not to increase the socio-spatial justness of the process but to impose their will upon the process. The Former Mayor of Liverpool was held accountable by the interviewees for some of these instances of autocratic leadership, but it was also insinuated that the Liverpool Waters

development team acted similarly on occasion.

*"[Joe Anderson, the former Mayor of Liverpool, was] the boss, he wasn't just the Mayor, he was the boss"*

- Former Councillor at Liverpool City Council -

Also apparent from the interviews was that the actors involved in the process, despite collectively recognising the large scale of the redevelopment and its cultural significance, engaged with each other under the same formal arrangements as would be expected of a much smaller and less culturally significant project. There appears to have been very little interrogation of the additional engagement with the wider community which was needed given the large scale and significance of the redevelopment in comparison to the expectations of a standard project, for example a single new office building.

However, Everton Football Club's entry into the redevelopment process by virtue of their new stadium appears to have 'changed the game' with respect to the interrogation of the barriers new actors face entering the process. In simple terms, rather than inviting the wider community to visit them and consider the proposals put forwards, Everton's strategy revolved around placing themselves within the wider community (Everton Reveals Huge Response To New Stadium Public Consultation, 2019). Since then, the Liverpool Waters development team have greatly increased the quality and variety of their engagements with the wider community, as demonstrated through the hiring of specialist public engagement consultants at Liverpool Waters and the conducting in early May 2022 of a multi-day public engagement event regarding Central Park (a proposed new public park in the centre of the Liverpool Waters development).

On a separate note, there is a recurring theme of individuals being involved in the process in one capacity, then later changing organisation and continuing to be involved in the process in another capacity. On at least two occasions senior staff within Liverpool City Council have left their positions and moved into the private sector to work either within another organisation involved in the process or to start their own consultancy providing a service to another actor in the process. The two examples mentioned concern the new development director at Liverpool Waters, a former senior executive at Liverpool City Council, and the heritage consultant for the Stanley Dock Complex developers, a former senior planning and heritage officer at Liverpool City Council.

Several interviewees mentioned how Liverpool was a close knit city and there is a strong reliance on personal connections and maintaining existing relationships to secure work contracts. Not only close relationships with developers, but also with other consultants who, for example, may be asked for a landscape architect or heritage consultant recommendation by the developer they are working with. The importance attached to maintaining existing relationships suggests that consultants of all types do not, in fact, stand to gain from removing barriers to the process for other consultants who may compete with them for future work. This presents an issue from a socio-spatial justice perspective because fresh ideas and approaches are essential to evolving the process, a view which each interviewee who worked for a consultancy agreed with.

A further example of the previous point can be seen in the way that the current urban masterplanners

ended up taking that role within the Liverpool Waters scheme. The interviewee from the urban planning consultant mentioned that in the first instance the current masterplanners had been hired only as the landscape architects, with another firm, *Chapman Taylor*, fulfilling the urban masterplanner role. However, when the *Chapman Taylor* urban designer who had worked on the initial Liverpool Waters proposal left that company, rather than seek to have a different urban designer appointed from within *Chapman Taylor*, the Liverpool Waters development team simply agreed with the then-landscape architects to expand their role and take on masterplanning duties. Further showcasing a culture of working with familiar actors rather than pursuing new actors who might have brought fresh ideas to the process.

Separately, interviewees recalled that a significant part of the role of the Mayoral Lead for Heritage, before the role's abolition, was to attend as many heritage related events as possible and meet with residents, businesses and committees to discuss matters related to heritage with them. This was done in an attempt to better understand the views of those stakeholders and discover how stakeholders could better access the redevelopment process.

### ***Have efforts been made to remove those barriers?***

Everton Football Club commissioned a movable stall and conducted “a 19-day roadshow, visiting 12 locations across all six Liverpool City Region boroughs” (Everton Reveals Huge Response To New Stadium Public Consultation, 2019). The stall included a virtual reality experience amongst other interactive features and senior figures from Everton Football Club were in attendance alongside specialist public engagement consultants. Many interviewees spoke incredibly highly of their engagement process and the subsequent influence it had on the Liverpool Waters developers.

*“They’re [Everton Football Club] enlightened with their community engagement and they’ve got their heart in the right place... and I say that as a Liverpool [Football Club (Everton’s rivals)] season ticket holder”*

- Member of the Mayor’s Heritage Taskforce -

Interviewees mentioned a culture of ambivalence, rather than resistance, to more and better community engagement from the developer of Liverpool Waters. Although, the interviewee from the planning department responsible for the Liverpool Waters scheme spoke of their experiences with the Liverpool Waters project as being no different than with other major developments elsewhere in the city. Despite previously being accused by interviewees of having conducted ‘the bare minimum’ in terms of community engagement, interviewees commended a recent re-evaluation of the Liverpool Waters developers’ approach and spoke positively of their new public engagement strategies.

## **5.4.2 Opportunities for the process to evolve**

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### ***Have new actors joined the process over time?***

Interviewees who have entered the process in recent times commented that they were only able to do so

because they were invited into the process by a more powerful core actors. Furthermore, as was addressed in the previous sections, none of the core actors within the process were actively seeking to bring in new actors, and only did so after prompting by individuals with direct access to them. According to interviewees, this was the case on three notable occasions: the formation of the Mayor's Heritage Taskforce which was prompted by a discussion between the former chairman of National Museums Liverpool and the former Mayor of Liverpool; the appointment of the Mayoral Lead for Heritage only occurred after the councillor who would later take up that role approached the former Mayor and asked to take it; and the decision of the Liverpool Waters developers to improve their public engagement only occurred after a template for a successful engagement was established by Everton Football Club and after the appointment of the new Liverpool Waters senior director who had previously worked at Liverpool City Council.

Related to that previous point, interviewees mentioned how actors found it difficult to stay engaged and connected with the process once they had lost a direct connection with a more powerful core actor.

On a more positive note, the Mayoral Lead for Heritage was responsible for engaging with new actors from the wider community and, whilst in post, successfully instigated a number of community outreach initiatives, however, these were discontinued after the Mayoral Lead for Heritage position was dissolved.

### ***Have new, or existing, actors been able to evolve the process?***

Interviewees comments suggest that once given access to the process by more powerful core actors, new actors have been instrumental in driving changes in how the process operates - and in every instance mentioned during the interviews these changes increased the socio-spatial justness of the process. Major examples include the Mayoral Lead for Heritage introducing the Young Heritage Champions initiative, Everton Football Club implementing an exemplary public engagement strategy, and the advisory bodies (the World Heritage Site Steering Group and Mayor's Heritage Taskforce) instigating the creation of the North Shore Vision.

However, their recommendations and initiatives have only been able to become engrained within the process if they have been adopted or endorsed by the core actors, which hasn't been the case on every occasion (e.g. the Young Heritage Champions).

Interviewees in particular spoke about how the creation and endorsement of the North Shore Vision caused a seismic shift in the way that the core actors understood their respective projects. Interviewees reflected that in order to understand why the North Shore Vision was so influential it is necessary to highlight that shortly before the creation of the advisory bodies, relations between, on the one hand, Liverpool City Council and the Liverpool Waters development team and, on the other hand, UNESCO, were at an all-time low. The primary task of the advisory bodies, as has previously been mentioned, was to improve relations with UNESCO and reiterate the work that had been done protecting heritage that meant Liverpool deserved to retain its World Heritage Status. However, whilst trying to do this, the advisory bodies with input from the Liverpool Waters developers reached the intermediate conclusion that the issue lay, not in the substance of what was being presented to UNESCO but, in the narrative. The new narrative in the North Shore Vision represented the first time that the four component projects had been combined into a unified narrative, and as such instigated a more cohesive and integrated strategy of



interaction between the major actors in those four schemes, which has only since strengthened further.

However, the creation of the North Shore Vision didn't provide an opportunity for other external actors, such as the wider public to get involved in the process. This lack of public engagement was an unfortunate side effect of the advisory bodies striving to fulfill the objectives of satisfying UNESCO, on the one hand, and ensuring the financial viability of the four constituent projects, on the other. Thereby severely restricting the space available for a broader dialogue about the nature of the North Shore area's future redevelopment with a wider public - this occurred despite recognition from the interviewees involved in the North Shore Vision's creation that a city-wide dialogue about how the North Shore, and the city as a whole, develop in the future does need to occur.

*"Actually the problem now is that the city centre has become a big driver of the economy, the visitor economy, it has been overdeveloped... It's probably getting into some of the wrong markets and what we really need to do as a city is decide what kind of place we want the city centre to be... [also] we have 7 miles of really globally significant waterfront, but there's nobody really in charge of setting the standards, no consistency, so it's being led in different ways by different people... There's no big story"*

- Member of the Mayor's Heritage Taskforce -

### ***Is there a culture of seeking continuous improvement in the way the process operates?***

Interviewees comments suggest that there has been an accelerated rate of change in the process in more recent years. However, changes have typically been prompted by events external to the process such as the slow market recovery after the 2008 financial crash and the Covid pandemic, or events that the core actors wished to avoid such as the the elongated negotiations concerning the World Heritage Status. An alternate interpretation is that the process was not evolved because of a desire to improve the lives of local residents, or to greater protect the North Shore area's cultural assets. This reading of the situation was supported by all of the interviewees who spoke on the matter. As such it would be disingenuous to describe any socio-spatial justice improvements in the process as being brought about by a 'culture' of improvement.

Further comments from interviewees reveal a split between those who believe there is still time to 'get things done right' and those who, whilst accepting that there is still time to evolve the process and change the end outcomes, believe that the loss of the World Heritage Status represents such a failure of process management that any outcome is inherently tarnished. This latter group of actors tended to express the belief during the interviews that if the process evolutions which are now occurring were to have happened earlier then the loss of the World Heritage Status might not have happened.

*"I mean, I'll be honest with you, I think it's really disappointing that we weren't having these real genuine conversations [regarding the values underlying the development] say five years ago, we might have kept the World Heritage Site"*

- Planning Officer at Liverpool City Council -

Positively, from a socio-spatial justice perspective, there are strong indications that the culture within the process is now beginning to change because of the deliberate intent of the actors to deliver a better, more publically-engaged process. For example, the change in personnel in the Liverpool Waters development team has preceded a clear shift in their approach to public engagement and interviews with planning department officers revealed their research into best practices and innovative new methods of public engagement from international examples.

However, some interviewees, including those familiar with the inner workings of Liverpool City Council, spoke of an aversion to ‘mad ideas’ regarding changes to the process and comments that the Council lacked a streak for radical thinking or rebelliousness, which meant that any evolutions to the process are constrained by a neoliberal way of thinking.

### **5.4.3 Democracy in the making of decisions**

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#### ***Have all actors and relevant stakeholders been able to meaningfully influence decisions on the schemes?***

Interviewees reported that the opportunities, at present, for relevant stakeholders who are not directly involved in the process, such as local residents and businesses, to meaningfully influence decisions on the schemes are extremely limited. It is important to clarify that even though interviewees generally expressed the view that non-core stakeholders struggled to influence decisions, all of the interviewees believed these non-core stakeholders had increasing opportunities to influence proposals which was considered much more valuable for delivering projects that were in line with the needs of local residents and businesses.

Local residents and businesses, at least those living within the boundaries of Liverpool City, do have some recourse to indirectly influence decision making through the election of local councillors, some of whom are chosen by their peers to sit on the planning committee. However, interviewees with experience of the planning committee’s inner-workings spoke disapprovingly of the socio-spatial justness inherent within their decision making processes which were, according to interviewees, dictated by the will of the Mayor and the cabinet (which was typically composed of the more senior politicians from the ruling party). Without intention to assume guilt or pass judgement, it is relevant to position the interviewees’ assertions in light of the corruption and misconduct charges levelled against certain senior members of Liverpool City Council which do circumstantially corroborate each other and, at the very least, demonstrate the significant power wielded by the Mayor.

### **5.4.4 Spirit of egalitarianism in the guiding of the process, avoidance of causing harm**

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#### ***Have the core actors been willing to accommodate the wants, needs and values of other actors?***

Within the official communications and literature produced by the actors there is a stated commitment towards adopting the UN SDGs across their organisations and projects, which they suggest will create “the unique opportunity for these goals to underpin the vision for North Shore” (North Shore Vision, 2020, p.36).

The elongated negotiation time with UNESCO and other heritage bodies provides some clear evidence to suggest that the other actors within the process were indeed trying to accommodate the needs and wants of those stakeholders. The sincerity with which they actually tried to do this is debatable though, as evidenced by UNESCO's continuous reiteration of the changes they wanted to see in the proposals.

### ***Has there been a concentrated effort to involve all stakeholders meaningfully?***

Interviewees reflected that insufficient efforts had been made thus far by the core actors. Though, official communications makes mention of "a series of 'outreach' events [which] were held to give stakeholders and the wider community the opportunity to discuss any concerns they had on the Liverpool Waters application" (Liverpool Waters Environmental Statement, 2011e, p.14). The phrasing of this indicates that opposition and complaints were expected rather than constructive feedback, and also implies that the plans had already been completely formulated, potentially leaving no space for true public engagement and an evolution of the scheme.

Some changes are claimed by Liverpool Waters to have occurred though, as their official report on that period of public consultation does go on to say that "a number of amendments were made to the proposals. These amendments included changes in height, location and massing of buildings across the site, as well as changes in the scale of development being proposed. Further amendments were also made in response to known underground archaeology as well as seeking to create new public parks within the development" (Liverpool Waters Environmental Statement, 2011e, p.14).

All interviewees reflected however that increasing efforts were being made to meaningfully involve stakeholders, and that the frequency of attempts to do so were accelerating and ideas for doing so were becoming more ambitious.

### **5.4.5 Socio-spatial justice in the Rules of the Game dimension**

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Unfortunately from a socio-spatial justice perspective, a lack of leadership within the process has been a pervasive theme that has led to a lack of direction, and the lack of a single actor with the authority or motivation to guide the process towards greater socio-spatial justice. This lack of leadership within the process has been directly linked by actors to the failure to interrogate barriers to the process and, where possible, to remove them.

There is also a worrying trend of roles within the process being circulated between individuals and organisations already involved with the process, limiting the opportunities for new actors with fresh ideas to enter the process and affect changes leading to greater socio-spatial justice. However, with the addition of new actors, such as Everton Football Club, who were able to enter the process through their own means and the steering groups, who have been able to stay in the process because of their versatility and willingness to reinvent themselves, have ushered in a new appreciation for public engagement and more ambitious thinking within the area that other core actors have been keen to buy into.

### 5.5.1 Equitable access to facilities and participation in site activities

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#### *Is there extensive public access across the site and improved amenities?*

The Ten Streets SRF (2017b) establishes that a new north-south axis will be created through the core of the Ten Streets area and makes plans for the implementation of 'quality, usable' public spaces which are to be designed with extensive input with local enterprises and stakeholders.

Similarly, the North Shore Vision (2020, p.8) specifically joins the objectives of finding "economic and social purpose for the North Shore area" with the objectives of "greatly enhancing accessibility and the public perception of the World Heritage Site in the Northern Docks". The same objectives are also expressed in the Liverpool Waters Environmental Assessment (2009) revealing that accessibility to previously inaccessible heritage and cultural assets has been a key fixture within the discourses surrounding the redevelopment of the North Shore area since the process' very inception.

Interviewees reveal that an even more holistic approach to public access has been adopted than simply permitting physical access, with extensive work done by the developers of Liverpool Waters to improve the water quality of the docks. Now, the area is beginning not to just to physically open up but be used in innovative ways that increase the number and quality of public amenities in the North Shore area, for example, Princes Dock is now used as an open-air swimming pool in the summer months. The Liverpool Waters developers were also praised by interviewees for their programme of watersports events and activities that occur within the docks.

Other interviewees mentioned how the city generally has a very poor city-river interface, and actors have worked hard to incorporate elements within the design proposals that provide people, residents and visitors alike, with better access to the river's edge, and diverse activities to do, and things to see, once there. Building on that previous point, interviewees spoke about plans to ensure the entirety of the North Shore area remained accessible to everyone, and no strategies are in place to monetize areas of the site, or restrict access to residents only.

There is also a commitment in official communications (North Shore Vision, 2020, p.37) to delivering societal value that is "directly attributable to improved health outcomes... and quality of life" through the provision of parks and water spaces featuring amenities for exercise.

However, some interviewees - particularly those with heritage protection backgrounds - were highly critical of the Liverpool Waters' and Stanley Dock Complex's developers assertions that their sites needed to be developed in order for the public to be able to gain access to them. Those interviewees argued that the only thing that has prevented public access for the last several decades have been the developers themselves who are wary of bottom-up publically-led initiatives appropriating the space and making it more difficult for the developers to build on, and thus profit from, the site.

Other interviewees, whilst agreeing in principle that the developers were the main reason behind the sites'

ongoing inaccessibility saw little advantage to opening up the docklands in their present form because they provided very little value or use to local residents in their current form and it was essential to develop them in order to improve the economic prospects of local people.

*“You’ve got to do something to redevelop that space... It’s such a big space... You’ve got to do something to, to add a vital boost into the city”*

- Member of the World Heritage Site Steering Group -

On a different note, the redevelopment of Bramley Moore Dock into the new Everton Football Club stadium constitutes a loss of amenities in some sense because it was the only remaining dock in the dock network that could have been converted into a marina (and was proposed to be one in the approved Liverpool Waters Outline Planning Consent). Some interviewees claim that Bramley Moore Dock’s use as a marina would have been significantly more in-keeping with the area’s heritage, whereas other interviewees strongly believed that building a football stadium on the site would ensure the site attracted a far greater number of people to appreciate it.

### ***Do Public transportation options provide access to the entirety of the site?***

There is a strong emphasis within the Ten Streets SRF (2017b, p.62) on delivering an area that is entirely accessible by non-polluting personal transport (bicycles and walking). Accessibility through these modes was also advocated for strongly by interviewees connected with Liverpool City Council’s planning department as an effective countermeasure for the relative unsuitability of the existing road network to take more traffic.

This issue of unsuitable road infrastructure, and the increased demand for the use of that infrastructure if the North Shore redevelopment goes ahead as it is currently proposed, is a major concern for local residents groups (see Planning Consultation Report for Liverpool Waters Plot C02, 2022b).

Plans for transport connections with the surrounding areas in both the Ten Streets SRF (2017b) and the North Shore Vision (2020) prominently highlight the importance of connections to the local metro network for handling surges in visitor numbers, as would be the case on football matchdays.

### ***Is provision made for disability access to the site and its amenities?***

There are commitments to design ‘inclusively’ featured within multiple Liverpool City Council Supplementary Planning Documents (Design for Access for All SPD) which go beyond the minimum requirements in national legislation (DDA, 1995; Equality Act, 2010; The Building Regulations Part M, 2015).

There is also specific documentation prepared by Liverpool City Council regarding accessibility to heritage assets in the Design for Access for All SPD and a commitment within the same document to delivering at least 10% of all dwellings in new residential as accessible adaptable dwellings.

There is also recognition that, at present, there are issues in the area with insufficient “street lighting, varying road widths, indiscriminate parking arrangements and fragmented footway provision” which need to be improved (p.16, Ten Streets SRF).

## 5.5.2 Proof of socio-economic benefit to the community

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### *Is there provision for the employment of local people?*

Interviewees mentioned how the businesses in the Stanley Dock Complex, including the Titanic Hotel, have arrangements with local colleges to provide employment opportunities for students and graduates.

Further, the City Region Authority has implemented an EU-award winning initiative linking school graduates with apprenticeship opportunities, and the City Region Authority also have a Business Leadership Mentoring program which specifically seeks to guide small local enterprises and start-ups.

However, official communications produced by the Liverpool Waters developers (Liverpool Waters Planning Justification Statement, 2020) mention the opportunity of the scheme to bring in ‘higher value jobs’. This is not inherently a problem from a socio-spatial justice perspective, but interviewees made clear that this type of job is needed for a city region-wide pool of candidates and it is not a need for the residents of the immediate local area, North Liverpool. This may not necessarily be the case in the future though, interviewees stated that universities in the city are specifically seeking to recruit school graduates from the wards of the city immediately adjacent to the North Shore area, so the arrival of ‘higher value jobs’ does form part of a broader plan to improve that area, and the prospects of the people that live there.

### *Will housing on the site be accessible to local people?*

Interviewees recalled that discourse on housing within the scheme centre around the need to provide apartment-type dwellings because of a lack across the entire city region and an overabundance of terrace-type two and three bedroom houses. Some interviewees see the residential buildings to be constructed on the Liverpool Waters site, with their apartment-heavy focus are seen as an opportunity to rebalance the city’s housing provision, but not all interviewees shared that view.

*“[Liverpool Waters] probably isn’t providing the housing that we need in the city, but then equally there’s a bit of displacement that could potentially happen... So people who can afford to live in the Peel development [Liverpool Waters], move into them and maybe move people around”*

- Member of the World Heritage Site Steering Group -

Interviewees commented that the housing types provided on the Liverpool Waters site are unlikely to be accessible for the majority of people living in North Liverpool because of their more exclusive nature, but

that wasn't necessarily perceived as an issue by them because it would move people around within the city such that everyone ended up with more appropriate housing.

One of the major social housing associations within the city is involved with developments across multiple sites in the North Shore and will be delivering more affordable housing (North Shore Vision, 2020). Not just in new buildings, but also in older buildings which are being regenerated, so it is not the case that the adaptive re-use of existing historic buildings is seen as something which should only be accessible to those who can afford to pay higher fees for premium apartments.

### ***Are any steps being taken to mitigate the impacts of gentrification?***

There is a commitment within the North Shore Vision (2020, p.37) document to “Social value – delivering development and regeneration that will have a tangible and quantifiable impact on people’s lives within the community, by elevating households out of poverty” and “Supporting new sustainable community facilities and infrastructure to provide the required support networks that will help to reduce hunger and poverty” as well as “Supporting significant construction and operational jobs for the City Region, including providing jobs for new trainees / apprentices to be recruited from the local community”.

Several interviewees mentioned the need to provide development opportunities and support businesses that can create jobs for local people in order to increase their employment opportunities is of a greater need, than any threat posed by gentrification. The council lacks the resources and capacity to prevent gentrification in its entirety and is not necessarily seeking to do so, based on what interviewees understood to be previous positive experiences of redevolpment in the city centre and the southern docks where, after a period of displacement and decline in other areas of the city there was a broad rebound and the areas not redeveloped had done so on their own as low rents attracted diverse start-up businesses. This is either a case of good luck with previous experiences, or the policies of the council working effectively. Most interviewees also stressed they saw no alternative, and believed there was either some gentrification or dereliction in perpetuity.

All interviewees expressed the notion that Everton Football Club are leaving the area around their stadium in a much better state than they found it with the construction of quality social housing, associated school provision and a dementia care centre all set to occur on their former site. The Club are maintaining oversight of the redevelopment of their former stadium. Furthermore, both the new stadium and the redevelopment of the old stadium site are portrayed as two integral components of the same project and discussed in unison, leaving no doubt of their positive socio-spatial justice intentions.

*“In all fairness to Everton, if you look at some of their plans for after they leave Goodison, there are some really strong, targeted interventions... they are talking about social housing, they’re talking about school provision, they’re talking about a dementia care center... they’re talking about stuff that is absolutely about meeting the needs of their community”*

- Member of the World Heritage Site Steering Group -

#### ***Have small local enterprises been consulted?***

The Ten Streets Steering Group is in the process of being established and all local businesses have been invited to take part, and several of the creative companies that will eventually join that steering group have already been consulted with in order to craft the proposed 'creative identity' of the area in the Ten Streets SRF (Ten Streets Next Steps, 2017b).

The urban planner for the Ten Streets area spoke about how he had spoken up for small businesses already operating in the North Shore area and tried to protect them from the grander ambitions of developers, and those views had been taken on board by the developers - indeed interviewees mentioned that no companies currently operating within the Ten Streets area had been forcibly relocated, conversely their role within the process has been continuously expanding, for example, through the Ten Streets Steering Group.

#### ***Is there provision within the plans for small business spaces?***

There are plans for small business spaces to become the dominant typology in the Ten Streets area, and for the area to be retained as a light industry-creative sector neighbourhood through council policies to "safeguard... space for start-up businesses, artists, independent creatives and makers" (Ten Streets SRF, 2017b, p.24) and also "prevent the proliferation of non-contributory uses" (Ten Streets SRF, 2017b, p.17). Liverpool City Council have the tools to do this by refusing planning permission for schemes that are predominantly residential in nature, or that "dilute the creative identity" (Ten Streets SRF, 2017b, p.24) of the area as envisioned in the adopted Ten Streets SRF. Further, the council have given themselves the power to issue compulsory purchase orders for plots which are not being developed because of speculative development practices.

Interviewees from Liverpool City Council's planning department envision substantial demand for spaces such as the ones they are offering in the Ten Streets because a similar location in the southern docks, the Baltic Triangle, which was an earlier attempt at such an arts and digital-based start-up neighbourhood is becoming prohibitively expensive for small creative start-ups. This previous example, at the Baltic Triangle, has strongly influenced how the Ten Streets SRF has been developed and how the area will be managed moving forwards in order to keep the elements of what went right and learn lessons from what went wrong at the Baltic Triangle.

Liverpool City Region's Combined Authority have also pledged financial support, in addition to the aforementioned business training and mentorship schemes, for small enterprises operating in the Ten Streets area who are eligible for it (Liverpool City Region Growth Strategy, 2016).

Interviewees familiar with the Ten Streets proposals also spoke about the plan for a number of large businesses in the North Shore area, most notably a huge warehouse-type store and car park which are situated on a 4.2 hectare site (42,000m<sup>2</sup>) to be relocated outside the city centre, which would free up a large area for redevelopment that would better support the proposed creative identity of the Ten Streets area.



### ***Have local people been consulted to understand their needs regarding future employment on the site?***

Whilst local people have been consulted with regards to the development of the scheme at Liverpool Waters, Bramley Moore Dock and the Standley Dock Complex, the conversations have generally concerned the aesthetics of any buildings proposed, and much less how local people might come to be employed in the North Shore area (Liverpool Waters Public Consultation Statement, 2020; North Shore Vision, 2020).

The Ten Streets SRF mentions *Liverpool in Work*, a council-run organisation which seeks to connect local residents seeking employment with employment opportunities. Informal communication with this organisation revealed that they had not directly been involved in the creation of the Ten Streets SRF document, and were unsure how they would be involved in any process shaping the business make-up of the Ten Streets area as they had only previously operated in a reactive manner - connecting potential employees with businesses once the businesses had already established themselves.

## **5.5.4 Protection of cultural assets**

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### ***Are there plans to protect the heritage assets on the site?***

Official communications feature commitments to protecting all existing buildings as a baseline and developers will need to provide strong justification for the removal of anything unless it doesn't conform to the "character of the area" as set forth in the Ten Streets SRF (2017b, p.63).

Furthermore, despite having lost the World Heritage Status, the policy documents which UNESCO requested have now been adopted by Liverpool City Council, and legacies of their involvement remain, such as the 'tall buildings policy' which limits the height of development on the waterfront so as to protect the authenticity of the heritage assets (Liverpool Waters Environmental Statement, 2011e; Liverpool City Plan, 2022a).

### ***Have the heritage assets on the site been interpreted? How?***

Understanding how the heritage has been interpreted on the site has multiple facets. There is the strict and technical view of how the heritage assets have been interpreted which says that the proposed development is somewhat insensitive to the existing heritage assets, a view broadly supported by UNESCO (2021b), Historic England and some of the interviewees with a heritage protection background (though by no means all interviewees with this background). Then, on the other hand, there is the rather more layered (or convoluted, depending on the interviewee's personal stance) view which says that the city has a history of developing docklands in line with its present needs and that, for the people actually living in the city, a football stadium is more in line with 'appreciating their culture and current needs' than a World Heritage listed set of docks.

The first group of interviewees reflected that in most instances, despite their official literature saying otherwise, the North Shore area's developers and Liverpool City Council had understood the heritage

assets to be nice historic buildings rather than cultural objects with deeper meaning which needs to be sensitively respected. Interviewees who subscribed to this viewpoint, and UNESCO (2021b), believed that the Council and developers saw the heritage assets as a superficial backdrop to the redevelopment and particular character of the area, an identity-building device in other words.

Conversely, the developers, Liverpool City Council and the other interviewees, argued that the heritage assets are no longer useful for their original purpose, this includes the buildings in the Ten Streets and, to a reasonable extent, the Docks (North Shore Vision, 2020, p.7). As such, the actors who wish to see the redevelopment occur are attempting to spin a narrative that claims Liverpool has never historically been sentimental and innovated constantly, thus doing so now is a continuation of that tradition. This quality is labelled the “Liverpool Twist” in the North Shore Vision and the authors attribute it to the adaptation and re-purposing of the docks to instigate “dramatic change” (p.16). The example used is that of the ‘Three Graces’ the dominant buildings on the Liverpool waterfront which formed a key element of the World Heritage Site, and were themselves constructed on an in-filled dock, and were at the time ‘skyscrapers’ counteracting UNESCO’s argument that tall buildings are incompatible with the Outstanding Universal Value of the World Heritage Site.

*“You know the three graces and the Pier Head were built on filled in land so why the hell UNESCO has said you can’t fill any water in... I just do not understand because that’s the whole point of Liverpool’s history that once the thing becomes redundant and obsolete you build something different”*

- Member of the Mayor’s Heritage Taskforce & Professor of History -

Further arguments in this vein can be found in official communications, including the North Shore Vision and those produced by Everton Football Club, which strongly link the history of football in the city, as an institution, with the dockers and other associated port workers. They frame the Bramley Moore Dock stadium as a continuation of a wider story which “connects our city’s historic docks and the Everton fans” through a narrative that “the dockworkers were fans, our family, and sometimes our footballing heroes” (Everton Football Club, 2019). The Hydraulic Engine house on the corner of Bramley Moore Dock is scheduled to undergo a renovation and conversion into a new “cultural destination... providing flexible space to tell the story of both Everton and the docks through the lives of the people of Liverpool – including footballers, dockers, and other key figures that reflect the entrenched historical and cultural connections between football and the dockland community” (p.60, North Shore Vision).

Separately, the repurposing of the graving docks on the Liverpool Waters site will learn lessons from the repurposing of the graving docks owned by the *Museum of Liverpool*. Interviewees involved with that redevelopment clearly demonstrated they are aware of the need to creatively re-use those spaces whilst also being incredibly sensitive towards the slavery-related heritage of the graving docks. Those words have been put into action through the National Museums Liverpool’s organisation of a high-profile design competition which specifically sought to “explore new ways [that] the history of the transatlantic slave trade [could be brought] more into the public realm” (Hardaker, 2021) and for which they have employed an award winning international team of architects. Which in the broader context of debates about the

institutions of slavery and imperialism in the UK will also likely be transferrable to the North Shore area's graving docks.

The understanding of the former World Heritage Site's relationship with its past as an important element within the UK's colonial and imperial legacy and the connection with slavery is addressed and acknowledged. An interviewee who was present at the event commented how during the original World Heritage Listing vote several African and Caribbean delegates had argued against Liverpool's listing as, in their view, the city did not deserve to be considered World Heritage in light of the activities it was instrumental in enabling. However, the Liverpool delegation were successful in their arguments to explain that the World Heritage Site was not a celebration of slavery and colonialism but would tackle those issues and seek to increase awareness about the atrocities committed. This mentality of recognising and sensitively interpreting the complex legacy of the docklands has continued throughout the North Shore redevelopment process, and UNESCO have made clear that they have no complaints about the core actors proposals in this regard (UNESCO, 2021b).

On a negative note, most interviewees hold the view that Peel would predominantly seek to monetise the heritage assets if they could, although they do accept that some of the work undertaken has been of a good quality, sensitive to the heritage value of the area and brought historic buildings back into use. However, the interviewees were more derisive of the work undertaken by subdevelopers on the Liverpool Waters site which they felt was delivered by developers even more profit-driven than Peel.

*"I'm told [that NML's graving docks] will be opened by 2025. And then after that point, obviously Peel will look at it and they'll think about these Graving docks and look at their own... but they will look at the economics of it, they'll look and say 'we've got a bloody big problem and it's not making us any money' "*

- Member of the World Heritage Site Steering Group -

One interviewee who works for *National Museums Liverpool*, and thus was familiar with the act of interpreting heritage assets, said that in her view the way that developers treat challenging heritage assets like the graving docks is a good indication of their values and the quality of their intentions because they are a difficult shape and size to convert into something useful, but at the same time they are too interesting to simply be covered over or fenced off and forgotten about.

One interviewee, a professor of history at the University of Liverpool spoke of his personal troubles in forming an opinion on what should happen at the North Shore, stemming from the difference between 'heritage and history'. His belief was that the North Docks represented a fascinating period of history with a number of world-first innovations that are of great interest, but from a heritage perspective the construction of a football stadium within a dock and the infilling of docks in general fitted perfectly within Liverpool's pattern of development. Further to that point he speaks negatively of UNESCO listing not connecting the site with the local residents in the way that a football stadium would. Another interviewee, a heritage consultant and former chief heritage officer at Liverpool City Council did not support the Bramley Moore Dock stadium but stressed that he completely understood why it had been given permission and

it was indeed complimentary to the culture of the North Shore area, just too destructive of the dock infrastructure for his preference.

*“Some people say well, you need the UNESCO World Heritage site thing because this is a great tourist asset... But I mean that is a terribly twee middle class thing.... You get these rich people who tick off the World Heritage sites they’ve visited, whereas what Everton is doing will be for the citizenry of North Liverpool, who will have access to things which they didn’t have before and so they might be able to better appreciate what those docks and these various cranes and hydraulic things are about and so on.... So in that sense, UNESCO might have done us a favour [by removing the World Heritage Status] because the site will become more democratic and inclusive and more meaningful to local people rather than tourists”*

- Member of the Mayor’s Heritage Taskforce & Professor of History -

Many interviewees were keen to praise the Council’s financial investments in the heritage assets and approved of how they had raised the quality of the World Heritage Site greatly, with the number of buildings on the heritage at risk register dropping dramatically since Liverpool’s inscription on the World Heritage List in 2004.

### ***Has there been consultation on the interpretation of the cultural assets? Who was involved?***

A city-wide survey was commissioned by the council to assess attitudes regarding and knowledge of the World Heritage Site, understanding of the value of the North Shore area’s heritage assets registered very poorly suggesting citizen’s do not feel much of a connection with the area in its current form.

Interviewees familiar with the institution commented that National Museums Liverpool have many connections throughout the city and although they are not responsible for the interpretation of cultural assets they are interested in learning how the assets change and are interpreted by other actors, this change is then portrayed by them, thereby creating a knowledge bank for other actors to tap into.

An interviewee who had worked at Liverpool City Council as a heritage officer recalled how ‘heritage impact assessments’ were undertaken for the site based on the original Liverpool waters proposals back in 2011, one conducted by the council, another conducted by Historic England (at the time they were known as English Heritage) and a final one conducted by a heritage consultancy on behalf of Peel. Each impact assessment reached different conclusions that, for the most part, supported the commissioning organisations objectives. Peel’s assessment found that their development would improve access to the site and restore heritage assets at the expense of a few lower quality heritage assets, the Historic England report stated that on balance the scheme had a negative impact because it damaged important heritage assets, and the Council assessment plotted a pragmatic line between the two, ultimately leading to the conclusion that the proposal’s relationship with its heritage assets did need to change and become more sensitive.

### ***Has provision been made for free interpretation of the site's heritage assets?***

Positively with regards to this point, the repurposed heritage assets will seek to provide “flexible spaces for learning, educational exhibits and heritage interpretation” (p.37, North Shore Vision) and crucially, owing to the various different cultural interpretations across the site. Recognition of the ills of slavery and imperialism, recognition of the connection between football and the dockers, and recognition of the area’s light industry credentials alongside the modern pursuit of a creative company cluster, all sit alongside one another such that there is no dominant heritage discourse, or cultural imperialism as Harvey phrases it (2002).

### ***Are there provisions made for the site to be used as a site of cultural gathering?***

There are commitments within the proposals to facilitate “outdoors events space and spaces that can be used for cultural expression” in the Ten Streets area (p.79, Ten Streets SRF), as well as the delivery of a large Central Park within the Liverpool Waters development and a “flexible social plaza” in front of the Bramley Moore Dock football stadium (p.37, North Shore Vision).

## **5.5.5 Complimentary Land Uses within and beyond the site**

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### ***Are the threshold areas of the site of an equal or improved quality, with respect to public access and visual quality, to those areas adjacent to the site?***

The council has produced a document called ‘The Public Realm Implementation Framework’ which specifically addresses their expectations in this regard and is used in the assessment of planning proposals before permission is granted (p.19, Design for Access for All SPD)

Interviewees responded that the North Shore area is, in general, very disconnected from the rest of the city and that the first areas of Liverpool Waters to be redeveloped have significantly increased the connectivity between that area and the city centre, so there is an albeit small record of successful implementation in this regard.

### ***Are there plans for mixed land uses on the site which are complimentary to the surrounding areas?***

Interviewees spoke about a desire in the proposals to deliver a high-quality physically connected but functionally separate development in the North Shore, aiming to bring different kinds of building uses and industries into the city centre. Although extensive analysis has been undertaken regarding existing enterprises on the site and how they can be supported with the addition of “ancillary and complementary uses... [which] encourage vitality through the day and into the night” (p.16 ,Ten Streets SRF).

Interviewees also mentioned how a key objective of Everton Football Club was to make sure their stadium was not just a venue once or twice a week, but could support functions and activities seven days a week through its offer of diverse and flexible spaces, and the creation of a ‘community’ using the stadium.

There are construction projects currently ongoing to deliver a cruise liner terminal and an additional ferry terminal at the Liverpool Waters site providing additional uses which are complimentary to the area's history.

Interviewees commented that the plans most certainly didn't reflect an area that was just for wealthier people, and spoke about values such as inclusiveness and uniqueness.

*"[The North Shore area] has really got scope for quality, not just in its location, but it's mix of uses... And when I say quality, I don't actually just mean design quality, which is obviously important, but the quality of living, the mixed area, the inclusiveness - I think that's the key thing, this is not just a space for rich people, it is an extension of the existing neighbourhoods... [there will be] quality for drinking, quality for dancing, quality for living, anything you want, really... you walk in and you're like, this is something special, it's not just a standard development which is lucky enough to be on the waterfront. It's unique"*

- Planning Consultant for Liverpool Waters -

The scale of the proposals at Liverpool Waters and across the North Shore area means that the facilities and amenities there will contribute significantly to the provision of the whole city. Interviewees working on the Liverpool Waters scheme commented that the potential risk of facilities at Liverpool Waters being in competition with each other has meant that they have conducted a 'huge' amount of market research to ensure the balance of dwellings and facilities they provide is what the city, and the site, needs.

### 5.5.6 Mitigation of Ecological Impacts

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#### ***Have specialists in the study of ecological impacts been consulted?***

There have been commitments to developing the North Shore area in line with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) guidelines, which both stress the need to incorporate environmental sustainability (North Shore Vision, 2020, p.36).

*"The Climate Emergency is a pervasive theme underpinning this Vision. The North Shore will seek to be an exemplar for sustainable development that will support the City's climate change objectives"*

- North Shore Vision, p.9 -

Interviewees recalled that the Environment Agency, Natural England and the Merseyside Environmental Advisory Service (MEAS) were all consulted in the initial proposal stages for the Liverpool Waters proposal and conducted an extensive ecological study of the importance of the site for the surrounding area, 15km in every direction (Liverpool Waters Environmental Assessment, 2011).

However, a similar level of research has not been undertaken for the Ten Streets aream but there is a general appreciation that is not as relevant a site for endangered species such as coastal birds, which will benefit from alterations made on their behalf in the Liverpool Waters scheme.

Multiple interviewees expressed the view that discourses within the redevelopment process have in the past focused on heritage, but now that there have been several decisions and outcomes in that respect and there is no further risk of the World Heritage Status being removed (because it has already been taken away) the conversation is free to move in other directions. Interviewees mentioned that environmental concerns look set to take heritage's place as the main sustainability focus of the project going forwards with an increased role for Natural England envisioned in the next phase of the project.

### ***Has the future risk presented by rising sea levels been considered in the scheme's environmental strategy?***

There is recognition of this being an issue because of the site's low-lying nature, and the identification of SDGs 11 & 13 as being relevant (North Shore Vision, 2020, pp.36 - 41). However, the approach to resolving this is almost uniquely evasive, rather than integrated into a holistic strategy: to raise site levels, and position all ground floor entrances and emergency exits above a certain level as agreed with the environment agency (North Shore Vision, 2020, p.40).

There is a policy to review environmental concerns on a case-by-case basis and adopt the recommendations of the Environment agency towards each proposal (Ten Streets SRF, 2017b, p.60; North Shore Vision, 2020, p.40). As well as to consider the site-wide implications of any measures adopted for one individual building such that the likelihood of flooding for other buildings is not increased by any works done. The proposal does include water storage and discharge back into the river mersey plans.

### ***Will the development improve the environmental resilience of the wider area?***

The Ten Streets SRF aspires to see the area become an exemplar neighbourhood for "renewable energy and environmentally sustainable design and construction" (2017b, p.22). Other written pledges include ideas on "water efficient design and rainwater harvesting" (North Shore Vision, 2020, p.38) and the implementation of solar and wind energy harvesting in the area complimented by a 'district heating network' with the intention for the area to achieve "net zero carbon status" (North Shore Vision, 2020, p.38).

Also, the Liverpool Waters Environmental Assessment identified that there may be off site impacts regarding water which are "ultimately good" for the city as a whole (2011, p.28).

Furthermore, the North Shore vision states that all redevelopment on the site will be proceeded by "significant remediation to remove hazardous substances" which are associated with the area's formerly heavy industry uses. The North Shore Vision identifies opportunities stemming from this related to "the use of the site as a habitat [for coastal birds]" amongst other, non-environmental benefits (2020, p.41).

### *Is the development happening incrementally?*

Interviewees, who were involved with the process at the time or are familiar with its contents, commented that 'Outline Planning Consent' was given for Liverpool Waters in a format which heavily favoured the developer's interests over those of Liverpool City Council, and interviewees mentioned how 'the gains won' were not easily surrendered later on by Peel, with market demand rather than pressure from Liverpool City Council or UNESCO being predominantly responsible for changing their ambitions.

Interviewees further told that in the initial years after the outline planning consent was given proposals came forward for single building developments even though the Outline Planning Consent specifically stated that a full plan of the scheme had to come forwards before any individual permissions were given. This development pattern was agreed to by Liverpool City Council because of sub-developer interest, not necessarily from Peel. On the one hand this allowed flexibility for each individual scheme to learn from those before it and for the area to grow more organically than if there was a comprehensive masterplan, whereas on the other hand this lack of masterplan meant there was no guiding narrative or clear 'big picture'. Ultimately interviewees seemed to believe the path taken achieved 'the worst of both worlds' - developments were disparate and disconnected from each other resulting in a lack of visual and functional cohesion. The overarching narrative from these two passages is that development is happening incrementally but in a piecemeal way without an over-arching vision, that is leaving large gaps for duplication of schemes because a particular type of scheme is the most profitable. So something which could increase the socio-spatial justness of the scheme because it allows constant evolution and discussion on what should come next is actually becoming a negative because the elements don't fit together in unison.

Disappointingly, the North Shore Vision, although supported by the council and all the core actors has not become official policy because of the extra work needed in order to convert it into a Framework or policy document, which interviewees claimed there are simply not the resources to deliver considering other pressures.

On a more positive note, the introduction of the Bramley Moore Dock Stadium at the extreme north end of the North Shore has both broadened and focused the conversation. The previous strategy adopted by Liverpool Waters had been to start in the south next to the city centre (at Princes Dock) and develop northwards across five subdivisions (referred to as 'neighbourhoods' in their formal communications) of their site. According to interviewees familiar with their inner workings, this sequence of development had seen them continuously put off thinking about key elements of the scheme such as the Central Park and adopt a 'we will deal with it in the next neighbourhood' mentality with more community-focused functions. But the development of the most northern neighbourhood by Everton Football Club has, brought the central neighbourhood development forward about 15 years earlier than had first been planned, so these community-focused elements and the central park have moved much higher up the agenda because now they cannot be pushed into the plans for the next neighbourhood.



*"It's now ultimately gonna be [developing from the north and south into the centre of Liverpool Waters], which I think is a much better way and... also makes us think holistically of how to consider so many different elements. Liverpool Waters instead of pushing things or kicking it down in the long grass and saying, oh, we'll deal with it later, we'll deal with it later and then we get to the last part in the Northern Docks and we've got to deal with a lot of challenges. It makes us think about things a lot more clearly"*

- Planning Consultant for Liverpool Waters -

However, interviewees from Liverpool Waters, and others associated with them, showed through their comments a resistance to revisiting elements of the permission given to them in the Outline Planning Consent unless they believed they stood to benefit, such as with their support of the Bramley Moore Dock Stadium, or that the market simply wouldn't support what they had been given permission for, such as the ultra-tall (205m-270m) skyscraper cluster in the original proposal.

Interviewees commented that a lack of market support for Peel's initial proposals at Liverpool Waters was a major contributing factor to them elongating the time frame as they waited for more favourable conditions, thus implying that they have not developed incrementally intentionally.

*"When [the Outline Planning Consent] was granted it was the longest planning consent ever granted in the UK because we can build out Liverpool Waters until 2041... and it's just like over that period, things change, we've had a global pandemic, had a recession, we've got a war in Europe, all of these sort of things have a massive impact on what we value the most and what we want to build and in that time the commercial market has gone away from thousands and thousands of square foot of grade A office space over big chunky buildings, to something which is much more work from home"*

- Urban Planner for Liverpool Waters & Ten Streets -

### **Are lessons learnt for each step of the process and applied to the next?**

Positively from a socio-spatial justice perspective, Liverpool City Council's narrative for the Ten Streets area positions the existing situation as the first step in the process and not a distinct and separate element to be discarded, but something to be built upon. Evidenced by text such as "The SRF must be responsive to change and deliver an approach that ensures the framework area supports surrounding opportunities and synergies with the wider area" (Ten Streets SRF, 2017b, p.14).

Some interviewees commented that the architects, urban planners, landscape architects and other designers working on the sub-plots of Liverpool Waters are increasingly more in sync with each other and the planning consultants from Liverpool Waters are involved with all of the smaller developments in an advisory capacity to ensure their compliance with each other and that best practices are shared.

Furthermore, there are many positive and negative lessons which have been learnt from previously 'regenerated' areas in Liverpool which were given a cultural identity, such as the Baltic Triangle. Interviewees

spoke of a willingness to recognise previous failures and work more closely with the existing community than in previous attempts at cultural enterprise zones.

Likewise, interviewees involved with Liverpool Waters spoke about the opportunities to evolve the masterplan as each individual scheme was completed, and having greater success from doing so than earlier on in the process because of the existence now of a masterplan.

Interviewees commented that communicating with the public, changes to the scheme and that certain things had already been given planning permission and others were up for debate had proved challenging as the public were broadly unsure of 'what Liverpool Waters is' (and by extension 'what the North Shore is') which made communication harder than it needed to be.

### **5.5.8 Sustainable Management of the Commons**

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#### ***Will the site be managed by a broad selection of actors once the development is completed?***

There are a broad selection of actors who are informally associated with one another and have already begun to give management-of-heritage-assets advice and support to each other. For example, as has already been mentioned, *National Museums Liverpool* have spoken to Peel frequently about conducting tours of the North Docks.

Furthermore, the council has adopted policies which give it meaningful powers to support the existing and desired use patterns for the North Shore area outside of Liverpool Waters and control speculative development practices which are harmful to the cultural identity that they are creating with existing stakeholders (Ten Streets SRF, 2017b).

#### ***How will the site be managed once the development is completed?***

Policies in place to protect designated heritage assets and their settings provide valid rationale for the planning department to recommend projects for rejection, and issue compulsory purchase orders if developers aren't doing anything with a plot and there is a need for redevelopment there (Ten Streets SRF, 2017b). The policies implemented in order to protect the former World Heritage Site areas are already enshrined within local policy, so materially nothing will change as an outcome of the Status' withdrawal. These protections also include provision for environmental features and traffic infrastructure (North Shore Vision, 2020; Ten Streets SRF, 2017b).

Also, interviewees are positive that the establishment of a Ten Streets Steering Group could have a very big part to play in guiding the area's redevelopment in a sensitive and constructive way but, according to interviewed planning department representatives, few concrete steps have yet been taken to deliver this.

A management trust for the whole World Heritage Site was implemented a short while before its delisting which there is now talk of keeping and repurposing that to raise the profile of the former World Heritage assets and then build on that in order to launch another bid for World Heritage Status (for a site with slightly

different boundaries) in 15 to 20 years time - a proposal which had broad support from interviewees.

### 5.5.9 Socio-spatial justice in the Discourses dimension

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Positively from a socio-spatial justice perspective, there has clearly been incremental development of sites across the entire North Shore area and this has provided time for new actors to enter the process, and allowed for plenty of redevelopment lessons to be learnt. Furthermore, the long process has allowed for actors to become particularly passionate about the redevelopment project, and to negotiate much more extensively than a more quickly-completed process would have allowed.

Also positively, UNESCO's involvement drove the process forwards by restricting the worst tendencies of other actors. However, on balance, this appears to be a good time for them to depart given that the infrastructures for better engagement are now in place and a clear discourse regarding the need to protect heritage assets, and the methods by which that can be done, are established. These infrastructures can now more easily be activated in order to discuss other pressing challenges facing the process - environmental concerns were highlighted by several interviewees as the next major discourse set to be under consideration.

Furthermore, enabling public access to the site has always been a prominent feature within the process' discourses, it has always been a debate of how the heritage assets are framed rather than whether they are to be physically destroyed or accessible. On a similar note, there has been minimal evidence of cultural imperialism within the interpretation of the heritage assets, and there are set to be diverse opportunities for interpretation and a genuine reckoning with the area's history that is respectful of modern discourses regarding imperialism and slavery, as well as the lives of dockers.

New actors within the process have been instrumental in reframing the individual components of the North Shore into a unified area, which has now been transferred into legally-adopted policy documents such as the City Plan (2022a) and the Ten Streets SRF (2017b).

Weaker from a socio-spatial justice perspective is the way that the benefits of the North Shore area's redevelopments have been assumed to lead to benefits for local people through a broadly trickle-down process, with only minimal policy points committed to ensuring benefits for them. There has also been a notable resistance to considering development options beyond a neoliberal capitalist framing, which sits uncomfortably alongside the previous point - if the rationale behind the whole redevelopment has been to improve the lives of people living in North Liverpool, then why has more not been done to ensure this redevelopment actually benefits those individuals?

## 5.6 Analysis Summary

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Throughout the analysis chapter a series of 'socio-spatial justice'-relevant findings of particular importance have been uncovered, this section intends to briefly recap and summarise those points, before, in the next chapter, the research question is answered and the research process reflected upon.

## 5.6.1 Power & Influence

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*Abandonment of the North Shore being the norm and stifling any desire to critique redevelopment proposals* - The ward in which the North Shore is located, Kirkdale, is amongst the most deprived in the city, and three of the four adjacent wards score slightly worse by all metrics of deprivation (together Kirkdale and those three wards constitute the four most deprived wards in the city). The extent of deprivation in these wards is even better understood within the context of Liverpool being the third most deprived local authority area in England (out of 333). The need to deliver development, that improves the health, education, economic and social prospects of people in this area of North Liverpool is understood by all actors to be imperative. Indeed, it is more necessary, according to those involved in the redevelopment process, than the need to protect the heritage assets in the North Shore area - that isn't to say that the two objectives are mutually exclusive and haven't both been considered within the process, but a hierarchy has definitely been established between them. The actors within the process have evidently struggled to devise a proposed redevelopment scheme which manages to protect and enhance the heritage assets in anything more than an aesthetic or literal way. Proposals which have attempted to use the heritage assets in a more 'heritage-responsive' way (as is advocated for in UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscape approach), for example by bringing back traditional site activities, have scarcely been considered owing to the theorised economic unviability of any such proposal. This theorised economic unviability stems from two accepted notions, that there is already an abundance of maritime-related cultural sites (museums, water-activity facilities, etc) in better-located parts of the city which would draw away any potential visitors from the North Shore if it didn't offer anything different, and, that the traditional activities which could potentially be brought back are inherently economically unviable, hence why the docks in the North Shore were abandoned in the first place. There is seemingly a consensus amongst the vast majority of actors in the process that 'something' (read 'almost anything') needs to happen in the North Shore area, and several actors framed it as unacceptable not to develop extensively due to the scale of deprivation in North Liverpool. In such a climate, those actors with the financial resources to make 'something' happen hold a significant degree of power, and those without such resources who potentially stand to gain are hesitant to make too many demands because the 'abandonment' of the North Shore area is accepted as the norm, and any development at all is seen as being better than that situation continuing, irrespective of whether the proposed developments will directly improve the lives of those current residents.

*Plots being sold at high-value based on their potential rather than reality* - There are clear instances of speculative developers purchasing plots of land with only minimal intention to develop them, both at Liverpool Waters and, to a lesser extent, in the Ten Streets. There are two kinds of developers who fall into this 'minimally motivated' bracket. Firstly, the motive for 'developers with no intention to develop' lies in the fact that as development occurs around the plot(s) they have purchased, and the North Shore area 'improves', the value of the land rises and the developer can sell the land at a profit having incurred almost no expenses. Secondly, there are a group of developers who would purchase a plot and enlist the help of designers to gain planning permission for a development on that site. Then, once planning permission has been achieved they seek to sell the plot for a higher value than what they purchased it at because this is now a plot with permission for development, not just potential. The end outcome of these machinations to profit off immaterial changes to the development plots is that the 'final' developer might have spent so much money acquiring the land that they are only able to deliver a financially viable project if insensitively large buildings are approved, if these are not approved then this developer may sell on the plot again (at a

profit or for the same value) or hold onto the land until the political and economic climate becomes more favourable to their objectives. Liverpool City Council have enshrined in local law their power to prevent this by establishing clear circumstances in which they can compel plot owners to 'develop' or 'sell to the council at a reasonable market rate'.

## 5.6.2 Actors

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*Actors as residents and stakeholders themselves* - There is a large body of evidence showing that the actors within the process understand themselves to be the target audience of the development (in effect acting as the unelected representatives of other people living and working in Liverpool). As an outcome of this prevalent mental paradigm the views of outside actors and experts are sought less than they perhaps ought to be, and a noticeably emotional, rather than pragmatic, view of how the area should be developed dominates discourses.

*The excessive influence of certain individuals on the redevelopment process* - Many interviewees reflected on the important roles that specific individuals have played in driving or shaping the process. Notable examples include the former Mayor of Liverpool, and the current development director at Liverpool Waters. Mayor Anderson was a long-time proponent of the scheme at Liverpool Waters, as well as an outspoken critic of Everton Football Club's plans to move out of Liverpool into the neighbouring borough of Knowlsey. He was latterly instrumental in proposing and brokering an unsuccessful deal between the club and city council which would enable the club gain access to reduced-rate UK Government loans, the collapse of this deal is set to cost the City Council between £350,000 and £700,000. Evidence of this 'failed deal' with Everton Football Club and interviewees responses reveal a consistent pattern of similar ideas being proposed or supported by Mayor Anderson, and being pushed through the City Council expediently (with minimal interrogation) because of the control he wielded within the governmental process, it is apparent that proposals without his support were rarely successful. The arrival of the new Director of Development at Liverpool Waters came towards the end of a series of personnel changes within that organisation, and was cited by multiple interviewees as a 'turning point' or a 'reset' in the interaction between Liverpool Waters and the other actors in the process. After his arrival Liverpool Waters were understood to have adjusted their project's narrative to be more human-centred, and less profit-centred, than it had previously been and their commitment to meaningful public engagement increased significantly. Due to these changes, and others of less significance, the incidence of conflicts between Liverpool Waters and other actors has decreased dramatically.

*The differing values of the major developing organisations* - The four component development sites within the North Shore each have different 'owners' (and in the case of the Ten Streets, no single owner at all) which has led to entirely different approaches to the process being adopted by, or pushed upon, each owner. The redevelopment of the Stanley Dock Complex by Harcourt Developments happened much earlier than the other components and was treated in a mostly isolated manner, there was minimal public engagement and minimum interaction with the City Council. Seemingly, all involved understood this to be a straightforward building re-use scheme, the City Council appear to have been very glad that the buildings were being re-used in some way and heritage bodies expressed approval for the large-scale preservation of the existing building fabric. From a socio-spatial justice standpoint, very little was demanded of Harcourt Developments because they managed to keep all the major actors happy. Very soon following

that development there was Liverpool Waters, whose parent organisation, Peel, appear to have believed they would be tacitly supported through the process as Harcourt Developments had been. However, the distinct lack of buildings to be re-used on the Liverpool Waters site and the sheer size of the site (which would prevent Liverpool Waters from completely developing the whole site quickly) brought them quickly into conflict with heritage bodies (who were powerful because of their ability to remove the World Heritage status), which stalled progress dramatically. During the numerous years of dialogue between the Liverpool Waters development team, the City Council and UNESCO on the best way to move forwards, the City Council (especially the planning department) looked to gain confidence with regards to how much they could demand from the other actors involved. The City Council progressed from being reactive to the desires of other actors and began to take more initiative, imposing their will on the discourses more concretely. The arrival of Everton Football Club on the scene with their plans to develop Bramley Moore Dock appear to have provided an exemplary case for how a site 'owner' could work effectively with the City Council and conduct a more socio-spatially just public-involving redevelopment process of their own. The values that the club 'brought to the table' were specifically cited by the City Council when justifying their overwhelming support for the stadium even after it became apparent that approving the scheme would most likely see the city lose World Heritage status. Liverpool Waters had never enjoyed such emphatic support from the City Council despite having been in discussions with them for almost a decade regarding their project. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that significant personnel changes occurred in the Liverpool Waters team after it became clear how the City Council could best be worked with, based on the example model which had been provided by Everton. The final North Shore component, the Ten Streets, lacks any significant 'owners' and is split into multiple plots, some containing existing companies, others entirely vacant. Reflecting the City Council's increasing confidence, they have been the primary instigators and drivers for the preparation and adoption of a cohesive framework for this area.

*Commitments to establish steering groups in the Ten Streets (including the Stanley Dock Complex)* - This stands a chance of working meaningfully and garnering support from all involved actors (the council, the existing businesses and developers) because each stands to gain substantially from mutual co-operation. The specific characteristics of the area which make such mutual benefit possible can be found within the adopted Ten Streets Spatial Regeneration Framework which commits the council to supporting the area's identity as a 'cultural hub' through consultation with businesses, and vests in them the legal power to prevent 'non-contributory uses' from proliferating in the Ten Streets area, limiting market-influenced gentrification, and to force the sale of plots of land which are not contributing to the areas need, such as those being 'held to ransom' by prospective developers with no intention to actually build anything, only to profit from increasing land values.

*The lengthened project timeline giving opportunity for new actors to be introduced and encouraging a high level of emotional attachment to the project within existing actors* - Many of the interviewees spoken with expressed the view that this redevelopment process was not 'like a normal project' and the incredibly long timespans involved have meant that some more senior individuals have spent almost half of their working lives connected to this scheme in some way. Other actors who have not been directly involved with the process until more recently said that living and working in the city had given them exposure and attachment to this project purely because of how significant it was and how, for some actors, they remembered the area looking exactly the same as children and were emotionally invested in being involved in something good happening to the site that their 'children and grandchildren' could enjoy and be proud of them for

doing. The long timespan has also seen new actors brought onboard as external events (financial crashes, the pandemic, UNESCO conflicts, etc.) forced a realignment of the scheme's priorities which would only be best tackled by inviting fresh faces and new expertise into the mix.

### 5.6.3 Rules of the Game

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*Challenges concerning leadership in the process* - Numerous actors commented when interviewed that the process had at certain times lacked leadership and direction, and at other times had had too much leadership. This alternation in the governance of the process is symptomatic of the fact that the redevelopment of the North Shore area has not been understood holistically, and that too frequently developments have been considered in isolation whilst plans to tie the individual schemes together have been put on hold and delayed. The clearest example of this can be found in Liverpool Waters. When Liverpool Waters received 'outline planning consent' in 2012 it was stipulated that the planning permission for individual plots within Liverpool Waters would only be permitted by the City Council after a complete masterplan for the area had been submitted and approved. In actuality no such masterplan was forthcoming and piecemeal approval, one development at a time, allowed for the construction of multiple buildings around Princes Dock prior to that masterplan being adopted. This lack of leadership was exacerbated by the division of responsibility between the subsections of the City Council's planning department, Liverpool Waters and Bramley Moore Dock fell under the jurisdiction of the 'city centre' planning team and the Ten Streets area and Stanley Dock Complex fell under the jurisdiction of the 'north' planning team. Although the two planning teams operated out of the same office, oversight of the complete process was made unnecessarily complicated by this arbitrary division. On occasion this lack of higher-level coordination allowed for the organic creation of bottom-up actor coalitions, such as the coalition which developed the North Shore Vision document, but more often it had the consequence of limiting who could 'break into' the process because, for most intents and purposes, no true process existed, with actors only communicating when the need arose and not taking the initiative to begin wider discussions with outside actors. This lack of high-level oversight and direction ultimately led, as previously mentioned, to the creation of the North Shore Vision document but it is critical to recognise that the actors who made this proposal were originally invited into the process to serve an entirely different function. The theme of actors, once 'inside' the process, having considerable freedom to do as they thought necessary is an often repeated one in discussions with actors.

*Actors shifting from public to private sector within the redevelopment process* - The notion that 'Liverpool is a small city' and that everyone seems to know everyone, especially in the construction sector, featured in a handful of interviews. This partly explains what has been a recurring situation with the redevelopment of the North Shore area of individuals shifting from working for one actor in the process to another, particularly from the City Council to private organisations. The advantage of this for the private organisations seems to lie predominantly in the expertise of those who have previously worked for the City Council regarding interacting with the City Council to push the private company's objectives forwards. But the relationship is not entirely one-sided and in each instance when an individual has 'changed sides' the way in which the private company operates, or the outcomes they deliver, have become more in line with the City Council's own objectives, and coincidentally more socio-spatially just.

*Rigidity of UNESCO's heritage listing and unwillingness to compromise on boundaries* - The major issue in this respect seems to have been that Liverpool's World Heritage status application was based on its maritime and mercantile history and developments since then have been in conflict with, and wholly uncomplimentary to, that vision. Each of the individuals who were part of that initial steering group responsible for presenting the status application to UNESCO, and were still involved with the redevelopment process, admitted that they had 'got things wrong with that application' and that their desire to see the Stanley Dock Complex included with the World Heritage site had brought about unforeseen problems for the redevelopment of the North Shore because that area now fell within the buffer zone, and was thus held to the same standards of authenticity and integrity as the World Heritage site itself. When later approaches were made to UNESCO seeking to realign the boundaries of the World Heritage site the heritage body refused. There is precedent for adjusting boundaries but it has mostly been applied in situations where external factors not within the state party's control have occurred, for example war or natural disasters. Ultimately, in light of UNESCO's decision to remove the World Heritage status, several actors claim to have been told by UK Government (state party) officials that the city should 'wait 20 years' and apply to relist areas of the city which are still of heritage significance.

*Permissiveness of Liverpool Waters being a higher-end development* - Several interviewees expressed a view that it was acceptable for the development in Liverpool Waters and, to a lesser extent the Ten Streets to be slightly 'exclusive' and provide higher-end accommodation as these dwellings would be occupied by wealthier Liverpool residents and free up existing 'cheaper' housing stock elsewhere in the city for ill-housed residents of the areas adjacent to the North Shore to move into. There are no guarantees this would be the case, and no initiatives at present to ensure that those residents of adjacent areas do benefit in some way or, at the very least, are protected.

*Lock-in from previous developments which were ill-suited to their location* - As previously mentioned within this summary section, the outline planning consent granted for Liverpool Waters demanded the creation and adoption of a masterplan before work on individual plots could begin, this didn't happen and individual plot developments were approved by the council anyway. This lack of a wider plan can further be detected in the permission which was granted slightly prior to the proposals for Liverpool Waters coming forward in the vicinity of the docklands, notably at Waterloo Quay. In this location, which lies immediately adjacent to a 19th century 8-storey warehouse building, planning permission was granted in 2001 for a series of 4-storey residential buildings with a more than one-to-one ratio of parking spaces to apartments. These buildings could reasonably be argued to be inappropriate for that site at the time and in light of the Liverpool Waters development are completely out of sync with what could come to transpire in the area, and yet, from a socio-spatial justice perspective these buildings, and their inhabitants, must be accommodated towards - even though had they not been there the Liverpool Waters proposals for that site would doubtless have been more complimentary to the overall area than the existing buildings are.

*The relatively recent shift towards understanding the area (Liverpool Waters and Ten Streets) as a 'potentially' cohesive and complementary unit* - Linking slightly to the previously identified lack of an overall masterplan for Liverpool Waters, it has only recently been acknowledged by the actors involved in the North Shore process that their collective interests are much better served by grounding each development project



within the wider North Shore area and seeking coordination between them.

*Development proposals being discussed in a binary way* - UNESCO's involvement, not necessarily through any fault of their own, shifted the conversation into a binary consideration of development proposals as being sensitive or insensitive to the heritage value of the site, to the exclusion of other considerations including the needs and values of residents. It is not necessarily UNESCO's role to seek to involve other stakeholders as their primary function is to protect heritage, and if the heritage is intractably damaged then they have no obligation to continue recognising the site as a World Heritage site. However, whilst their produced literature and guidance regarding the management of World Heritage sites has begun to more holistically consider the social aspect of heritage site development it does appear to have inadequately considered what complimentary and viable redevelopment options are available for sites such as the one in the North Shore area. Many of the other actors within the process spoke of a general feeling that UNESCO had already decided that Liverpool was to lose its World Heritage status and, based on even the most simplistic forecasting of what might've happened in the future, it is not credible that in 2004 (when the status was awarded) UNESCO would not have envisaged what has happened as the most likely future scenario - begging the question, why was the site even granted heritage status in the first place?

*Lack of City Council Resources* - Maintaining a dialogue with UNESCO appears also to have diverted Liverpool City Council resources that otherwise could have been used to conduct a more extensive public engagement process, which is not to say that such a process would have occurred if UNESCO had not got involved but serves to highlight that Liverpool City Council's planning department was chronically overstretched and under-resourced. Some interviewees who mentioned this issue linked its cause back to the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis after which the newly-elected UK Government implemented a policy of austerity. These austerity measures intended to reduce local government spending, and owing to the relatively low position of 'heritage protection' within the functions and services provided by Liverpool City Council, funding was redirected from departments handling heritage towards more essential local services such as those related to health, employment and education.

# 6

## Conclusion & Discussion

### 6.1 Reflecting on Socio-spatial Justice in the Redevelopment Process of Liverpool's North Shore

Until very recently it could convincingly be argued that any socio-spatial justice present within the process came about as a by-product of other actions, which were undertaken without socio-spatially just intentions. Over the past couple of years there has been a shift in how the redevelopment projects which were, and are, taking place in the North Shore area have been grounded with respect to each other and within their wider context. The rhetoric surrounding the projects has become less about bringing economic investment and enhancing heritage, and much more about building a cohesive and diverse neighbourhood that delivers spaces and functions that the city, and wider region, need. This strengthened appreciation of the impacts each contributory scheme has on the others has both; been brought about by the involvement of new actors; and facilitated the introduction of new actors into the process.

The challenge for the actors within the North Shore process is to continue this trend of expanding access to the process in all manners; committing to establishing more steering groups and granting them the powers to meaningfully influence their local areas; continuing to organise public 'engagement' events with open-ended discussion points rather than 'consultations' on pre-prepared proposals; And clarifying and strengthening the organisational relationship between the four constituent elements of the North Shore.

#### 6.1.1 What are the wider implications of these findings with regards to the academic field?

The academic fields addressed within the research include the study of governance arrangements, socio-spatial justice and, tangentially, culture-inclusive sustainable development.

It is surprising that so little literature which explores the socio-spatial justice of a redevelopment process was able to be found considering the clear links in David Harvey's early formulated theories on socio-spatial justice, talking about the need to understand "the locus of power and decision-making authority... the distribution of influence... [and] social and institutional arrangements" (1973, p.97), and the Policy Arrangement Approach's four components.

Indeed, whilst there is a growing body of literature which applies the Policy Arrangement Approach to study the influence of environmental sustainability (see: Hehn, 2016; Veenman et al., 2009; Janssen, 2015; Park, 2015; Rittl et al., 2015), the author of this report was unable to find any attempts at using the Approach to analyse socio-spatial justice. The broad findings of those aforementioned environmental sustainability authors regarding the applicability of the Policy Arrangement Approach as a tool to acquire a holistic understanding of a policy arrangement are also supported by the findings of this thesis.

Building on the previous point, there is also a noted tendency within socio-spatial justice literature to talk in theoretical terms about the nature of justice and to seek to formulate conceptualisations on the nature of justice (see: Marcuse et al., 2009). However, a shift does appear to be occurring, which has led to a new and growing body of research seeking to quantify justice/injustice (see: Israel & Frenkel, 2018; 2020; Lamont, 2018) and look more closely at justice in local contexts (Barnett, 2017) - although this has typically been done through an analysis of protests and popular movements seeking to bring greater justice to cities (see: rather than redevelopment processes).

The implications of this thesis for the field of cultural sustainability are more limited. Positively, the thesis finds that the incorporation of cultural sustainability principles into the redevelopment of the North Shore area presents itself in a more nuanced, and sensitive, manner than other authors have found to be the case in earlier UK redevelopment projects (see: Mould & Comunian, 2015; Lombardi et al., 2011). The thesis does however take a more critical stance on UNESCO's application of its authenticity and integrity criteria for new developments in the vicinity of World Heritage Sites as there are clear parallels which can be drawn between their approach and Harvey's (2002) concept of 'cultural imperialism' - which he lambasts. However, this recognition that the UNESCO framework evidently struggles to balance multiplicitous histories and heritages within a single area, does not absolve the Liverpool-based actors of their failures. On the basis of this report's findings it is clear that the potentials and opportunities for the North Shore area have been seen exclusively through a neoliberal economic growth-driven lens. This point is made clearer if a concept is stolen from the organisation of the Policy Arrangement Approach - in a way, the economy 'dimension' of sustainability has been used as the 'point of entry' into the redevelopment of the North Shore area, and the redevelopment's 'research questions' have thus been framed in economical terms which has restricted their vision to answers which also have economics at their core.

### **6.1.2 What was unable to be established from the findings?**

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The critical shortcoming of the findings of this research is that the process does indeed appear to be moving towards greater socio-spatial justice, but any confirmation that this transition has become entrenched within the way the process operates will only become clear in a few years time. There does appear to be genuine intent from all actors presently involved to work more closely together and expand the process' membership, and concrete steps have been taken towards these ends: 'Public consultation' has morphed into 'public engagement' in both a rhetorical and (from first impressions) literal sense; New controlling stakeholders have come into the process with fresh ideas and perspectives on delivering socio-spatially just development in a socio-spatially just way, and, as far as can be inferred from conversations with actors in the process (and their most recent actions) have inspired positive changes in the methods of the existing stakeholders; and, Actors beyond those with a controlling stake in the project have devised proposals which have then been supported and adopted by the controlling stakeholders. However, in order for a better judgement on the socio-spatial justice of the process to be passed, more time will be needed. Enough time so that we can be certain these new, more just, systems are

meaningfully powerful and sufficiently substantive so as not to be 'swept under the rug' and circumvented if conflicts arise.

## 6.2 Recommendations for Policy and Practice

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Relating back to the findings of this report (see section 5.6) it is possible to make a series of recommendations: in the first instance for the specific case of the North Shore area; secondly for those actors involved with that process in future redevelopment projects; and thirdly for other, similar, redevelopment projects in other locations.

### 6.2.1 Recommendations for the North Shore process

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- Follow through with plans to establish a steering group in the Ten Streets composed of local actors, external advisors, and higher level authorities (modelled on the existing World Heritage Site Steering Group).
- Establish a steering group for the Liverpool Waters site with a similar range of organisations involved as in the Ten Streets Steering Group.
- Retain and combine the existing steering groups: the World Heritage Site Steering Group and the Mayor's Heritage Task Force, and give them oversight of the North Shore's development with an advisory role.
- Working with local actors and tenants on the Liverpool Waters site, aim, in the same way as is being done in the Ten Streets, to create an 'identity' which actors can 'buy into' and enshrine this strategic framework in local policy, with similar protections to maintain that community and identity as can be found in the Ten Streets Spatial Regeneration Framework.
- Seek to formalise the organisational structure of the North Shore area, and potentially appoint a leadership organisation or figure - this could take the form of a publicly elected 'North Shore Executive' who is/are responsible for organising meetings of the steering groups, organising out-reach events with the wider community and bringing in new actors; as well as ensuring the wider public are aware of the redevelopments occurring in the North Shore area and the heritage and cultural value of the sites within the North Shore.
- This proposed 'North Shore Executive' should be independent of the planning department and have no powers themselves to dictate the direction of the process (thus they are not a political figure/body in the same manner as a mayor or councillor) - their role is exclusively with regards to the facilitation of access to the process for other actors, not to further their own vision for the redevelopment.
- Create a forum for developers within the North Shore to share best practices with each other regarding public engagement in their schemes, as an outcome of this it would be good to create a council-approved supplementary planning document on the subject of public engagement. To an extent this is already being done through the involvement of the Liverpool Waters planning consultant in the redevelopment of every subplot, but by formalising this and compiling some form of 'best practice handbook' this information could be more widely shared.
- Work to cultivate a mentality amongst the stakeholders and residents of the area that the redevelopment ought to be a continuously ongoing discussion, aiming to grow the existing sense of attachment that many actors already feel for the project. This could be led by the 'North Shore Executive'.
- Ensure that discussions regarding future development involve actors and experts representing environmental concerns.
- This thesis does not seek to make any specific recommendations regarding any future re-application for World Heritage Site status beyond commenting that any application should be put to public vote and form

part of a clear and holistic plan for all of the nominated areas.

- To advise that additional council resources should be allocated to the planning department and other departments involved with redevelopment projects would be insensitive and unhelpful given that the major limitation to this being done lies with national government, as such the recommendations given here aim to (within reason) be no more onerous on the City Council than the existing situation, and rely where possible on the council facilitating bottom-up initiatives and advisory groups rather than doing more work themselves. Working smarter, not harder, and simultaneously increasing the socio-spatial justice inherent within the process by bringing power and influence to new actors.

## **6.2.2 Recommendations for the actors involved in the North Shore process for other processes**

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In principle, recommendations for the same actors in other processes would be similar to those from 6.2.1, because there would be few changes to the Policy Arrangement dimensions. The Actors would stay more or less the same, with the addition and subtraction of a few non-core actors and stakeholders. The Power & Influence would also broadly remain unchanged, as would the intimately related Rules of the Game. The Discourses would likely be the most changed component, but this is a substantive dimension rather than an organisational dimension so that is to be expected.

For other processes, perhaps a clearer emphasis should be placed on pre-emptively establishing local steering groups, and installing 'process executive bodies', rather than only acting responsively. A new redevelopment project might provide a good case study for the conducting of a Living Lab experiment to trial innovative organisational and institutional solutions.

## **6.2.3 Recommendations for similar redevelopment processes beyond Liverpool**

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The value in the Policy Arrangement Approach analysis conducted in this research project is its specificity to the North Shore area, as such to simply transfer recommendations between processes would go against the point of the method.

For other processes with different actors and different institutional arrangements, initial recommendations would revolve around conducting a similar research project as has been conducted in this thesis to assess the particular shortcomings of ongoing redevelopment projects, and then once that has been undertaken it is assumed that specific recommendations for the process that has been interrogated will be made clear.

## **6.3 Reflecting on the Methodology**

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The application of the Policy Arrangement Approach to the redevelopment of the North Shore area was not inherently an innovative proposal, but the additional value this research has sought to add to that framework is in its use as a tool for analysing the socio-spatial justice of a policy arrangement. To this end it has been successful, and with further refinement this Socio-spatial justice Policy Arrangement tool could enable actors to perform analyses of their own processes and independently arrive at suggestions for the improvement of their processes. This has the interesting effect of self-fulfilling one of the principles which underlie the Socio-spatial justice Policy Arrangement tool - *'Rules of the Game: Opportunities for the process to evolve: Is there a culture of seeking continuous*

*improvement in the way the process operates?’*

Typically a Policy Arrangement Approach research project has a point of entry (through one of the dimensions) usually dependent on the research question under interrogation. This project has intentionally not selected a single point of entry because it is trying to understand the process holistically in and of itself. It also isn't attempting to answer a question regarding any of the four components, but is more so seeking to broadly understand a quality of the process itself, which has presented challenges. Perhaps if from the beginning the principal research question had been set up to specifically analyse the evolution of the process then an entry through the 'rules of the game' component might have been possible and allowed for a more clearly articulated concluding argument.

Another important aspect to clarify is this research's handling of the 'discourses' dimension. With respect to analysing socio-spatial justice in the discourses dimension there are two principal ways in which this could have been done. Firstly, actors could've been asked what the discourses in the process were (with a less direct phrasing than that) and the dominant discourses could then have been identified and interrogated for their socio-spatial justness - this would certainly have been possible and scientifically valid. However, this research has taken the second approach: in the first instance the four socio-spatial justice frameworks which were used to create the theoretical framework were analysed and the important discourses from a socio-spatial justice perspective were identified. Following this, interview questions sought to discover how these identified discourses were addressed within the process, and subsequently passed a judgement of the socio-spatial justness present within those discourses. Each avenue appears acceptable with regards to the Policy Arrangement Approach and Socio-spatial justice literature, but in further research it may be valuable to attempt the 'first approach' and compare the discourse dimension's findings with those produced by this research project to see which is the more useful approach.

Furthermore, the methodology applied within this research also has shortcomings in the way that it has failed to intimately address the issue of socio-spatial justice with respect to gender, race and sexuality (see: Marcuse et al., 2009, p.231). Greater consideration of these important elements could, and should, be incorporated into both the theoretical framework and the study design - in effect delivering a more just analysis of a redevelopment process, that is more justly arrived at (adapted from Harvey, 1973, p.97).

Another issue with the methods which must be made clear stems from the constructivist nature of the thematic analysis and coding which leaves those analysis methods open to the unintentionally (or possibly intentionally) skewed interpretation of the findings by the researcher. Although every effort has been made by the thesis author to remain critical and openminded, and to present the views of participants as they intended to present them, it is necessary to reflect that "researchers must examine rather than erase how their privileges and preconceptions may shape the analysis" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 13). As such it is relevant to note that the author has been/is a resident of the wider Liverpool area and was at least slightly familiar with most of the actors and discourses within the process prior to embarking on the research project. Although this has not lead to a conscious bias in how the findings were arrived at, there remains a threat that subconscious biases and perceptions of certain actors and discourses have unduly influenced the research outcomes. In order to mitigate the potential for this bias to harm the research a great deal of effort has been expended ensuring that a broad variety of actors have been spoken to, and that their assertions have been corroborated by other interviewees - in cases where only one interviewee mentioned something this has been made clear within the text. Though, for the most part, if only one interviewee mentioned a certain thing then it was likely a highly uncontroversial detail about their particular

role in the process and has had minimal impact on the overall findings.

Further positive reflections on the methodology include the potential of the Policy Arrangement Approach to holistically understand the process and the changes that have occurred within it over time, so as to identify issues and problematic, or underappreciated, patterns. Additionally, the act of interviewing actors, specifically being able to see their reactions and how they linked thoughts together when talking, revealed much more about the inner workings of the process and the dominant discourses than could ever be found within clearly-articulated and well curated policy documents, although these have also been useful in their own way.

Further limitations with regards to the methodology include an assessment that the approach is adept at assessing shortcomings within the process regarding socio-spatial justice, but limited in its ability to suggest solutions because it actively seeks only to understand if elements within the process are just or unjust, and if they are then it reveals little more than that being the case. Simply put, the approach can find problems, but finding solutions for them would require a second project to be undertaken. Additionally there is a genuine risk for results to be skewed and produce unreliable findings if insufficient numbers of actors and policy documents are analysed. Within the context of this research project enough process-involved actors appear to have been interviewed but actors who were not involved in the process were generally hesitant to talk about the process because they lacked anything to say - this in itself is of course also a relevant finding.

## 6.4 Recommendations for Further Research

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The most significant further research that could be undertaken with respect to this project is a similar experiment conducted in another location with a different expansive area of culturally-significant land undergoing a redevelopment process. This would allow a more rigorous interrogation of the merits and limitations of the 'Socio-Spatial Justice Policy Arrangement Approach' framework and to adjudge whether it genuinely is capable of highlighting socio-spatially just elements within existing redevelopment processes.

As preciously mentioned, the existing framework feels sufficient (though it is in need of further work to become 'complete') to highlight issues within the process and identify aspects of the process that could be improved upon but it does little in the way of suggesting what those improvements might be. In order to get the most value from the application of the socio-spatial justice policy arrangement approach framework it will become essential to develop a system directly linking problems to solutions. The optimal method for delivering such a system would appear to be a 'Living Lab'-type experiment conducted by an academic organisation deeply imbedded within an existing (or ideally 'just beginning') redevelopment process.

Within the context of World Heritage as a Global Public Good how do we factor the needs and rights of that wider audience into debate and discourse? They are less affected by the redevelopment but still, because this is global heritage have some rights to be involved in that process. A further question arises concerning sites that lose their World Heritage Status, theoretically if a site ever held the status then should it not be considered World Heritage that has been inappropriately cared for? Instead of being removed from the World Heritage List altogether? This would presumably provide greater opportunities for constructive redevelopment of neglected heritage assets such as the North Shore and ensure UNESCO, along with other heritage advocates, continue to have some clear voice in their redevelopment processes.





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