# *Tensions between Local Development, National and International Conservation Policies: the case of World Heritage Status in Liverpool*

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

2023

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**Final word count (excluding references and front matter): 80, 000.**

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## *List of Abbreviations*

| | |
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| CABE | Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment |
| ECOC'08 | European Captial of Culture 2008 |
| EH | English Heritage |
| HE | Historic England |
| HIA | Heritage Impact Assessment |
| HUL | Historic Urban Landscape |
| LCC | Liverpool City Council |
| LDP | Local Development Plan |
| LV | Liverpool Vision |
| NPPF | National Planning Policy Framework |
| NPPG | National Planning Policy Guidance |
| NWDA | Northwest Development Agency |
| OUV | Outstanding Universal Value |
| PPG | Planning Policy Guidance |
| PPS | Planning Policy Statement |
| SPD | Supplementary Planning Document |
| SRF | Strategic Regeneration Framework |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation |
| UTF | Urban Task Force |
| WHC | World Heritage Convention |
| WH | World Heritage |
| WHL | World Heritage List |
| WHS | World Heritage Sites |

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# Abstract

This thesis investigates how the global heritage conservation approach (WHC and Operational Guidelines) is localised to inform Liverpool's urban transformation and regeneration. The World Heritage Convention (WHC) is now one of the world's most popular conservation and management programmes. The WH list included 1,120 sites across 167 countries in 2019. This universal initiative was a significant way to foster and ensure the global heritage is recognised internationally as a vehicle for political-economic leverage.

The formation of UNESCO and the shift to global heritage have only emphasised the dilemma of globalisation versus nationalism. Though a globally interconnected world is fluid, the position of State Parties appears to be challenging. These challenges have led to a shift in the heritage conservation practice, which was one reason the WHC, and the operational guidelines have been interpreted differently. However, State Parties failed to integrate them into their planning systems. Instead, technical, and managerial matters were used as a soft power in negotiations, forming cultural politics that framed the nexus between heritage conservation and urban regeneration.

Thematic discourse analysis unpacks the tensions and conflicts between local development, national planning, and World Heritage Site (WHS) conservation in Liverpool. From one side, it traces back the dilemma of trading off the significance of WH status as a crucial economic engine for Liverpool's transformation of the tangible and intangible cultural values of the historic built environment, which created tensions between different expectations and set priorities for development, with the technical language used differing from the other side, such as how heritage conservation (global and local technical standards) could be integrated to represent a material intervention. Inspired by Bourdieu's (1986) forms of cultural capital: objectified state to analyse how the use of the historic built environment of the WHS as commodities and products of cultural expression helps in the city's economic transformation. The institutionalised state of the WH status gives a guaranteed value of global recognition and high quality that makes it culturally competent, which combats the negative image of Liverpool and repositions itself in the global network, besides global governmentality, inspired by Rose (1996) and Foucault (1991), to understand the political knowledge of global heritage conservation and how the practice (WHC and the operational guidelines/UK national conservation policy) conforms to rationalities (the core goals of the different organisations involved in the process). Secondary data analysis (policy documents) is used to understand the tensions and the gaps in the heritage conservation approach between local and global approaches and how it informed the setting of the priorities for development. In addition, the study conducts semi-structured interviews with Liverpool City Council (LCC), Historic England (HE), and the steering committee of the WHS to investigate how the role of different stakeholders and their backgrounds influenced the interpretation of the WHC.

This thesis aims to make three contributions to debates in urban studies and heritage conservation. First, it advances the epistemological position of the technical approach in heritage conservation with its politics, crucial in shaping and forming global heritage. Second, it expands on the concept of an institutionalised state of cultural capital which is crafted through the WH status to extend global heritage as a recognised certificate to assure a conventional, constant, and legally guaranteed quality. And third, it uses global governmentality theory as a methodological approach to understanding the difference between national and global heritage conservation approaches and how this minimises the gap to find a common ground for such an approach. The output of this thesis can be used as lessons learned and transferred to similar cases on the WH List. The Liverpool case study could be used as a case model to enhance and update the understanding of WHC and improve the operational guidelines for global heritage conservation and management.

# Declaration

No portion of the work in the thesis has been submitted to support an application for another degree or qualification from this or any other university or institute of learning.

# Copyright Statement

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# Quotes

'Out of suffering have emerged the strongest souls; the most massive characters are seared with scars'.

Khalil Gibran (1883-1931), Lebanese poet and writer

'Whenever you think, 'It never occurs'', It occurs.
You say, 'I do not fall'. Yet you fall.
You say, 'I do not get amazed'. Yet you get amazed.
The strangest thing is this;
You keep on saying, 'I died'. Yet you live'.

Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī (1207–1273), Persian poet

# Acknowledgements

I would like to express my appreciation to my supervisors, Dr Richard Kingston and Dr Philip Black, who have been my motivation for writing this thesis, without whom I know this thesis would not have been written.

I would like to extend gratitude to my friends and colleagues, particularly Luting, Fadi, Debapriya, Felix, Mayang, Majd, Kate, Tom, Matt, and Fatima, who helped in collecting my data, reading my work and giving me critical feedback. I would, of course, like to thank Dr Michael Short and Dr Andreas Schulze Baing for taking the time to consider and examine this thesis, and Dr Joanne Tippett for acting as my annual review examiner. I also extend my gratitude to all my interviewees.

Lastly, I wish to thank my family: my mother, Mrs Thanaa Rageh, and my father, Mr Abdelhakeem Newisar, for all the support and encouragement they gave me from an early age until now; my younger brother, Ahmed, and my daughter, Layan, who has been the main motivation. To create a better future for her, I had to make sacrifices and leave her to finish my PhD, hoping one day she will be proud of her mother. It was painful and torturous to spend those years without seeing you grow. Without the blessing of you and all my family members, I would not have reached where I am today.

# Preface

In 2011, during my master's degree, I worked on a heritage conservation project. It was during the reading and writing of the project report I came to be interested in the multitude of social and cultural factors that can generate or encumber development and heritage conservation. Later, I became engaged in different initiatives to enhance and improve the awareness of cultural expressions within local communities back in my home country.

I later expanded on this while working as an assistant lecturer at my university in Egypt, helping students explore different ways of community engagement through different projects. I then participated in British Council-funded workshops on 'Rebuilding Communities for Resilient and Sustainable Development: Eco-Cities, Space Syntax Approach in Heritage sites, Urban Complexity of Heritage Areas Case Study: The Informal Settlement of El Darb El Ahmar, Management of Heritage sites: Satellite Mapping of Archaeological Sites'.

I also have published several articles during my master's degree discussing my findings, 'The impact of urban sprawl on the heritage areas through the urban fabric of cities' in WIT Transactions on Ecology and the Environment, 'Towards a New Urban Development Approach for Sustainable Social and Cultural Cohesion in Theory of Architecture Conference' DAKAM, and 'Towards a New Approach to Tourism Development of Historical Sites: An Empirical Study for the El Darb El Ahmar Area in International Urban Design Conference in Australia'.

Embarking on my PhD course has been generously facilitated by the University of Manchester. I received the School of Environment, Education and Development (SEED) Studentship Award, which funded three years of tuition and a stipend (2016-2019). During my study, I have been exposed to different workshops and summer schools: Geographical Modelling 2017, at the University of Rouen Normandy, fully funded by Erasmus Mundus, and the Tenth Annual Manchester Enterprise Summer School (2018), fully funded by a scholarship from Alliance Manchester Business School and Urban Performances in Public Spaces (2017) at Bauhaus University. I did also two poster presentations at the annual SEED PGR conference and the Faculty of Humanities Research Showcase at the University of Manchester. In addition, I received the SEED conference support fund to present at two conferences: the AAG annual meeting 2019 and the AESOP annual congress 2019.

Engaging with the academic community at the university has helped me understand my audience and streamline my ideas, besides organising and participating in department and school academic events, such as organising the annual SEED PGR Conference 2017 and 2018, [I have been] the student PGR representative for my department, working as a graduate teaching assistant representative for the School of Environment, Education and Development University of Manchester, working as a graduate teaching assistant at the University of Manchester, and becoming an Associate Fellow of the Higher Education Academy (2020).

Now I have been selected for an internship to work as an associate research consultant at Code-switch Consultants, plus as a researcher at the Association of Collaborative Design.

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# 1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. Introduction

This Chapter situates the topic and the focus of this study on how World Heritage (WH) designation with its convention and operational guidelines is localised to inform cities' development. Liverpool was chosen to understand how the politics of decision-making between heritage conservation and local development, done through the lens of an objectified and institutionalised state of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and global governmentality (Rose, et al., 2006).

## 1.2. Background to the Research

The evolution of the global heritage conservation field and UNESCO's establishment as one of the leading organisations in this approach has created an area of conflict with its operational guidelines to protect and manage heritage regardless of its context (national/local) (UNESCO, 1972). This debate was prevailing in heritage studies in the last decade (Giovine, 2009; Labadi and Long, 2010; Meskell, 2015). With an increase in the significance of cultural heritage in the globalisation process in the last two decades (Waterton and Watson, 2015), there is a gap between operational guidelines and their implementation on the national levels. This gap was one reason that such a conflict existed, which resulted in a recent and rapid increase in the number of WHS listed in danger (Figure 1) to be 57 out of 1154 (UNESCO, 2021).

Critical studies on contemporary heritage conservation focus on the enforcement tools to implement the operational guidelines of the WHC to reconcile the previously mentioned conflict. One common thread among those studies is the tangible heritage represented in its authenticity, Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) and integrity reflected in the architectural and urban character of the historic built environment (Meskell, 2010; Labadi, 2007; Winter, 2013).
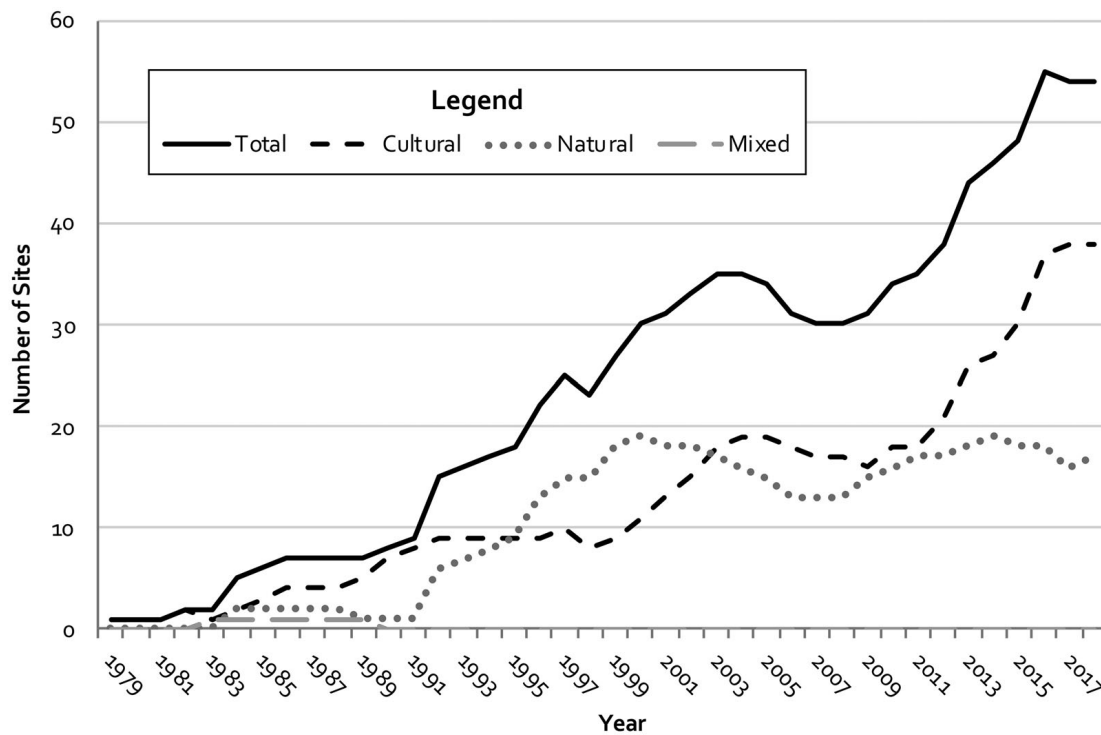
Figure 1 Number of WHS on the List in Danger by site category from 1979 to 2019
(Brown, et al., 2019)

The same thread runs a critique on analysing the WHC documents and their evaluation reports to identify the gap in comprehending its text (Chapter 2) with a focus on power and authority distribution among State Parties (Meskell & Brumann, 2015b; Meskell, et al., 2015c; Meskell, 2011; Gentry & Smith, 2019). It also follows an explanatory metanarrative of how Capitalism circulates surplus capital through the built environment, best explained through the notion of 'the urbanisation of capital' (Harvey, 1985).

Currently, knowledge regarding how UNESCO could acknowledge the State Parties' conservation planning systems and their tools to be integrated within the WHC is limited. There is little focus on unpacking the tensions and conflicts between State Parties and UNESCO to reflect on and draw lessons from the removed sites and/or the in-danger list to have a better insight into how to reconcile this tension.

Studies emphasised the difference between the different systems (international and national) to focus on the complexity of the situation (Khalaf, 2021; Pendlebury, et al., 2020) and the difficulty of interpreting and implementing the WHC on the national level due to several reasons (Chapters 2 and 3). However, the focus on conservation planning on the national level and what are the challenges faced to be integrated within their system are still limited. Unpacking this conflict and tensions from a different perspective is needed to maintain a

continuous dialogue between different actors. This is instead of having actors as receptors, while others are dominant.

Critical urban conservation studies in the global heritage conservation field continue to insist on creating a divide between global organisations and State Parties. With this divide, State Parties are treated as an outsider with the global heritage conservation approach with a fear of bias towards inscribing or removing WHS or to be given the freedom to implement the operational guidelines. As a result, sovereign states aim at increasing their power at the expense of others to gain political-economic leverage nationally and internationally. This increase in power resulted in less consideration of the WHC to deviate from its main goal. Internationally, this shift in UNESCO's WHC has led to an imbalanced WH list (OUV representation or concentration of WHS of certain cultures or regions rather than others). While nationally, the approval of developments in a particular context and their rejection in other contexts created a dilemma about how the WHC should be integrated within the planning policies of State Parties.

Liverpool is a perfect case study to reveal such tensions to be the only WHS listed in danger in the whole UK, which was recently removed from the WHS to understand how the political-economic leverage of WHS eclipsed the city's development. Besides highlighting the significant change in the role of State Parties within the global heritage conservation approach. This is going to be discussed in the next Section.

## 1.3. Motivations for Undertaking this Research

A reflection on the previous Section the Economist (2010) concluded that 'the UN agency had bent its own regulations in order to accommodate member states'. Therefore, new delegations replaced the outgoing Committee members during the General Assembly in 2010. As the host nation and chair of the Committee in Brazil, also advocated, the Committee itself could take decisions beyond the guidelines of the Convention, since they were the highest decision-making body (Meskell, et al., 2015c). Some of the key delegates in Brazil agree their actions were central to creating this new arena of self-interest and overt politicisation (Meskell, 2018).

Liverpool WHS is an example of where discrepancies and conflict occurred. The maritime mercantile city of Liverpool was inscribed on the WH list in 2004, while in 2012, it was added to the in-danger list based on a proposed scheme that would cause serious deterioration

of its architectural and town-planning coherence. Lastly, it was removed from the WH list in 2021. This is to make it the only WHS in the UK, which was listed in danger and to be the third WHS to be removed from the WH list out of three sites. Maritime and port cities on the WH list are eleven sites now out of 1,120 WHS, according to UNESCO's statistics (UNESCO, 2021). Two of them are listed in danger from either 2005 or 2012 until the present, which means the pressure and threats still exist without being mitigated. While the other two are recently added to the list; this is to make Liverpool WHS the first in the port cities category to be removed.

While nationally, after the interwar heyday of transatlantic commerce, there was a surge of manufacturing activity in Liverpool, by the time it happened, it was the age of de-industrialisation. Lane (1997, p.134) describes Liverpool as being affected by 'an inevitable sequence of escalating external economic factors'. Liverpool's ascent in the eighteenth century was spectacular, but its collapse since the mid-twentieth century has been equally remarkable. It was during the late 1970s to the 1990s when Liverpool was not on the receiving end of virtually all the urban policy initiatives, but it has often operated as a kind of an experimental testbed for a significant number of them. The different urban policy initiatives were an approach to trying to recover the city from such deterioration. This coincided with the Thatcherism government in 1979, which had a radical revamping impact on the national state policies under the influence of the neo-liberal economic agenda (Munck, 2003). Therefore, there was a slight lowering of local government influence on urban policy by combining the strengthening of central government departments in inner-city areas. In addition, the wake of street riots in 1981 was symptomatic of the underlying socio-economic problems in the city, which pushed urban policy to the front of the national political agenda. As a result, the Secretary of State for the Environment Michael Heseltine (2000) launched a raft of central-government-sponsored initiatives in the city and its surroundings. Thus, no city in Britain like Liverpool ever benefited from such a concentration of regeneration initiative, or from the range of creatively interlinked funding packages that enabled so much to happen within the city within such a short period.

Therefore, Liverpool represents different layers of tensions between the national and international levels, which are not new to the UNESCO WH list. It acts as a good example to unpack the tensions within WHC and the politics around the tentative list. While locally, the tension is greater with all the different initiatives that had been part of the city's DNA,

besides the scale of the WHS, which created several constraints and conflicts for the city's development.

## 1.4. Research Aim and Objectives

The main aim of this research is to study the politics of technical decision-making in WH conservation and how it informs local and national urban transformation. The objectives are:

a) To review the relevant literature on national conservation policies in the UK and global heritage conservation (UNESCO's Convention and Operational Guidelines) to understand the rationality behind the different approaches.

b) To investigate how the aspiration for development and global recognition shaped and formulated Liverpool's policy documents.

c) To identify the differences and consensus on the technical aspects of heritage conservation between LCC, HE, and UNESCO.

d) To understand the power dynamics between the different stakeholders in the process of heritage conservation and how it was negotiated in Liverpool.

e) To explore lessons that could be drawn for similar cases.

To answer the research question: How does localised global heritage conservation inform urban transformation and regeneration?

a) How did the aspiration for development and global recognition shape and formulate Liverpool's policy documents?

b) How do the differences and consensus on the technical aspects of heritage conservation between LCC, HE and UNESCO influence Liverpool's WH status?

c) How were the power dynamics negotiated between the different stakeholders in the process of heritage conservation of Liverpool?

## 1.5. Contribution to Research Gaps and Research Significance

Recent debates on globalisation are established on the premise the movement of capital, commodities, people, and images creates change and is a self-evident reality (Waterton & Watson, 2016). Cultural perspectives on globalisation, such as Hannerz's (1996) and Appadurai's (1996), often assert the contemporary era is characterised by increased mobility. While academics and others involved in globalisation discussions seek disjunctions or continuities in capital mobility processes, the creation of both 'capital' and 'mobility' is missed

in their analyses and in the actions of the individuals who generate the phenomena they investigate (Crevoisier & Rime, 2021; Veltmeyer, 2021). By ignoring those activities, analysts neglect alternative constructions that pose significant challenges to tidy globalisation narratives.

In this research, heritage is analysed from a cultural capital lens which focuses on the creation of global cultural heritage as a process with a series of material and discursive interventions and how this process is mobilised through the different agencies. This process gives a better understanding of how the heritage is produced through the technical approach identified by actors with authoritative power who are involved, besides how the politics of the technical approach is exercised within the decision-making process.

At the moment, UNESCO with WHC and the operational guidelines are studied as an organisation of a linear process with a singular array of cultural heritage that must follow this linear process to be recognised as a WHS. However, this is not the case as State Parties' territoriality and sovereignty are not eroding but heightened and emphasised more to be transformed into hierarchical power and control gained through the process. The globalisation process appears from this global heritage conservation perspective as a reconfiguration of the government's territorial domain (Rose, 1996, p.308) as a transformation of the modern governmentality's spatiotemporal regimes. Thus, the nation-state structure is not vanishing but changing into a frame of scalar reference against which the directionality and velocity of these movements and flows become discernible.

We argue throughout this thesis for the need to change the perception and understanding of the WH status to different arrays rather than a singular one. This perception furnishes newer possibilities for the heritage conservation approach in urban studies to address the technical aspects of global heritage conservation as a specific way of mediating the gap in the WHC addressed in Chapter 2. This allows scholars in the heritage conservation field to explore similar situations in different contexts and their impact on the management of WHS. This is for future studies that helps in developing a matrix of similar situations and how the context as a variable would give different or similar results.

This thesis aims to make three contributions to debates in urban studies and heritage conservation. First, it advances the epistemological position. The technical approach (operational guidelines and heritage conservation principles and guidance) in heritage conservation with its politics is crucial in shaping and forming global heritage. Second, it

expands on the concept of an institutionalised state of cultural capital which is crafted through the WH status to extend global heritage as a recognised certificate to assure a conventional, constant, and legally guaranteed quality. And third, uses global governmentality theory as a methodological approach to understanding the difference between national and global heritage conservation approaches and how this minimises the gap to find a common ground for such an approach.

## 1.6. Structure of this thesis

This thesis is structured into eight Chapters: Introduction, two literature reviews, methodology, three empirical Chapters, discussion, and conclusion. The Introduction Chapter sets the scene and states the aim and objectives. We begin with reviewing a body of relevant scholarly literature against the conceptual framework of this thesis. We frame the reviewed literature as urban heritage conservation on a global and national level, mainly drawing on conservation and the planning process, conservation-led regeneration and the governance of conservation of 'UNESCO and the shaping of global heritage', 'Heritage Regime and the state', and other works from urbanist/conservationist Sophia Labadi (2007; 2017; 2013; 2010), Lynn Mekell (2015c; 2018; 2010; 2011; 2015) and John Pendlebury (2002; 2013; 2010; 2011; 2020).

Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework underpinning this thesis. Starting with the power relations and channels used as technical procedures within the process of heritage conservation, it then examines a broad view of heritage and heritage conservation that incorporates a social production of meanings. The Chapter argues that assumptions of negotiations and persuasion of different actors in heritage conservation are integral to bridging the gap in heritage conservation/management among different levels and scales of decision-making. Unpacking the discourses and logic of the different interpretations of operational guidelines among different levels points to the existence of a broader array of parallel interpretations and implementations existing at the same time. Inspired by Lefebvre's theory of the social production of space and Bourdieu's theory of forms of cultural capital, this Chapter provides a comprehensive theoretical foundation for the research.

Chapter 3 reviews the historical background and transformation of UNESCO and explicates its primary goal and objectives in heritage conservation. This understanding provides better insight into rationality and how the politics of decision-making are done regarding the nomination process and its documentation. The Chapter explains the core elements of the

WHC that define and shape the WHS criteria for inscription, while also highlighting the areas of conflict in the WHC between the difficult balance to achieve between national sovereignty and international intervention, and the contradictory efforts to fulfil the convention's dual requirements of representativeness and selectivity. The Chapter reflects on the long process within UNESCO to identify the problem and the suggested efforts to resolve the conflict, while also reflecting on the modern requirements to widen the WHC framework and revisit the convention to adopt a new priority system for selection. This is done to highlight what differentiates UNESCO as an example of an organisation and the nuances found within the WHC and the disagreement found among actors on what identifies OUV to be adopted by the State Parties.

Following that, there summarises the historical background and the transformation of the heritage conservation approach in England. The Chapter highlights the political incidents that contributed to the shift from heritage conservation to a heritage-led regeneration approach and the implications on conservation planning policies in England. It discusses the formulation of policies and national planning documents, the role of HE, and how local authorities handle conservation areas and listed buildings within their municipalities. The Chapter examines how the politics and decision-making process is done and how this affects local planning documents, how the priorities for development are done, and on what basis development projects are given permission or rejected if they are within conservation areas.

Chapter 4 presents the overall methodology and theoretical framework that guide this study. It highlights how global governmentality (Rose, 1996; Foucault, 1991) as an approach in this research rearticulates the role of different stakeholders/organisations and their rationale in the heritage conservation process. This is to better understand how different actors formulate the policy documents and, simultaneously, how State Parties used the cultural capital theory as a perspective for development in Liverpool, finding the right balance between achieving economic and cultural values. This perception differed from UNESCO's goal for heritage conservation, which created tensions and conflicts managing the WHS. In this Chapter, the methodological direction of the research is justified. The Chapter addresses the research design, which includes explaining the decision and reason for selecting a descriptive case study design using qualitative research techniques. The primary research methodologies utilised in the study include interviews and important policy papers in the Liverpool WHS context. This Chapter describes the sampling size and participant recruitment, methodologies, and analytical procedures and research quality and ethical issues. Lastly,

reflections on the methodology development on what was done and how it could be done better are elaborated on in this Chapter.

Chapter 5 sets the context of the Liverpool case study and how this influenced the city's development. It examines the core context of heritage conservation in the UK, which is the heritage-led regeneration approach, and how this perception influenced the formulation of the local planning document (LPD) and the strategic regeneration framework document (SRF). It focuses on the development discourses during the policy formulation, which brings together the national and international conservation approaches and identified the key differences that occurred within Liverpool's context.

Chapter 6 unpacks the multiple perspectives of the OUV of Liverpool's WHS and its impact on the priorities selected for development, which reflect on the conflicts and tensions in the WHC (Chapter 2). The introduction of cultural planning policy in the UK and its impact on Liverpool with getting the European Capital of Culture 2008 (ECOC'08) were addressed. How did ECOC'08 influence Liverpool's development and transformation and to what extent did this approach match or collide with the WH status with its operational guidelines and management plans? The institutionalised state of cultural capital manifested in the WH status was investigated as a guarantee of high quality, which comes with power and control over the city's development and transformation. How it was reflected in Liverpool's case. Besides reviewing how Liverpool achieved the balance between WH status with its regulations and setting the priorities for development. The Chapter reflects on the translation of the technical approach to heritage conservation into the selected projects within the WHS and its buffer zone.

Chapter 7 brings together the main analysis presented in Chapters 5, and 6 to reframe the concept of cultural heritage within the concerns of globalisation. It adds to the existing framing of strategic sites to these new types of operations, which allows reconceptualising of economic globalisation's processes through the political global heritage discourse. The conclusion summarises the key points arising from the analysis of the five objectives which are: to review how the literature reviews with its gap were reflected in Liverpool's WHS, to investigate how the aspiration for development and global recognition shaped and influenced the policy formulation in Liverpool, to identify the differences and consensus of the technical aspects of heritage conservation between LCC, HE, and UNESCO, to understand the power dynamics between the different stakeholders in the process of heritage conservation and how

it was negotiated in Liverpool and, lastly, to explore lessons that could be drawn for similar cases.

Chapter 8 discusses the contributions to knowledge that this thesis forwards to contribute to an enriched understanding of the theories and practices of global heritage conservation research. It expands on the use of global heritage as a tool that contributes to the production of new institutional arrangements and reconfigures the territory of the government, which is called the reconfiguration of scale, also known as the process of '[globalisation/localisation]'. This process may have consequences for and similarities to the study of WHS. This Chapter also provides an account of how the analysis adds to the existing literature on urban studies and heritage conservation. It then describes the implications and limitations of the research.

# 2. CHAPTER TWO: HERITAGE CONSERVATION BETWEEN VALUES AND GOVERNANCE

## 2.1. Introduction

The shifting in the understanding of heritage is inevitable, since heritage was never about objects, but a manner of conceiving and managing them (Smith, 2006). Although the historically built environment may not change much, the way we think about them evolves. For instance, the concept of always adding new heritage to the old (Penrose, 2010). This shift in understanding raises the question of 'How heritage understanding is framed through the process of heritage conservation/management?' To respond to this question properly, it is necessary to first set out how the concept of heritage conservation is being contested and, triggers this shift, perception, and experiences.

This Chapter displays a theoretical understanding that shapes subsequent analysis and data collection. In considering heritage conservation through the lens of heritage governance, the research is centred on the theorisations of power relations and channels used as technical procedures within the process of heritage conservation, tracing the transformation of conservation (from a scientific to a philosophical approach) and how it shaped heritage. Inspired by Bourdieu's (1986) theory of cultural capital and its forms, some argue heritage as an agency of social and cultural values created the guaranteed competency for any society to transform from cultural to economic capital.

Starting with the premise the technical approach in heritage conservation contributing towards the different conceptualisation of heritage, this Chapter argues that assumptions of negotiations and persuasion of different actors in heritage conservation are integral to bridging the gap in heritage conservation/management among different levels. However, understandings of heritage conservation are multiple and changing, shaped by material, subjective, performed, and relational dynamics. In heritage conservation/management, it is necessary to consider who participates and under what conditions and assumptions. Unpacking the discourses and logic of the different interpretation of operational guidelines among different levels points to the existence of a broader array of parallel interpretations and implementations existing at the same time. Looking at the relations between legislative and political interpretations of heritage and heritage conservation, the Chapter concludes that shifting understandings of the different actors' roles in the process of heritage conservation

and the tools for them inform the conceptualisation of heritage on the local, national, and global levels is crucial.

## 2.2. Heritage: Origins, Evolution, and Problems

Objects and displays, representations and encounters, unique sites, and events, memories, and commemorations, as well as preparing places for cultural purposes or consumption, are versions of the past called 'heritage'. These 'cultural objects' and 'practises' have played a key role in shaping how heritage is perceived in academic debates and government policies, as well as how it has been codified as a study topic during the last 30 years or more. Since then, the focus has shifted from the objects themselves (their classification, conservation, and interpretation) to how they are consumed and articulated as cultural, political, and social constructs. More lately, heritage scholars have also been concerned with processes of interaction and the formation of meaning. The conceptual stability around even critical ideas of heritage are now beginning to collapse due to these theoretical changes. As Tunbridge et al. (2013, p. 368) argued, there is an increased need for a clearly defined intellectual core to the heritage that is agreed upon across the disciplines concerned. These discussions have not only centred on specific concerns or case studies; they have created doubt and ambiguity in our fundamental concept of how heritage should be understood and treated.

A main reason for this change in heritage studies is the globalisation process that created accelerated international flows of culture, people, technology, capital, language, labour, and corporations and the consequent erosion of the contours of modern nation-states. The interconnectedness of contemporary politics, economics, culture, and religion, facilitated by global networks, has had significant consequences on the resonances and frictions (Tsing, 2005), generated by the interaction of concepts, images, and ideologies across and between local, regional, national, and international communities (Collier & Ong, 2005). Appadurai (1996; 2001) described a sense of unparalleled 'rupture' between the present and the past that defines late modernity, resulting in a sequence of situations conducive to the concept of 'heritage' to establish physical ties between past and present.

Hence, heritage is an intrinsic element of these globalising processes. Historically, heritage has been critical in the construction of nations' 'created traditions' (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983) and 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991). Heritage protection appeals are cultural border claims through which power and authority are unequally allocated and through which people and communities are included and excluded from the privileges associated with

citizenship and/or membership in certain social groupings (Smith, 2006). Dangers to heritage are both physical risks to the tangible heritage and threats to the social body that regards that tradition, object, location, or activity as part of its heritage. These claims of threatened heritage – cultural and natural – have increased in intensity throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Harrison, 2013), not only in response to a broader 'endangerment sensibility' (Vidal & Dias, 2015) that pervades the late modern 'risk society' (Beck, 1992), but also due to the erosion of the traditional link between heritage and the nation-state (Ashworth, et al., 2007).

Heritage is used in a variety of contexts to criticise the established political class, 'experts', and the 'liberal metropolitan elite', which is frequently associated with a wave of nationalism (Jennings & Stoker, 2017; Webber & Burrows, 2018; Winlow, et al., 2017). These are anchored in vastly distinct historical imaginations and their contemporary applications. We would say that a heritage project is the utilisation of the past for modern objectives and as a practice of future-making. This has ramifications for our understanding of what heritage 'is' and what it does.

In recent decades, broader social, economic, and political forces have entered the heritage practice, encompassing, but far transcending, their influence on heritage, which are named 'liberalism' and 'neoliberalism'. While their motivation is different socioeconomic constituencies, both have been helped by the partial failure of the modernist goal, which has allowed for the emergence of more varied approaches to heritage.

In the 1970s, the cultural turn in social sciences began its critique of scientific rationalism, which eventually permeated heritage planning policies (Rivero, 2017). As a result, a sustained critique of experts dominated the process of heritage identification and management (Smith, 2006) which is going to be discussed in the next Sections. This vocabulary of 'liberalism' has had ramifications for the definition of more pluralist notions of heritage, compelling the heritage sector to participate in a social engagement outside its historic constituency. Therefore, liberalism in the hands of policymakers remains a nation-building agenda; it strives to define national identity in new and more diversified ways.

Neo-liberal economic ideas were also emphasised in the 1970s in most of Europe, despite (indeed, encouraged by) the global financial crisis and austerity. This has had a tremendous impact on the procedures of heritage management, both directly and indirectly. Directly, both

government policy and market forces have accelerated the commercialisation of heritage, which increasingly utilises and reifies heritage as an economic commodity rather than protecting it as a cultural good. Demonstrating successful heritage-led regeneration strategies typically entails demonstrating how heritage assets aided economic growth, which is discussed in the next Section. Indirectly, these processes have been exacerbated in recent years by a desperate desire in many communities to capture all conceivable economic activity, as well as a weakened capacity of the local authority to manage change due to austerity.

## 2.3. Heritage Conservation and Heritage-led Regeneration:

### 2.3.1. A Historical Context: Conservatism and Modernism

Conservation studies frequently focused on the policy or philosophy of conservation rather than on its scientific approach or design components. Although nineteenth-century conservation practices and architectural theory are inextricably linked and studied, the twentieth-century conservation movement has frequently been separated from contemporary architectural theories (Pendlebury, 2009). There has long been an underlying notion they exist in separate worlds. Protection and conservation methods were frequently depicted as antagonistic to current modernist architectural design and urbanisation techniques.

Throughout the nineteenth century, romantic classicism was supplanted by national romanticism, the picturesque movement (Jokilehto, 1999), and antiquarianism (Harrison, 1990). Modern Conservation is often regarded as originating from these late nineteenth-century approaches toward history, which include romanticism, rationalism, and positivism. This was the logical progression of rationality and its impact on the safeguarding of historic artefacts in the tradition of the humanities after the sciences.

This resulted in a 'scientific' approach being supported by positivists and rationalists, as well as material honesty. Ruskin's (1902) romantic views of ruins and their patina were mixed with calls for minimal intervention and the concept of trusteeship – the idea that heritage is passed down through generations. According to some, this preservationist paradigm of heritage is only concerned with tangible remains of the past and is based on a belief in scientific knowledge. The principle espoused by Adolphe Napoleon Didron in the mid-nineteenth century, that 'it is preferable to repair than to restore, to restore than to rebuild, to rebuild than to embellish; in no case must anything be added and, above all, nothing should

be removed' (Jokilehto, 1999), became a founding principle for the Society for protecting Ancient Monuments (SPAB). From these vantage points, a conservation concept based on minimum intervention and 'honest repairs' that were easily readable and identifiable from the original historic fabric was established (Pendlebury, 2009). The emphasis placed on a moral and ethical approach is one of the distinguishing aspects of 'modern conservation'. Morris and the formation of SPAB played a significant role in the transition of conservation from an 'ethics-oriented' (Foucault, 2000) individualistic morality to morality that has become more closely related to codes of conduct to laws, charters, and policies in the twentieth century that seeks to enforce these codes.

The story of a conservation movement arising in the second half of the twentieth century as a reaction to modernism (the loss of heritage in the name of development and the motor car's dominance in urban planning) was accepted and repeated (Peter, 2009). The 1931 Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments was developed in a modernist spirit, closely resembling modernist architects' embrace of newer materials and technical advancements. By comparison, the 1964 Venice Charter is more circumspect but introduces the concept of the conservation professional making balanced judgements. Simultaneously, the two global wars that rocked Europe affected how cultural heritage was regarded. Both the targeting and subsequent rebuilding of heritage produced a strong link between heritage and national identity, allowing for measures that occasionally contradicted the modern conservation theory.

By the turn of the twentieth century, conservation had grown into two distinct strands: conservation as a philosophy and conservation as a science. To reflect these shifts, ICOMOS scientific committees have expanded their scope to include both more tangible and operational components of heritage (e.g. historic landscapes, vernacular architecture, and cultural tourism). Meanwhile, since the middle of the century, increasing institutionalisation of conservation resulted in national and local government organisations seizing responsibility for conservation and adopting policy frameworks that formalised procedures.

### 2.3.2. Heritage conservation Ideologies

Post-modernism denotes a departure from the modernist worldview and has had a tremendous effect on the way conservation theory evolved in the latter half of the twentieth century, both theoretically and via architectural practice.

Post-modernism superseded and extended the modern period. By introducing multiplicity and celebrating 'the local, regional, and national', it acknowledges the complexity of locations, systems, cities, structures, and ideas. It is not anti-modern, but it critiques modernism's elitism and the absolute in history (Jencks, 1987). Regarding cultural heritage, this has probably resulted in a greater tolerance for pastiche, but also an engagement with multiple stories and associations with a place (multi-vocality).

Jencks (1987) defined postmodernism more precisely as a multiplicity of subcultures and the lack (or loss) of cultural consensus. Acceptance of the 'other', others' perspectives, and value systems were also evident in the process leading up to the 1994 creation of the Nara Document on Authenticity (ICOMOS, 1994). By acknowledging that 'all judgements regarding the values ascribed to heritage, as well as the reliability of linked information systems, may vary by culture', not just the way heritage is valued, but also its protection, was shifted.

These new perspectives also corresponded with a shift toward a values-based conservation strategy. A shift toward diverse values related to heritage occurred the recognition of an additional value due to the viewer's 'subjective participation'. The plurality of the values-based approach corresponds to multi-vocality, which acknowledges the possibility of multiple values attributed to a location. As Araoz (2011) discussed, 'heritage's primary qualities are increasingly seen to exist in the cultural meanings and values invested by people in monuments and landscapes, rather than in their physical substance'. The Getty Conservation Institute widely publicised this values-based approach (De La Torre, 2002), which is codified in subsequent versions of the Australian Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 2013) and the English Heritage Principles (Historic England, 2008).

From the 1980s, references to heritage as a 'consumer good' and a 'business' became more prevalent in the literature, coinciding with the monetisation of heritage as a tourism commodity (Girard & Nijkamp, 2016; Thorsby, 2016; Petit & Seetaram, 2018; Crouch & Ritchie, 1999; Cellini & Cuccia, 2007). Others made the connection between such commercialisation and the growth of an 'experience society' (Revilla, et al., 2013).

With experiencing heritage, interpreting buildings, and locations of historic value, as well as their subsequent management, become as much a source of controversy and dispute as the more theological charters that govern their conservation measures. The Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites by Feilden and Jokilehto (1998), among others,

represent a significant cultural shift, more so as the authors are closely associated with what Jokilehto refers to as Modern Conservation and its scientific foundation. The Charter of Krakow (2000), intended as a substitute or alternative to the Venice charter, had a chilly welcome. This might also be explained by shifts in attitudes toward doctrinal documents.

Throughout this era, there is a clear shift away from conservation science and a fast-shifting understanding of what defines legacy, authenticity, and integrity. This is best demonstrated in the international setting by the shifting emphasis of the World Heritage list and the decision-making structures that affect both selection and approved conservation techniques and criteria.

### 2.3.2.1. Conservation Interpretation and Authenticity

Not only is the second half of the twentieth century distinguished by an expanding scope for cultural heritage, but also by new scientific problems for repairing an equally expansive palette of 'new' materials, with some of them experimental (Macdonald, 1996). It is no minor irony that some modernist works of architecture, originally intended to challenge the existing quo and the 'traditional', are recognised as classics and are being assessed for their heritage significance as objects of conservation concern (Saint, 1996). The practical conservation issues raised by this new type of heritage have also prompted some philosophical searching. These machine-age structures are significantly less likely to be recognised for their material workmanship than for their creative expression, the theoretical attitudes encoded in the design, and the revolutionary technology of their day. Traditional measures to repair, or even minor upkeep, rarely consider pioneering building ideas or older adults' concrete's limited aesthetic appeal.

An example in point is the reconstruction of the French Pavilion in Zagreb. Originally built in 1937, by the time it was conserved in 2007, the metal components deteriorated beyond repair and most of the wood panels and windows had rotted (Braun, et al., 2011). The ensuing project necessitated the reconstruction of both the structural component and roof, as well as the timber parts above the plinth level, leaving just the concrete plinth from the original structure (Braun, et al., 2011). Despite this, a near-exact copy of the original has been accomplished. This project shows the transition away from material authenticity as a guiding principle for conservation toward a values-based approach in which design authenticity is prioritised above the primarily machine-produced components.

These new methods also correspond to a change in modern conservation from truth conservation to meaning conservation. The complexity of meanings or values, as well as the network of overlapping interests they form, give a foundation for negotiation. Thus, conservation is rapidly becoming a negotiating process, as cultural asset management increasingly relies on consultative and participatory approaches designed to give individuals a voice.

This shift in technique towards value-based methods has also sparked debates over the contemporary public's ability to judge what should be preserved and what should be demolished. Schmidt (2008) cites an example of a German publicist advocating for the de-nationalisation of legacy, recommending the people have a direct say in what is saved, ensuring that history with negative connotations (in the modern-day) or structures 'ugly' are not preserved (Holtorf, 2007). Despite local complaints, the German Democratic Republic-era Palace of the Republic in Berlin was demolished and replaced with a new edifice, in the style of being historic, in a project dubbed a 'reconstruction' (Cochrane, 2006).

Contrary to the fundamental Prussian palace ideas of twentieth-century conservation charters, this speculative and interpretative reconstruction of the Palace likewise ushers in a new era in conservation thought. As the maintenance of meaning and value is inextricably related to identity, architectural heritage is increasingly being constructed to validate value and meaning, rather than as a source of historical truth or authenticity. In this era of meaning, each thing or location will have importance for individuals, but in unique ways. This cannot be quantified objectively, but its presence may be 'judged according to ethical and moral standards'. Thus, the ethical discussion also centres on the role of negotiation in balancing competing interests, including those of potential stakeholders under Ruskin's idea (1902) of trusteeship. This is a major departure from the scientific ethics underlying conservation theory, often concerned with the 'thing's' best interests, and from the modernist idea that cultural legacy, as a physical item, is a limited and irreplaceable treasure (Munoz-Vinas, 2004). Not only are there numerous perspectives on and valuations of ancestry and authenticity, but there are also multiple ethical perspectives.

### 2.3.2.2. Globalisation and Its Impact on Heritage Commodification

Globalisation is defined by its vastness, speed, and universality, which characterises our contemporary world (Bisley, 2007), producing not just equally manufactured environments but also the requirement for regionally differentiated expression. Fear of cultural

homogenisation as the same products and lifestyles are consumed internationally is fuelling a need for local identity and distinctiveness, which may also result in introducing a 'unique' or differentiated product to a competitive global marketplace (Labadi & Long, 2010). Cultural heritage has frequently been cited as a significant determinant of local character and identity.

According to Lefebvre's (1991) notion of social space, conventional conceptions of space as empty, complete, or inert cannot comprehend the relationships and performances that comprise time and space. Instead, space must be seen as a product of ongoing social connections. Lefebvre proposes social space as a model comprising spatial practice (including material and physical performances), representations of space (mental perceptions and symbolic representations), and representational spaces (lived and social experiences) (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). This 'triad of seen, thought, and lived' operates dialectically to perpetually construct the surrounding places. Due to its twofold nature and threefold composition, space is no longer distinguishable from language, time, and bodies. In the same way that heritage generates the tangible reality, languages, expressions, and discourses as cultural identity, which impact how individuals comprehend and behave within their settings. While Lefebvre talked of wholes and totalities, Butler argued this is just a view of 'Society as an 'open totality', in a permanent state of transformation by human action' (Butler, 2012, p. 17). Adopting Lefebvre's understanding of space might promote a thorough consideration of the interactions, practices, and representations involved in the production and maintenance of heritage and its associated networks and processes.

An increasing tendency of reconstructing or even recreating old structures and urban quarters, frequently to reshape and redefine local identity through a focus on historic connectedness, is strongly related to globalised consumer cultures. There is a noticeable movement in power away from the collective body of State authorities and mostly middle-class-supported amenity organisations and toward the private sector developer, as well as an increased developer influence over the planning process to shape development. Eco's (1990) main work is devoted to the commercial idea of recreated heritage. Travels in Hyperreality, where 'history', real or imagined, has become a commodity, as seen by several US attractions which reflect on the concept of 'the triad of seen, thought, and lived' (Lefebvre, 1991). Thus, heritage has become a commodity, like a WHS nomination is desired as a means of economic growth. In Dubai, the recreation of a whole historic area based on historical images is partially motivated by a desire to boost a candidacy for World Heritage designation,

but also by previous comparable reconstruction projects seen as a method of unifying the Emirati people (Hawker, et al., 2005).

In the early twenty-first century, heritage must not only pay for itself but also provide monetary advantages. The historic interpretation industry's expansion is motivated by a desire to make the past more accessible and lucrative. Whether expanded or contracted, enhanced or purified, prolonged or abridged, the past becomes an increasingly exotic land, coloured with contemporary hues (Lowenthal, 1985). Once heritage is commodified and assigned a monetary value, conservation efforts will inevitably focus on boosting market value.

**Community versus science:**

The postmodern worldview and values-based approach to heritage protection and display place a premium on local community perspectives and values, as well as participatory processes. For example, the HE (2008) Principles stated 'the historic environment is a common resource' and that 'everyone should be able to contribute to the historic environment's maintenance'. This is stated explicitly in the Burra charter (Australia ICOMOS, 2013):

> 'Conservation, interpretation, and management of a place should involve those who have important associations and meanings with the location or who have social, spiritual, or other cultural obligations to the location'.

Local ties and recollections, as well as communal memory, also influence how heritage is valued. Although others have argued power 'enables one class to exploit another' in capitalism and that heritage designation may be motivated by an economic gain for a particular group rather than 'societal interest'.

The concept of celebrating cultural diversity emphasises the sense of sharing, while increased human movement and migration are also reshaping societal views of identity concerning land or place. Promoting cultural heritage as a shared asset, whether through the World Heritage Convention or several EU programmes aimed at a shared European heritage, also emphasises shared obligations and responsibilities.

Community participation in cultural heritage conservation results from the expanding scope of heritage and, thus, of local and personal identification with it, the adoption of a values-based approach that gives voice to a diverse array of interest groups, and a void

created by institutional players' diminishing power. This might cause devaluing both technical and scientific approaches to conservation from the expanding presence of well-intentioned amateurs in conservation, as well as the role of specialists (Larkham, 1996), particularly in building crafts. Community-based techniques eventually clash with professional judgements that are scientifically informed or that emphasise practical rather than emotional outcomes.

Concerns have been expressed the decision-making processes in conservation shifting from scientific, and some would argue elitist, to egalitarian, with decision-making allegedly being placed primarily in the hands of a local community (Holtorf, 2013). Governments are accepting allegedly altruistic/inclusive/participatory chances to pass on duty and duties to society under the pretext of volunteering or crowdsourcing in the political field of smaller states and an increasing 'heritage' load. In the UK, the Conservative government's 'big society' initiative and the previous Labour government's agenda of inclusivity may be viewed as thinly veiled methods of burden-sharing (Jackson, et al., 2014).

Another viewpoint is that conservation has evolved into a process-driven endeavour rather than a product-driven one. Making decisions through debate and consensus reverts to the expert-driven practices of the past. Thus, the conservation professional's function is increasingly becoming one of facilitation.

Placing the community at the centre of decision-making and pioneering locally driven bottom-up techniques are themselves under threat from neoliberal policies and commodification (and monetisation of heritage), as power transfers away from the state and toward multinational corporations. As the state relinquishes control, participation and social inclusion frequently follow a path parallel to market-driven privatisation practices and budget cuts to the arts and cultural sectors. Globally, there is a strong neo-liberal push for devolving public sector obligations to the private sector, and built heritage is no exception. Economic feasibility and future profitability have also come to define how conservation is done, with movements to privatise national historic assets in countries such as Italy accompanied by financial pressures. Both events, however, cast doubt on the State apparatus's ability to continue guiding, determining, and policing cultural conservation practices.

Conservation philosophy may be applied in a broad variety of ways due to the expansion of conservation attitudes and the advocacy of value-based methodologies. International conservation debates regarding how to repair the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan, which

were destroyed by the Taliban in 2011 (Keough, 2011), saw the use of conservation philosophy to support both leaving the ruins alone and partially rebuilding them. However, more significant was a proposal to create a big visitor facility in a post-modern 'vernacular' design with the express purpose of 'generating revenue' for the site as a tourist attraction.

Similarly, to how design theory is examined in Greek philosophy's subject-object paradigm as both an artistic (subjective) and a scientific (objective) process (Gelernter, 1995), the values-based technique that represents the subjective approach must be complemented with grounded scientific methodologies. More precisely, conservation modifies items and their meaning; it does not seek to restore them to their original meaning, but 'adapts them to contemporary expectations and demands', and on this basis is both a creative and scientific activity. More details of the value-based approach are discussed in the next Section, which became the core of the heritage conservation approach and part of its operational guidelines.

## 2.4. Value-Based Approach

It was not until the twenty-first century the value-based paradigm acquired momentum among object conservators. As a result, it has been increasingly asserted that

> 'the meanings and values attached to objects… provide the reason for conservation' (Pye, 2001, p. 57), that 'societies retain objects as they have value for the members of that society' (Caple, 2009, p. 25), and that 'are preserved as they have values' (Appelbaum, 2007, p. 86).

With conserving the environment, many see it as an expression of their values (Richmond & Bracker, 2009). Although values are often dismissed as relativistic and postmodernist due to the implications of the assertion, they are social constructs (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995; Avrami, et al., 2000), values-based approaches have always been the driving force behind heritage conservation. All conservation choices result from a series of value judgements when seen as attempts to preserve and increase importance. Conservators seldom make these value judgements apparent, which is why conservation choices sometimes are difficult to explain and express. The most recent discussion of heritage values is arguing values are culturally and historically constructed. According to this theory, value is not 'intrinsic', but an externally imposed culturally and historically particular meaning carried by the fabric, object, or environment, which draws a value status according to the prevailing value frameworks of the time and place. This theoretical approach contradicts UNESCO's understanding of values, which is going to be discussed in Chapter 3. As a result, it affects both the evaluation of significance and the management of the historically built environment.

### 2.4.1. Values Typologies

The value-based theory gives a clearer explanation of implicit conservation choices to be more justifiable, allowing informed and strategic decision-making that can be successfully questioned (Cutajar, et al., 2016). Table 1 presents a tiny sampling of the many potential heritage values that have been offered. Examples of such lists known as 'value typologies' include lists of values supposed to encapsulate the importance of heritage. In Table 1, an essential aspect of these typologies is they do not focus solely on one particular type of value. They demonstrate the diversity and wide-ranging values applied to heritage sites, from economic to social and historical values. Adopting a value typology also enables sites to be assessed holistically.

As stressed by Mason and Arami (2002), value-led conservation of sites provides a flexible methodology which accommodates different cultural heritage sites. Another important aspect highlighted by some of these typologies is that values can contradict each other. This idea is particularly well-illustrated in Riegl's (1996) typology, in which 'age value' contradicts 'newness value which is the most formidable opponent of age value'. This idea was illustrated in Carver's (1996) value system, where the environmental and archaeological value of the site contradicts its production value, the possibility of using it for agricultural or mineral exploitation. A famous example is Kakadu National Park, an Australian WHS (inscribed on the List in 1981 and extended in 1987 and 1992). The proposal, now withdrawn, for uranium mining and milling within the boundaries of this WHS presented a real threat to its outstanding universal value (OUV). Some of these typologies, Lipe's (1984) have been widely quoted.

Others have been put into practice in conserving cultural heritage sites, showing their applicability on the ground. This is the case, for example, of Australia, ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (henceforth referred to as the Burra Charter), widely used for the conservation of Australian heritage sites but also applied more recently to the conservation and management of the cultural heritage from other cultures including those of China (Agnew & Demas, 2002, p. 4) (Table 1).

Table 1 shows the evolution, over time and across cultures, of the process of heritage valuation. Riegl (1903, p. 8) mentioned there is a difference between those who learned to appreciate works of art and monuments and the 'populace' who cannot identify such works.

Table 1. An overview of a selection of published value typologies for cultural heritage (Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016)

| Riegl (1902, 1982) | Australia ICOMOS (1979) | Lipe (1984) | Darvill (1995) | Carver (1996) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age<br>Historical<br>Commemorative<br>Use<br>Newness | Aesthetic<br>Historic<br>Scientific<br>Social | Economic<br>Aesthetic<br>Associative/Symoblic<br>Informational | Use:<br>Archaeological Research<br>Scientific Research<br>Creative Arts<br>Education<br>Recreation & Tourism<br>Symbolic Representation<br>Legitimation of Action<br>Social Solidarity & Integration<br>Monetary & Economic gain<br>Option:<br>Stability<br>Mystery & Enigma<br>Existence<br>Cultural Identity<br>Resistance to Change | Market:<br>Captial/ Estate<br>Production<br>Commercial<br>Residential<br><br>Community:<br>Amenity<br>Political<br>Minority/ Disadvantaged/ Descendant<br>Local Style<br><br>Human:<br>Environmental<br>Archaeological |

| Frey (1997) | Ashley-Smith (1999) | Pye (2001) | Thorsby (2001) | Mason (2002) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Monetary<br>Option<br>Existence<br>Bequest<br>Prestige<br>Educational | Economic<br>Informational<br>Cultural<br>Emotional<br>Existence | Historic<br>Artistic<br>Scientific<br>Cultural<br>Contextual<br>Condition<br>Economic | Aesthetic<br>Spiritual<br>Social<br>Historical<br>Symbolic<br>Authenticity | Historical Cultural/ Symbolic<br>Social<br>Spiritual/ Religious<br>Aesthetic<br>Market<br>Existence<br>Option<br>Bequest |

| Feilden (2003 | Keene (2005) | Appelbaum (2007) | EH (2008) | Orbasli (2008) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Emotional<br>Wonder<br>Identity<br>Continuity<br>Spiritual & Symbolic<br>Cultural<br>Documentary<br>Historic<br>Archaeological, age & Scarcity<br>Aesthetic & Symbolic<br>Architectural<br>Townscape, Landscape & Ecological<br>Technological & Scientific<br>Use<br>Functional<br>Economic<br>Social<br>Educational<br>Political & Ethic | Social<br>Aesthetic<br>Spiritual<br>Historical<br>Symbolic<br>Authenticity | Art<br>Aesthetic<br>Historical<br>Use<br>Research<br>Educational<br>Age<br>Newness<br>Sentimental<br><br>Monetary<br>Associative<br>Commemorative<br><br>Rarity | Evidential<br>Historical<br>Aesthetic<br>Communal | Age & Rarity<br>Architectural<br>Artistic<br>Associative<br>Cultural<br>Economic<br>Educational<br>Emotional<br>Historic<br>Landscape local distinctiveness<br>Political<br>Public religious & spiritual<br>Scientific/research/ knowledge<br>Social<br>Symbolic<br>Technical<br>Townscape |

| Stubbs (2009) | Gomez Robles (2010) | Szmeltel (2010) | ICOMOS New Zealand (2010) | Letcharnrit (2010) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Universal<br>Associative<br>Curiosity<br>Artistic<br>Exemplary<br>Intangible<br>Use | Typological<br>Structural<br>Constructional<br>Functional<br>Aesthetic<br>Architectural<br>Historical Symbolic | Cultural<br>Identity, Emotive<br>Artistic/ Technical, Evidence<br>Rarity, Administrative<br>Contemporary Socio-Economic<br>Economic, Resource<br>Functional, Usefulness<br>Educational, Tourism<br>Social, Awareness<br>Political Regime | Aesthetic<br>Archaeological<br>Architectural<br>Commemorative<br>Functional<br>Historical<br>Landscape<br>Monumental<br>Scientific<br>Social<br>Spiritual<br>Symbolic<br>Technological<br>Traditional | Informational<br>Educational<br>Symbolic<br>Economic<br>Entertaining/ Recreational |

Despite being written in 1979, five years before Lipe's value systems, the Burra Charter's value system includes reference to social value, while Lipe's typology omits it and shows the originality of the Burra Charter's typology. From the mid-1990s onward, all the value typologies presented in Table 1, except for Deeben et al. (1999), mention the social value of heritage sites, and this illustrates the democratisation of heritage conservation and an increased refutation of Riegl's viewpoint.

An analysis of the value systems presented in Table 1, according to cultures, reveal the economic and market values are not mentioned in Australian value-typologies, either in the original ICOMOS Australia 1979 or the ICOMOS revised versions Australia 1981; ICOMOS Australia 1988; and ICOMOS Australia 1999 (Truscott & Young, 2000) of the Burra Charter, and in the Dutch value-system developed by Deeben et al. (1999). According to Okawa (2002, p. 181), the omission of economic value from these typologies might be due to the understanding of cultural heritage sites as lacking any market value. Economic and market values were increasingly mentioned in value typologies used by English and North American organisations, such as English Heritage (EH) (1997) or Mason (2008).

These value typologies, except for those developed by Lipe and in the Burra Charter, also present weaknesses. Carver's (1996) definition of 'community value' is relatively restricted: 'community values are those intended to benefit society more widely and for example, the provision of a public swimming pool, the construction of roads, parks, sewers, schools or hospitals'. As he further noted, these are tangible gains. His value typology does not accommodate non-tangible knowledge and values held by community groups on cultural heritage sites. His indication that 'local style value' is primarily supported by the elders is not further explained and is rather difficult to understand. Why would other age groups not support this value, too?

Darvill's (2007) value system also seemed inadequate. His 'option value' is tough to evaluate as it refers to the values that cultural properties will have in the future. However, future values are unknowable: it is impossible to foresee what future generations will make of our heritage (Carver, 1996). Darvill's values strongly overlap; this is the case for archaeological and scientific research that he considered separate. The same is the case for 'creative arts' and 'symbolic representation'. 'Creative arts' is defined by Darvill as the use of heritage sites for visual, literary, and oral works of art. 'Symbolic representation' is defined as the 'symbolic uses of images of archaeological sites' (Darvill, 2007, p. 57). It does not seem easy to distinguish between these two values. Cultural heritage sites can be used as symbols in visual,

literary, and oral works of art. This idea is further developed in the Section defining architectural and aesthetic value. 'Stability' (a sub-category of option value) and 'resistance to change', a sub-category of 'existence value', are strongly overlapping.

Resistance to change might be associated with stability and continuity. The 'cultural value' and 'recreational value' presented in EH's typology also overlapped strongly. EH's (1997, p. 4) 'cultural value' is defined as providing a sense of place and a context for everyday life: 'Its appreciation and conservation foster distinctiveness at a local, regional and national level. It reflects the roots of our society and records its evolution'. Recreational value refers to the fact the historic environment plays a significant role in providing for people's recreation and enjoyment. Increasingly, the past and its remains in the present are a vital part of people's everyday lives and experiences. These two definitions convey the same idea of the past as a provider of context and a part of people's everyday lives and experiences. These two definitions overlap each other and could be combined into a single value.

The value-typology of Deeben et al. (1999) also presented problems. One value of Deeben et al.'s typology is the 'intrinsic quality' of a building. Some argue a heritage place does not have any 'intrinsic qualities' and that its values change. 'Rarity', a sub-value of the overall principal value 'intrinsic quality', can also be problematic as this is difficult to assess. Early railways, for example, might not be rare. Yet, for some, the Great Western Railway.

Paddington-Bristol is a rare and unique example of the genius of Isambard Kingdom Brunel. This was one reason for selected parts of this railway line to be included on the Tentative List of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2001).

Some values presented in Mason's (2008, p. 12) typology are too broad and vague, including his 'cultural/symbolic value', which encompasses 'political value', and 'craft or work-related values'. Defined as the skills and knowledge used to build a specific building and 'heritage values used to stimulate ethnic-group identity, in cases where the group does not have a strong religious aspect'. Some of his values repeat themselves, such as socio-cultural and non-use values: 'many of the qualities described as socio-cultural values are also non-use values' (Mason, 2008, p. 12). As illustrated in Table 1, Mason further divides 'non-use values' into three sub-values: 'Existence', 'Option', and 'Bequest'. He defines 'Existence' as the action of valuing a heritage property for its mere existence without visiting it. 'Option value' is defined as the wish to preserve a site due to the possibility it will be visited and enjoyed in

the future (Mason, 2008, p. 13). It is expected these values would be implicit in nomination dossiers rather than explicitly detailed as justifying the nominated site's outstanding universal value.

Heritage management plans and conservation policy papers are most widely utilised. Few are as bold as Rudolff (2006, p. 60), who claimed the wide diversity and variance of attempted typologies 'illustrates that any effort to classify all values is doomed to fail', there is growing evidence that a complete, universally applicable value typology is impossible. As long as the language of heritage values cannot reflect all the many ways in which heritage is important, values-based conservation efforts will fail. Such objections to value typologies cannot go unaddressed while value-based methods continue to influence heritage discourse. With legally define heritage, typologies may play an important legislative role, such as the Burra Charter in Australia, and the work of the Heritage Collections Council (2001), but this is rarely the case elsewhere.

Smith (2006) describes the phenomenon of the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), where heritage professionals discuss 'heritage' as something that can only be understood by those trained in its interpretation. The authorised discourse of heritage conservation transformed the value-based approach into a technical approach part of the conservation techniques that needs specific requirements to categorise the values of the heritage. Conservation is one of the rare procedures in which heritage is actively altered and transformed, enabling specified future uses of heritage, sometimes at the cost of others, to facilitate conservation (Pearce 1990, p.106).

Interpretations not 'authorised' may be delegitimised since conservation aims to increase what is valued (Stephenson 2008, p.129; cf. Emerick, 2014, p.225). Conservation within the AHD operationalises implicit professional preference and may lead to the impoverishment of heritage (Dakin, 2003; Sully, 2007; Abu-Khafajah & Rababeh, 2012). The traditional tangible/intangible and cultural/natural heritage divides have been viewed as artificial and untenable (Brown, 2010; Bergdahl, 2012; Borrelli & Davis, 2012; Harrison, 2015) and value typologies must capture the complexity of holistic interpretations of heritage if they are to facilitate heritage management.

A typology that can collect and transmit the views of both professionals and non-professionals is critical for heritage conservation due to the wide spectrum of stakeholders involved in the conservation choices (Orbasli, 2000). That is why it is essential

to establish a typology for a cultural heritage that can diverse ways of values to develop a shared language of importance for all parties involved. From the awareness that preservation has cultural, economic, political, and societal ramifications. The heritage conservation approach is affirming its significance, and, by extension, any culture or history attached to it. Identity development is frequently linked to the meanings of these artefacts or places and their significance. Therefore, these meanings are partially subjective and carry with them a positive and negative side. The implications of prioritising and supporting a single interpretation of value above others include the support of one group's culture at the expense of another. Gibson (2010) and Smith (2015) argued that promoting certain types of culture may have political, social, and even economic ramifications via the promotion of specific systems of 'cultural capital'. There has been a proliferation of programmes, including heritage programmes, that recognise the validity of numerous value frameworks and attempt to enable and empower diverse groups and people via actively supporting and respecting their stories, artefacts, and places. Although cultural support (financing or conservation) might be linked to social democratic ideologies that might have cultural, economic, political, and social implications.

The value typology of cultural heritage must reflect and adapt to the dynamic character of the urban environment, both physically and socially (UNESCO, 2010). The amended Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 2013) and HE Conservation Principles (2008) do not adequately address time and change while containing comprehensive procedures for data gathering and analysis (Khalaf, 2015). Both typologies lack a framework for handling the inherent aspects of urban heritage change and time. These frameworks differ in their approach to the UNESCO approach of outstanding Universal values, which is going to be discussed in Chapter 3.

### 2.4.2. Cultural and Social Capital, and the Cultural Value

As Bourdieu (1986) explains, cultural capital is the collection of traits and dispositions valued in a particular society and replicate elite positions via the knowledge and artefacts that represent the cultural goods. It was Bourdieu (1986) who categorised the concept of cultural capital into three distinct forms: embodied, which refers to the passive acquisition of such capital over time, for example, due to family upbringing or one's accent or dialect; objectified, which refers to the acquisition, but also knowledge of objects either for profit or show, an example being the knowledge and ability to purchase an expensive painting; and institutionalised, which refers to some form of institutional recognition given for achieving

such value, for example, someone's degree. As a result, for Bourdieu, the acquisition of these crucial characteristics gives a person the ability to act and join certain professions. Bourdieu's focus was on society, but it is possible to think of cultural capital in specific locales where the valuing of certain artefacts, skills, or knowledge has a more specific significance. Cultural capital, for Bourdieu, was primarily a way of determining who is included and excluded in social hierarchies. Cultural capital can also be demonstrated in a local context by building knowledge around specific themes, which, as shown, represents: an embodiment of the history of landscape and community; an objectified relationship to the ephemera of Gaelic island tradition (Chapman, 2021), in which value is placed in potentially forgotten objects by the different communities; and an institutional approach, as demonstrated by how Island communities function. Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital can be flipped on its head to demonstrate how it is created by marginalised groups rather than by hegemonic authorities. The Outer Hebrides, where involvement in associational life is historically high, have a higher level of social capital, which is necessary for this production of heritage from below to be developed and shared. Due to the exchange of social capital, cultural capital is created and maintained. Discussing 'social capital' refers to the collective 'value' that social networks and civic organisations provide to society (Putnam, 2000). So, when we think about the value-based approach in heritage conservation, it is a crucial element, yet an argumentative approach. Part of the issue is unpacking the elements that created those social networks to have a better insight into the value given to societies (their cultural significance, etc.). As other factors contribute to the formula of the 'culture capital' concept in heritage studies that transcend the boundaries of an immediate sense of value to a long-term value or accumulative value. Because social capital is intangible, it can only be seen regarding how it is formed, much as a cultural value. Individuals may benefit from the social capital embodied in social networks, according to Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1983; Bordieu & Wacquant, 1992). To have social capital is to have a network of institutionalised ties of mutual acquaintance and recognition that accrues to a person or a group (Bordieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). Social capital in the Outer Hebrides, despite Putnam's (2000) fears that it would collapse due to changes in residential, employment, and leisure patterns, are robust and rising, in part due to the keen interest in cultural heritage. Cultural capital, as well as social capital, may contribute to the creation of cultural value. 'Cultural value' is a term both intuitively comprehensible and scientifically elusive (O'Brien, 2010). For example, cultural organisations may use the word to steal economic jargon to justify cultural spending (Smith, 2010), and valuing non-market commodities (O'Brien, 2010), and the value they provide to people is a serious

problem. Graeber (2001), Holden (2006), and Skeggs (2009) have all described this as a 'different value practises' or 'uncomfortable interaction between intrinsic and instrumental values of culture' (Skeggs, 2014). Several elements influence how cultural values are defined, and these factors frequently influence how those values are defined for the groups in which they are defined. Hegemonic regimes are often associated with concepts like 'culture capital' and 'cultural value', which focus on the importance of a 'high' cultural heritage in a civilisation's ideals, which creates social hierarchies and reflects social hierarchies existing in society. The value may be determined by how many people will pay for it. The traditional canon of cultural heritage, such as a Leonardo da Vinci painting that recently sold for $450 million at auction (Helmore, 2017), is an illustration of the value placed on it. This value does not seem to have a universally accepted definition. This auction price reflects the cultural capital and social capital created by elite knowledge and niche groups. This creation by the elite group does not reflect the real values of objects compared to other individuals in the society, but it reflects the reality of diminishing the values into a transactional process of economic capital. There are two distinct types of cultural values: those globally shared, and those deeply rooted within communities. To understand how cultural value a part of daily life is, we must look at how it affects people and groups. We define cultural value as the multiplicity of ways in which people and groups express what they value. 'Regimes of value' (Appadurai, 1994) more 'bottom-up' and founded on local knowledge and belonging are created via historical connections. In these rural areas, this process has had a considerable influence on the social forms and provides distinct means of developing cultural value via the production of cultural heritage (King, et al., 2016). Work on memory and the range of geographical settings that have been proven to encourage and affect remembrance practices have a significant connection with this in social and cultural geography (Withers, 1996). To remember and create memories, gatherings are a practice (Nora, 1989) that helps or nourishes such memories. It may be done individually in a home or other private settings, as well as in a group setting in a more 'formal' or public one (Meah & Jackson, 2016; Alderman & Inwood, 2012; Rose-Redwood, 2008).

Heritage governance in the next Section discusses those networks that influence social values, cultural values, and how people's perception of values may vary based on power and ideology relationships. It focuses on world heritage governance, which gives a better insight into its complexity and what makes it different from other heritage sites.

## 2.5. Heritage Governance

Today, discussions about cultural heritage appear to be more fashionable in the social and cultural sciences. This growing scholarly is a response to the quickening pace of globalisation and modernisation trends during the last fifteen to twenty years, in which the specific, or the local, is in danger of being obliterated in favour of universally standardised buildings and consumer practices (Auge, 1995). The heritage regime that exists is the product of several cultural, political, and social processes of categorisation (hierarchies, definitions, inclusion, and exclusion) as discussed in Section 2.2. In addition, determining what constitutes heritage requires a value judgement (Section 2.4) about whether aspects of culture are worth passing on to future generations. State governments and international bodies are the usual decision-makers in such cases. First, (re)production as creating or preserving a desired image of the world; second, values as reflecting upon, recognising, and formulating desires and choices and as the intended result of creation; and third, identities of new social structures as forms of shaping and representing values. Institutions and governing authorities must promote value discussion and include social actors in heritage decision-making for such classifications to be acknowledged (Turnpenny, 2004). Since heritage is a complicated term, as stated in Section 2.2, it impacts who are the participants and players involved in the process of its governance. The term governance here, as Young (1997, p. 4) described, means: 'At the most general level, governance involves the establishment and operation of social institutions – sets of rules, decision-making procedures, and programmatic activities that define social practices and to guide the interactions of those participating in these practices'. The notion of governance was created in contrast to the government in the traditional sense of top-down control (Kooiman, 2003; Peters, 1996; Rhodes, 1997). Since the 1990s, the idea of governance has been widely discussed in the social sciences. According to Young (1997, p. 4), governance 'involves the construction and management of social institutions – that is, sets of norms, decision-making processes, and programming activities that help define social practice and regulate the interactions of people engaging in these practices'. In the realm of governance, the structural component is essential, which refers to the prevailing institutional structure, the most important institutions, the most widely accepted regulations, and the most prominent organisations. the processual axis, which is concerned with how political power is exercised through, for example, centralised rulemaking, bottom-up regulation, or Habermasian-style dialogue (Rhodes, 2007).

Table 2 explains the differences between the classical way of public administration and governance and how heritage governance responds to and adapts to this transformation.

Table 1 government/governance paradigm (Salamon, 2001) modified by the (Researcher, 2022)

| Classical Public Administration | New Governance | Heritage Governance |
|---|---|---|
| Programme/agency | Tool | Tools |
| Hierarchy | Network | Anarchy model of network governance |
| Public vs private | Public and private | Public and private |
| Command and control | Negotiation and persuasion | Control, negotiation, and persuasion |
| Management skills | Enablement skills | Management and enablement skills |

The 'new governance system or modern', as Katsamunska (2012) described, uses a strategy which differs from the classical public administration. Instead of seeing each programme as unique, it draws parallels between them based on the methods of public engagement they use. Thus, the tools of public action that programmes entail become the focus of examination, rather than the specific programme or agency. This strategy assumes that, despite their diversity, many government initiatives make use of a tiny set of universally applicable tools and techniques. These instruments specify the individuals who will play pivotal roles in the implementation phase that follows the adoption of a programme and the specific tasks they will be tasked with completing during that phase. The choice of the tool has a significant impact on the result of the process because each player brings unique viewpoints, philosophies, abilities, and incentives.

Thus, this emphasis expands on the findings of implementation studies, which found the division between policy and administration assumed by classical theory does not seem to work in practice and the process of programme design does not end with legislative enactment but continues into the implementation phase. It makes sense under these conditions to pay close attention to the choices that determine which players play crucial roles at this stage. This is what the 'tools emphasis' of the 'new government' intends to accomplish. Therefore, the 'new governance' offers a mechanism to gain control over the post-enactment process, which is identified as significantly essential in the implementation literature, by moving the attention from agencies or programmes to underlying instruments. The outcomes of this procedure are heavily influenced by the tools used to create them.

As a result, selecting the right instrument involves more than simply a technical matter. Instead, they are deeply political, since they favour certain actors and, by extension, certain worldviews with deciding which policies to implement. Due to the large amount of leeway

implied by the implementation literature at this level, this is of paramount importance. Thus, the instrument used may impact how discretion is exercised and, by extension, the interests that benefit from it. As a result, the political struggle over the form that public programmes take often centres on the instrument of choice. It is not only about finding the best solution to a public issue at stake in these conflicts; it is about the weight given to different groups as the programme develops in the future.

However, the freedom to make such a selection is limited. Cultural norms and ideological biases mould them instead, with subsequent effects on public opinion of the state. Previous studies suggest the effectiveness of governance processes should be strongly influenced by the degree to which people get engaged in the development of heritage. Experts in cultural management promote models of multi-stakeholder governance and multi-level management of cultural resources (Bonet & Donato, 2011; Kickert, 1997; Li, et al., 2020). The state's ability to guide these governance networks is limited, and the people engaging in these systems typically have considerable degrees of autonomy (Stoker, 1998). Therefore, the heritage conservation process involves governance to understand the different relationships between different levels of institutions involved in the process (international, national, and local). The way heritage conservation is implemented on each level does not respond to or reflect other institutions' implementation or interpretation of the process as shown in Figure 2. Based on the heritage site's significance as a world heritage site (WHS) or not, the number of guidance and policies exceeds the capacity of the local institutions that implement and manage change in those sites. Heritage governance is used here to unpack the power dynamics exercised and what are they accepted regulations used among those actors.

Thus, the term 'heritage ecology' best suits the complexity of heritage nature and its protection, which entails the strategic triangle of public value as it features an authorising environment, operational capabilities, and a task environment. Heritage ecology is a combination of decision-making entities, including institutions, organisations, groups, communities, and people (Heritage Decisions, 2015). Ecology has decentralised many of its traditional power and governance structures, from centralised institutions to local and community organisations. This is consistent with the long-standing tendency of governance supplanting government in public policy (Nyholm & Haveri, 2009). However, the public value in heritage is a tricky term. Even if it is agreed on what it means or entails still with the reality of power dynamics and institutions' capabilities, implementing the concept is different. The system's representation of a variety of individuals, agencies, rationales, and

practical considerations will convey this. Traditionally seen as paternalistic, the hierarchical aspect of administration and custodianship is a long-standing problem in heritage studies (Hewison, 1987; Madgin, 2009). Recent years have seen a proliferation of critical scholarship that challenges this orthodoxy on several fronts, including the values it promotes (Magdin & Taylor, 2015; Mason, 2008; Macdonald, 2010), the populations it focuses on (Courtney, 2013), and the transparency and public accountability of decision-making processes (Schofield, 2008).

Different policy sectors' circumstances create diverse forms of governing practises and processes, which influence the amount of public engagement versus policymakers and influence definitions of cultural heritage and governance types. For example, the international framework of cultural policy reveals a diverse scenario of national regimes (Figure 2) regarding institutions, financing methods, and organisational forms (Dubois, 2014; Mulcahy, 2010).
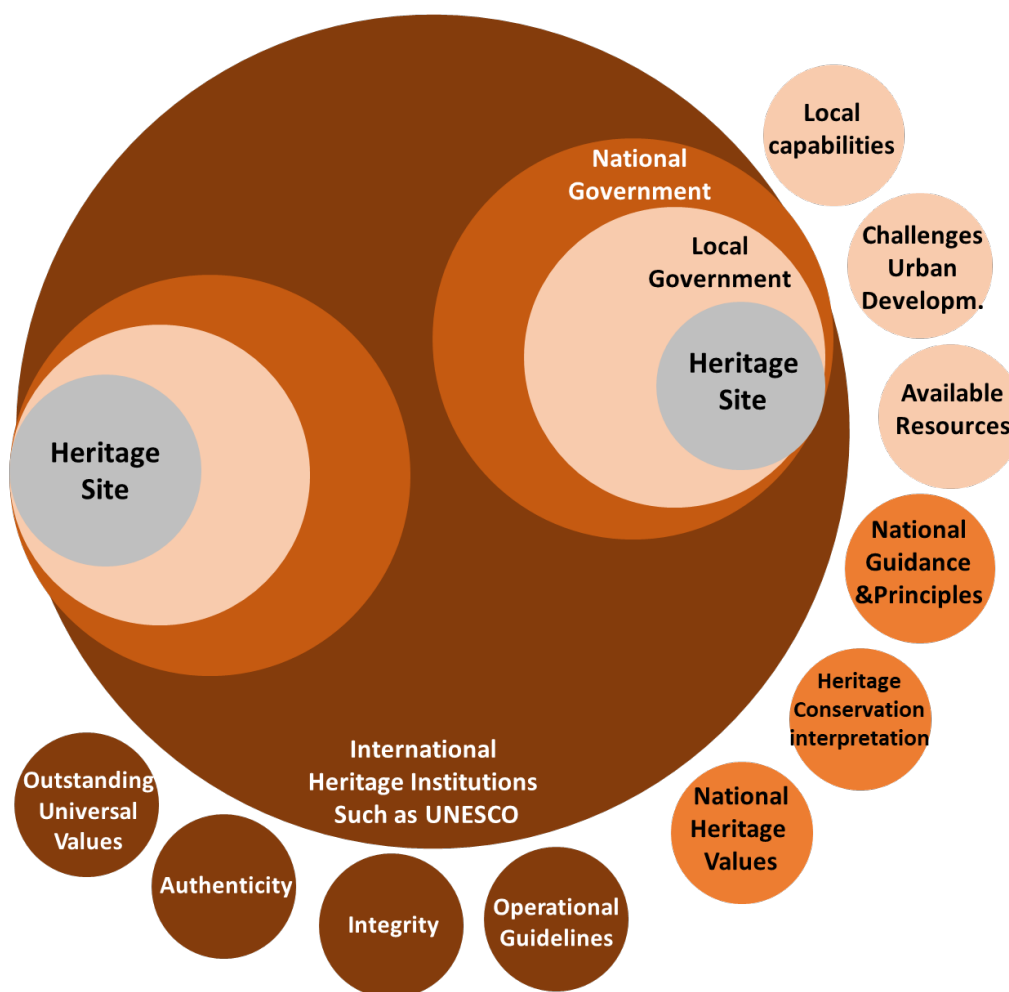


Figure 2. Heritage conservation of World heritage site (Researcher, 2022)

As Figure 2 shows, the pressure that heritage sites face if it was a WHS. There is always the local level, which is trying to compile all the policies and regulations nationally and internationally and respond to the city's challenges. The result is usually unsatisfactory at the international level due to core differences in how the heritage is defined, its values, and the involvement of different actors with different interests, which is going to be discussed in Chapter 3. How as well the international standardisation of the heritage conservation of WHS imposes the same procedures, understanding, and mechanisms, ignoring the heritage site's geographical location with its own national and local standards, as shown in Figure 2. It deconstructs the difficulties associated with gaining a more democratic perspective on complexity in decision-making. Since they are concerned about what or who receives official heritage status, these decision-making procedures are rooted in the administrative and organisational frameworks of public administration and responsibility. So, we might call the places where decisions are made the 'authorising environment', where benefits to society are generated as a top-down approach. While the 'operational capabilities' that combine with the authorising environment to produce public value as heritage are shown with the help of Stoker's (2006) notion of network governance (NG).

It is hardly surprising the UNESCO WH is receiving much scholarly interest. The public may use UNESCO's World Heritage List (WHL) as a guide to learn more about what should be protected for future generations. With protecting cultural and natural heritage, UNESCO and its official advisory bodies may be seen as crucial global standard-setters whose ideas and concepts are collected by other players. The worldwide level of World Heritage governance (WHG) has been largely overlooked despite the many studies dedicated to UNESCO's WH projects. Scholars often share the views of the local actors on the global level of WHG is an essential element for local concerns, but that little is known about it.

### 2.5.1. Regulating the Governance Network

As both an explanatory notion (Lewis, 2011) and a prescriptive technique to direct public management toward the achievement of public value, NG has gained traction in the public administration literature (Gains & Stoker, 2009; Stoker, 2006). It is also used to justify the shift away from hierarchical public sector management (Table 2) and toward market-based solutions (Bevir & Rich, 2009). This shift is manifested in cultural heritage management due to the complexity of the process (Sections 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4) which requires more technical, managerial, and financial influences. Due to this shift away from conventional forms of leadership, non-governmental organisations, businesses, and local communities are all now

active participants in the provision of services (Dal Molin & Masella, 2016). This action resembles the 'Big Society' strategy of the UK Coalition Government of 2010-2015, in which budgetary austerity was framed as democratic decentralisation (Dowling & Harvie, 2014). In heritage management, this is especially relevant given the dissolution or conversion of several Quangos that once served as historic custodians (such as British Waterways and English Heritage) into trusts. Due to budget cuts, museum services as an institution have had to adjust their management strategies (Coles, 2008). Due to this, detractors argue the trend toward networked forms of governance results from legislation meant to restrict the state's ability to shoulder its financial obligations (Dowling & Harvie, 2014). This is one of the critical issues in heritage conservation, the financial consequences of such a process and who can contribute financially. As it is one of the expensive processes that creates a different network in which not all participants are equally active, but more based on this financial contribution. With this financial obligation, there is a cost paid on how democracy is exercised. This is because, in networks, individuals are included based on their intrinsic motivation. It is a combination of horizontal and hierarchal public sector management. The latter is expressed in the power dynamics and control, while the former focuses on the number of actors involved in the same stage of power and control not traditionally found in hierarchal management.

As previously noted, Stoker (2006) differentiated between centralised and decentralised forms of network governance. This implies there is flexibility in the shapes that networks may take (Gains & Stoker, 2009). This may lead to friction among network beneficiaries since, without meta-governance, institutional gains may be made at the price of democratic ones (Nyholm & Haveri, 2009). In addition, Provan and Kenis (2008) distinguished between three distinct forms of network governance, each of which sheds insight on a particular variation in the management and operation of such systems. There are three main types of networks: those with participants in charge, those with an authoritative leader, and those with no central authority at all. Heritage governance lies heavily on authoritative leaders and participants in charge. The former is related to the permissions for the development or management of the heritage and who has the authority for that (local governments, national institutions, or international) while the latter, for example, is based on the technicality of the heritage conservation approach that requires certain professions or institutions, issues around ownership which involve different participants. They contend the degree to which these forms of network governance predictably manage conflicts, rather than their immediate specificity to a particular issue or problem, is the best indicator of their efficacy. However,

they emphasise performance criteria and financial incentives provided for networks to do nothing to boost their efficacy, and they point to fewer democratic problems in a top-down approach to governance. This is reminiscent of the 'democracy delivery' conflict outlined by Skelcher et al. (2005), which describes how the expectations of the public might be at odds with the practical considerations of providing such services. Concerns are raised that accountability might be weakened when networks operate in this manner by creating partnerships. The reason for this is that, rather than being motivated by democratic concerns, they are motivated by an endeavour to merge vertical and horizontal modes of policy execution.

These instances illustrate how the idea of democratic participation is fluid regarding network coordination. The capacity to switch to horizontal connections in favour of vertical ones does not inevitably make hierarchy obsolete (Nyholm & Haveri, 2009). As demonstrated by the work of Sheaff et al. (2014), it can strengthen top-down control, but this may be helpful in fields where a high level of technical and scientific knowledge is required to identify policy objectives, or where the main actors are constituted as networks of institutions and large organisations, such as the UK's heritage ecology. Examining the various accounts of 'accountability' in works on network governance helps shed light on this problem. Due to the many participants in decision-making in a network, responsibility is diffused rather than concentrated in a single organisation or individual (Gains & Stoker, 2009). So, although inclusive decision-making via networks might improve democracy, the lack of transparency that often results can undermine democracy itself (Sorensen & Torfing, 2009).

### 2.5.2. Heritage Practice and Governance Expertise

Smith's (2004, 2006) critical framework, the 'AHD' Section 2.4.1, raised awareness of the unacknowledged effort that goes into creating the concept of 'heritage', including the power and knowledge ties involved in its formation. One of the fundamental issues here, and a recurring subject in historic conservation disputes, is the problem of community involvement and the pluralisation of voices in decision-making processes. This critical interpretation of expertise, for example, in Walker (2014), has a spatial focus, questioning the function of expert knowledge 'on the ground' at physically placed historic sites, as well as in the practice of heritage conservation, planning, and site management. This questioning, been provoked by the establishment of UNESCO's convention, became the most popular and commonly used global standard for heritage management. Using UNESCO and WHC, here is an example of how the international institutions define heritage and set the operational

guidelines for heritage protection to reflect on how the national/local is positioned in this process. The investigation is focused more closely on the institutional practises of international cultural governance and policy with an attitude of superiority (that what heritage means to the locals is not a global concern consequently to different patterns of behaviour emerge in parallel with the international). The WH Committee is a place that not only demands but actively seeks knowledge. Crucially, however, when types of knowledge emerge, they are tempered, reworked, and even transformed by the setting and its specific culture. The development and transformation of knowledge manifested in the updates of the World Heritage Convention (WHC), besides the updates of WH list, are based on three types of expertise: diplomatic, technical, and institutional.

**Diplomatic expertise**: Including the understanding of and capacity to utilise networks, may be regarded as an asset in the operation of the WH system (Kuus, 2014). Brumann (2014) observed a feeling of familiarity and camaraderie among diplomatic representatives at UNESCO's headquarters in Paris, as well as their mastery of symbolic capital, and linked these characteristics to a notion they, rather than bureaucrats or technical specialists, are in authority. 'States now agree that something as significant as WH cannot be left to political amateurs', he concludes (Brumann, 2014, p. 2187). Despite this conclusion, diplomatic knowledge is not limited to diplomats and may be seen as a crucial characteristic of competent technical and bureaucratic actors, which will be elaborated on more in the next Section.

**Technical Expertise:** The WHC (1972) specified the role of independent advisers, including the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), as providers of technical expertise in WH practise. This is reflected in the Operational Guidelines which refer to various forms of (conservation) expertise, as well as in the WHC (1972)), Article 9, which calls for Committee members to be represented by people 'qualified in the field' of heritage. To set the scene, consider the scientistic construction of conservation practise during the Enlightenment, which defined conservation as 'a knowledge practise primarily informed by material-centric disciplines that privilege scientific (conservationist) and/or positivist methodologies… rooted in a discourse of scientific knowledge as apolitical, objective, and value-neutral' (Winter, 2013, p. 539).

**Institutional Expertise:** The secretariat plays both a foreground function in arranging (and amending scheduling as needed), recording, and reporting, and a background one in briefing and instructing the chair, the rapporteur, and the members of the WH Centre (and circulating the documentation). In a broader sense, the authority to judge which activities are valid and use this capacity to support the contention this function comprises performativity of expertise (which usually means those practices that have become customary).

As a further distinguishing feature of the WH Committee's environment, there is a propensity for this expertise to merge, or to be more precise, for a single job or people to embody several experiences. Due to this, the forum's debates and choices will be influenced by the way this expertise are practised. According to Bourdieu's theory, technical skill depends on social competence. Despite the claim that technical experts' resources of symbolic capital are poorer than diplomats' (Brumann, 2014), the structural fact of technical experts being embedded in states' delegations, especially over time, requires the exercise of diplomatic judgement, of knowing when to speak, and how to speak 'for' their state and simultaneously for heritage conservation: a consummate diplomatic act.

Members of diplomatic and technical delegations, as well as advisory organisations, may acquire the institutional knowledge of WH Committee procedures and argue tradition or precedent with a question of procedure. Experts in international diplomacy may lack experience in this specific venue, but they might put their knowledge to use by appealing to a more general United Nations or diplomatic concept. Members of the Committee may appeal to a larger internationalist cosmopolitanism by referencing other multilateral bureaucratic contexts, most notably the United Nations, when challenging or clarifying established processes and etiquette.

The dynamics and fluidity of roles and contributions in the technical decision-making of WH mentioned earlier are all translated into the form of documents called operational guidelines to be implemented on the local/national level. This is to reflect on the fact the global administration of a policy construct does not form a government, it creates bureaucratic machinery whose actors are tasked with interpreting and executing processes arising from conventions and treaties. Once states have ratified an international treaty, they are tasked with making it a reality. Translation or interpretation of those conventions is left blank for national/local actors to be interpreted based on their understanding of the process, which does not have to be the same as the international. In the next Chapter, the differences in interpretations will be discussed among two main actors in the empirical study at the

intersection between international and national levels of power. Once a convention has been ratified, there will be administrative processes and bureaucratic measures inserted into place to implement it. Most will lead to the establishment of brand-new administrative positions and the hiring of new officials tasked with enforcing these rules in intricate social structures.

After WWII, UNESCO and its member states negotiated a succession of heritage treaties, beginning with the WHC in 1972 and continuing with the Conventions on Underwater and Intangible Heritage in 2001 and 2003, respectively. Each of these laid out guidelines for how cultural items and practices are chosen to include in international registers, with the overarching goal of promoting the protection of humanity's accumulated heritage. There are procedure manuals for each convention. Each convention needs its own administrative body to guide candidates, handle nominations, and raise issues with the intergovernmental committees. After a country has ratified a heritage convention, it creates national administrative structures and regulatory frameworks that allow for the creation of heritage application dossiers and, if approved, the execution of heritage management plans. Much of UNESCO's agenda is 'lost in translation' or invariably transformed as heritage conventions enter the level of state governance. While implementing the international heritage regime on the state level generates a profusion of additional heritage regimes, endowing actors at the state, regional, and local levels with varying degrees of power over selective aspects of heritage. The challenge for State Parties is how to transfer the international (the general) guidance into a customised experience to be culture specific and responsive to the reality that exists. Based on the political and institutional structures of those State Parties will be the implementation of those guidelines with the adequate tools of governance and expertise.

Looking at the intersection of performed understanding and the governance of heritage, a question is endeavoured on how the power relations and dynamics between different actors can shape and transform the heritage conservation approach continuously, how different operational guidelines received by the State Parties (national), and how these subjectivities in the whole process contribute towards political and cultural changes within (and to) heritage conservation/management locally/nationally/globally. State actors' discursive framings of the technical approach in heritage conservation/management are recognised as the key factor for bridging the gap in the translation or interpretation of guidance and practices and can shift the international perception of their involvement in heritage conservation globally. A more nuanced understanding of the technical approach of heritage conservation helps us move beyond accounts of heritage globalisation, towards much-needed analyses of individual and

collective experiences of these interpretations of heritage conservation on the national/local level.

## 2.6.Conclusion

By synthesising these different strands of conceptualising heritage and heritage conservation, and answering the question highlighted in the introduction, heritage understanding is framed around how the multiple logics, experiences, and relations surround and are produced through interpretations of the technicalities of heritage conservation. Taking heritage as a process in which forms of cultural capital are produced, the research looks to understand the politics, relations, experiences, and materiality interact to shape and reproduce it. While starting from this conceptual basis, it is interesting to examine the role of negotiations and persuasion in interpreting those differences and how the guidance and operational guidelines are formed, contested, and reshaped through different levels of governance.

Analysis requires a broader ontological understanding of the persuasion and negotiations of heritage production. Many theorists have forwarded rich accounts of the social, political, and subjective production of space to explain this process. Although these accounts extend beyond heritage studies, they provide a basis for interpreting agencies. In attempting to understand the subjective and performed experiences of policymakers in heritage conservation, the premise that discursive, political, and material forces interact within heritage conservation is the starting point. This view is broadly informed by Lefebvre's (1991) account of the production of space which recognises how the heritage reimagined by different stakeholders can form the seen and lived spaces of the heritage, and that conscious and unconscious experiences are dialectically bound to material, represented, and performed aspects of heritage conservation.

Existing literature on heritage conservation may note the role of human beneficiaries and participants, but rarely are they discussed regarding the technical negotiation and persuasion of heritage production. While a Marxian perspective views space as sole production and consumption with less attention to the social aspects as an integral transformation of the socio-nature of space. How the proliferation of heritage understanding might not be beneficial all the time. Yet, it is a lens used to investigate the process of variable parallel understandings of heritage conservation in the same place and how they collide or resonate with others. Whatever their distinction, guidance or operational guidelines are proposed to be an integral aspect of heritage conceptualisation and the broader functioning of heritage

conservation between different levels. This thesis expands the understanding of the heritage conservation technical approach beyond the mechanism of heritage protection and broadens the analysis of this technical approach used as soft powers negotiations

While this ontological perspective may seem common-sensical, it resonates with elements of prevalent contemporary theorisations of space. As it intentionally endeavours to find a flexible middle ground from which to consider the differences in heritage conservation among different levels of governance. This means capital and class (regarding expertise level and power dynamics based on how influential the actors involved in the heritage conservation process) are important forces within the management of any heritage and that varied affective and subjective experiences will contribute. Research must critically interrogate actors' relations and performances, but also recognise their assumptions and representations have agency both in contributing to research and a broader disposition within heritage politics and processes.

This ontological positioning leaves us in an uncertain, but rich, position. It attempts to simultaneously recognise performed, represented, and subjective aspects of social space, and the relations between these positions. However, how one goes about this in practice is far from evident. Beginning from the position that material, performative, and subjective experiences of expertise in heritage conservation are inherently relational and mutually co-constitutive, in what ways can change and relations be understood and identified? The relationship between heritage, the technical approach to heritage conservation, and channels of interaction (persuasion and negotiations) will be considered further in the empirical and discussion Chapters that follow. The technical approach discussed in the next Chapter is crucial to help understand how the heritage is framed, shaped, and articulated differently in different contexts, however, the steps or the process could be the same. It also reflects on the complexity of this process that is claimed to be objective, yet is subjective in its core principles.

# 3. CHAPTER THREE: TECHNICAL APPROACH TO HERITAGE CONSERVATION TWO PERSPECTIVES

## 3.1.Introduction

The previous Chapter highlighted the different understandings of heritage and heritage conservation approaches and the reasons for these differences. How these different understandings have implications for heritage governance and the tools used, depending on the different actors' roles involved in the heritage conservation process. To end with highlighting the possibility of various interpretations of the technical approach of heritage conservation based on political, experiences, and subjective understanding of those involved.

In this Chapter, the concept of heritage governance is continued, the tools used regarding guidance based on Carmona's (2017) classification of design governance tools. The similarities with the heritage conservation approach in heritage studies are investigated. As a substitution for the technical heavy language used in heritage conservation by a specific level of expertise who sometimes became more fluid to cope with the dynamic nature of the heritage conservation process. This fluidity creates various scenarios of approach depending on multiple factors discussed in the previous Chapter, which requires more focus on it.

Different scholars focused on heritage governance at local/national levels, however, the discursive framing of WH governance and its relation/implications on those levels raises many questions. It unpacks those various scenarios not taken into consideration from UNESCO's example on an international level. The question here is: how does the discursive framing of WH governance relate to the broader national/local policies regarding heritage conservation and cities' transformation? To respond to this question properly, it is necessary to first set out the differences in heritage conservation technical approach between two different organisations: HE at England's national level and UNESCO at an international level.

The choice of two different levels in heritage governance is essential to elaborate on the process of globalisation that impacted heritage conservation as discussed in Chapter 2. However, due to the acceleration of flows of culture, corporations, capital, language, people, technology, and labour, eroded the contours of modern nation-states. Therefore, friction and resonances were generated due to the interaction of ideologies, images, and concepts across and between local, regional, national, and international communities (Collier and Ong, 2005). This Erosion of the contours of modern nation-states affected the perception of UNESCO to

consider the nations with their existing political, cultural, and social ideologies with heritage conservation.

This Chapter focuses on those issues and challenges faced by the nation-state to integrate or articulate UNESCO's operational guidelines within their national/local policies for heritage conservation. Inspired by Foucault's (1991) theory of governmentality used to overcome the dualist nature of neo-liberalism as an attempt to examine it following the 'rule of immanence' (Foucault, 1980). Combining methods of power, forms of knowledge, and technologies of the self enables a more thorough analysis of ongoing political and social changes. The final argument is there is a shift in the understanding of the nation-state's position in the process of heritage conservation, which informs the understanding of heritage.

## 3.2. Guidance as a Tool of Design Governance

As discussed in Section 2.5, the choice of the tool has a significant impact on the result of the process, and this is because each player brings unique viewpoints, philosophies, abilities, and incentives. The reason for focusing on tools of design governance is it directly relates to the technical aspect of the heritage conservation approach, which is going to be discussed later in the Chapter. It is essential to be discussed at the beginning of the Chapter to set the scene of how those tools influence and shape the built environment and the decision-making process. What is meant by design here, as Carmona (2018) argued, is 'The process of state-sanctioned intervention in the means and processes of designing the built environment to shape both processes and outcomes in a defined public interest'. The state-sanctioned intervention here could be a policy design. This exactly goes with Lefebvre's Spatial Triad (1991) 'representations of space', which are the official conceptions of urban areas logical, intellectualised, and developed for analytical, administrative, and real estate development goals. They are created by technocrats, including engineers, urbanists, architects, and planners, as well as scientist-inclined artists. They are the dominating representations and may take the shape of strategy documents and citywide zoning plans, written words, or quasi-scientific visual representations of many types, including design guides, master plans, and maps – imagined space.

The representation of space will influence what is seen in the built environment. Back at what was discussed in Sections 2.3.2.2 and 2.4, on how globalisation impacts heritage with its economic values as one of the main drivers for heritage management and conservation, tells

plenty regarding how design governance tools will be shaped and shaping the built environment, consciously or unconsciously.

The emphasis on architectural heritage by Schuster, de Monchaux, and Riley (1997) proposed five kinds of tools (Table 3), which Schuster (2005, p. 357) debates are 'the core building blocks with which a government's urban design strategy is executed'. He argued they may map all urban planning acts of the state and must therefore be completely understood so the optimal decision can be made in any circumstance.

Schuster's techniques are not only covering design but the whole spectrum of 'place-making' professions, from urban planning to urban management. They affirm the aspirations of governmental bodies can be realised through direct action by government agencies or through various means of influencing the decisions of private actors, such as the creation of policy and legal frameworks or fiscal measures, such as imposing taxes or tax exemptions and subsidies. All but the first of Schuster's categories, therefore, shape the decision-making environment within which design occurs rather than specific design solutions, and all but (sometimes) the last are typically part of formal processes through which powers granted by statute are used to direct, coerce, or encourage other parties towards specific ends in the public interest. For example, in heritage conservation, 'ownership' is a critical concept due to the variety of what heritage entails, from tangible to intangible. For intangible it is difficult to define or claim ownership, especially if the composition of the society (multi-ethnic groups) might compete with or conflict with others, etc. For tangible, it is also complicated regarding guidance and how it can be applied if individual owners' understanding of their heritage value does not meet with those in the decision-making process.

Carmona et al. (2010) offer a simplified three-part framework (Table 3) based on the premise that in the neoliberal era, the state rarely builds non-infrastructure-related development beyond the scale of the individual building (a school, a hospital, etc.) and (in Schuster's terms) regulation typically flows from establishment rights. Therefore, the day-to-day practice of urban design in the public sector relies primarily on three kinds of tools: 'Guidance, Incentive, and control'. This framework proposes that a better way to understand the role of urban design in the public sector is to positively shape the production of higher design quality and better places, where processes of control are ideally shaped by allied processes of guidance and incentive that precede the act of control (Carmona et al. 2010). Typically, each of the three activities is controlled by legislation and is often extremely prescriptive. Guidance will be discussed in the next Section, but it is resembling the operational guidelines of UNESCO,

HE 'Conservation principles, policies and Guidance' etc. Those documents are considered the cornerstone for heritage conservation and management. However, there have been these issues of having a common understanding of heritage between different actors, which in return affect the use of the tools of design governance in the heritage conservation approach.

Tiesdell and Allmendinger (2005) suggested it is crucial to comprehend how tools impact the decision-making environment and, therefore, the behaviour of important development actors, not least as the public sector makes certain acts more probable than others by employing the collection of accessible tools (Table 3). The first three of their categories connect well to the triad of guidance, incentive, and control, while the fourth focuses on the ability to use the tools in a novel way. This fourth category, when applied to the physical environment, is especially significant as it identifies a role for the public sector that transcends a focus on specific development objectives and instead pertains to guiding the process that leads to those results. Implicitly, it implies a complex governance infrastructure serves little use if individuals charged with its administration lack the skill, confidence, knowledge, alliances, or resources to properly administer it. These types of issues are likely to occur outside of formal or statutory systems of governance and instead come within the broad category of activities and services described as informal or discretionary. This issue is not the case for heritage conservation as it occurs within the formal tools of governance (guidance, incentive, and control). As mentioned in Sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2, developing the capacity of development actors/organisations is shifting and fluid in the process of heritage conservation/management. Thus, the guidance is shifting and transforming based on the actors' material, performative, and subjective experiences. Simultaneously, the updating of guidance or guidelines requires new institutional organisations and roles to cope with this shift.

Carmona et al. (2010) acknowledged this distinction and build upon Lynch's (1976, pp. 41-55) four modes of urban design action diagnosis, policy, design, and regulation. In addition, Rowley's (2007) two additional modes of education and participation, and management (Table 3) expanded their earlier framework with four additional means by which the public sector shapes the place. The extended framework reflects a simplistic notion of urban design as a linear process to be shaped by public sector intervention using various tools along its length.

Tools operate neither in isolation nor in a vacuum and may exist within crowded governance contexts, with individual tools impacting a variety of different behaviours.

Table 2 The tools of design governance classification (Carmona, 2017)

| Framework | Focus | Tools |
|---|---|---|
| Schuster, de Monchaux, and riley (1997) | The public sector may choose direct provision by owning land and building itself (the state will do X) | Ownership and Operation |
| | Intervening directly in the actions of others who seek to develop (you must or must not do X) | Regulation |
| | Encouraging certain behaviours, for example, grants, land transfer or enhanced development rights (if you do X the state will do Y) | Incentives (and disincentives) |
| | Zoning or re-zoning land uses (you have the right to do X, and the state will enforce that right) | Establishment, allocation and enforcement of property rights |
| | Collecting and distributing information intended to influence the actions of other actors, such as the production of guidance on desirable design attributes (you should do X or you need to know Y in order to do X | Information |
| Carmona et al. (2010) – Part 1 | 'Positive' encouraging of appropriate development by producing a range of plans and guides from simple 'information' tools to 'establishment and allocation' devices guiding the distribution and redistribution of land uses | Guidance |
| | enabling development in the public interest by actively contributing public sector land or resources to the development process or otherwise making development more attractive to landowners | Incentive |
| | The ultimate sanction through the ability to refuse permission for development via control and enforcement typically via overlapping regulatory regimes | Control |
| Tiesdell and Allmendinger (2005) | Setting the context for market decisions and transactions through shaping the decision environment | Shaping behaviours |
| | Lubricating market actions and transactions through restructuring the contours of the decision environment | Stimulating behaviours |
| | Controlling and regulating market actions through defining the parameters of the decision environment | Regulating behaviours |
| | Enhancing the ability of actors to operate more effectively through, for example, developing human capital (skills, knowledge and attitudes) and/or enhancing organisational networks | Developing the capacity of development actors / organisations |
| Carmona et al. (2010) – Part 2 | Understanding the built environment as a complex local context | Diagnosis / appraisal |
| | Developing capacity and raising aspirations over time | Education |
| | Engaging all those with a stake in place | Participation |
| | Stewardship of the built environment (reflecting the public sector's responsibility for its buildings, streets and spaces) | Management |

Typically, design advice is a collection of shaping, regulating, and stimulating devices (Carmona, et al., 2010).

### 3.2.1. The Development of a Typology for Design Governance

Considering the preceding discussion, it is possible to propose a typology of tools to aid in the analysis and comprehension of design governance (Carmona, 2018). First, there is a

contrast between 'formal' and 'informal' tools; between those statutorily established as 'required' tasks of the state (usually related to clearly defined regulatory obligations) and those discretionary and, thus, optional. This is the primary distinction that defines the classification of tools within the typology. Second, two more significant conceptual characteristics may be merged to provide a second differentiating feature that focuses on the involvement of design governance tools. These are the differences between the 'products' and 'processes' of creating the built environment, as well as the 'direct' and 'indirect' processes of urban design (respectively those dealing directly with sites and projects and those concerned with shaping the decision-making environment within which choices about projects are subsequently made). Thus, a focus on process and on indirectly altering the decision-making environment is likely to have a more long-term and diffuse effect, while a focus on product, on specific projects, and/or locations is likely to have a more immediate and direct effect on moulding results. This leads to the development of a multi-levelled typology that distinguishes formal and informal design governance procedures.

## 3.2.2. A legislative foundation – Formal tools

Since the formal tools derive from defined state authorities, [they are] sanctioned in law or enforceable national/state policy. This normally lays the burden for delivering these duties on local government and specifies the methods they should use to do so. In the UK, for instance, national law has allowed the establishment of development plans under different names since 1909, and these plans in 1947 gave the authority to develop properties based on the concept of nationalisation. 'Planning permissions' were given after that as a necessity prior to the land's development. Thousands of pieces of legislation have been enacted over the past century either to directly shape the planning system in the UK (or within its constituent countries) or to have significant indirect effects on how it operates, such as environmental protection and human rights legislation.

Sixteen separate pieces of primary legislation in 2015, for instance, and eighteen separate pieces of secondary legislation were directly relevant to planning in England. Before 2012 (when it was merged), these were accompanied by over 1,000 pages of policy and 7,000 pages of guidance outlining how the powers should be used. While only a small proportion of this national planning legislation, policy, and guidance are related centrally to design considerations, others include laws about transportation, housing, economic development, conservation, the environment, wildlife and the countryside, local government, building regulation, public procurement, parks, and open spaces. As each legal or policy action has

duties for the state working at its different scales, it also carries considerable resource implications (ultimately with tax and spending implications). With design, this has implications for property rights, personal liberties, and the public interest.

### 3.2.2.1. Guidance

According to Baer (2011, p. 277), 'There are several words that mean roughly the same thing concerning devices that guide human behaviour', and identifies norms, customs, rules, standards, and regulations, using rules as the generic catch-all within which standards 'a profession's internally devised rules' and regulations 'government-issued rules' can be found. These words, along with a broad variety of others, are often used without distinction (or at least interchangeably), and there are no agreed-upon set of meanings. When discussing public sector urban design, Lang (1996, p. 9) distinguished between guidelines, principles, and objectives, defining guidelines as 'a statement which specifies (for uninformed people) how to meet a design objective', and principles as 'the link between the desired design objective and a particular pattern or layout of the environment', and objectives as 'statements of what a design is to achieve'. The operational definition of the broad purpose is the 'guideline' or 'guidance' (as stated by Delafons (1994, p. 17)) since it suggests less rigidity). 'Design guidance' is used as the umbrella word for the variety of instruments that establish operational design criteria to lead the design of the development. With heritage conservation, the objective is usually clear, which is safeguarding the tangible heritage for future generations. However, based on social, economic, and political aspects, this might not be the case. As discussed in the value-based approach, values are a main variable that controls the approach on how to deal with heritage, what must be protected, and what is not. Does this mean the approach will follow the guidelines, and this is where the problem lies? The conflict usually starts when the objectives for development or heritage management are restricted by a set of guidelines that give little space for freedom. It also collides with other aspects of ownership and financial resources, where the dominant actors control and shape how heritage conservation and management it going to be.

Carmona (2011) placed a significant restriction on what can be included in the category of guidance, suggesting design guidance does not include legally binding design requirements, such as those found in some forms of zoning, as this would imply an element of enforceability that guidance lacks. He argues, 'the mere name 'guide' implies advice rather than coercion, and this reflects a crucial contrast between guidance and control procedures' (Carmona, 2011). Despite this limitation, there has been an explosion of design guidance kinds,

including local design frameworks, design guides, design briefs, design strategies, spatial masterplans, development standards, design protocols, design codes, and design charters. Again, this does not work straightforwardly with heritage conservation, even though guidelines or guidance is to guide more than legally binding. With planning permissions, it can be one restriction of not accepting the proposed development. Or in the case of WHS, WH committee may add the site to the WHL or even remove it based on the operational guidelines which are not legally binding but are one form of cultural capital that adds value to its local/national context.

Design guidance can be categorised in a variety of ways: according to its subject (type of land use or development); the level of governance; whether generic or specific (the latter relating to a particular place, project, or site); the type of context it applies to; by the level of detail or prescription; its scale of application (strategic to local); or ownership (publicly or privately commissioned). Its objectives, for instance, may vary based on the aspirations of the actors involved and the nature of the required developed environment. Especially if the idea is to define minimum desired quality thresholds or to raise the bar and strive for higher design quality. Although not mutually exclusive, these goals would be contingent on the character of the expected consumers of the guidance, their receptivity to its content, and the balance of power between the different stakeholders in the development process (Bentley, 1999).

At this stage, two key characteristics may be identified as the basis for a simple four-part typology of design guidance:

• The degree of locational specificity, whether general (applicable to a whole municipality, for instance) or unique to a single locale (for example, a defined neighbourhood or site).

• The level of interpretation required by the guidance.
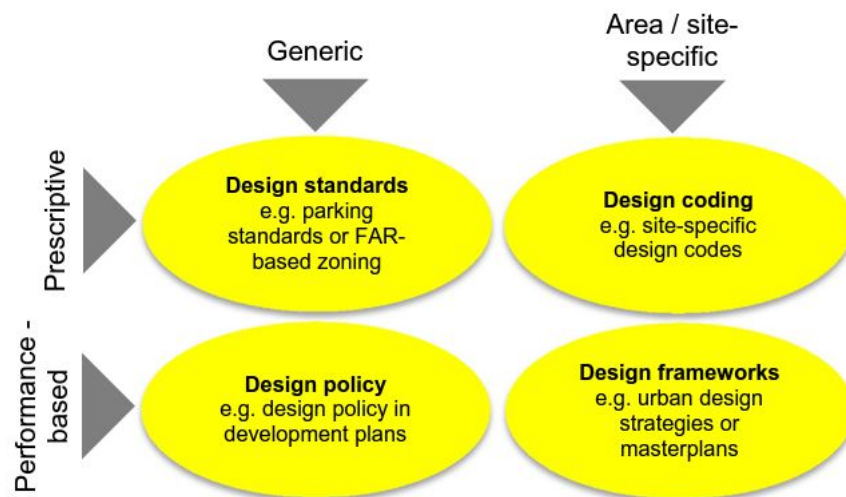
Figure 2 design guidance typology (Carmona, 2017)

The first part of this conceptualisation is self-explanatory (Figure 3), whereas the second part reflects a distinction made by Carmona, de Magalhaes, and Natarajan (2017). Performance requirements establish the broad design objectives of public authority through the 'performance' expected of aspects or projects or places (such as accessibility for all in buildings). However, it does not specify how that performance should be met. In contrast, prescriptive criteria 'prescribe' precisely what this entails, or how the intended performance should be accomplished in the final product or location (e.g. step-free access to buildings). When implemented, the former will be subject to a great deal of interpretation, but the latter will be well-defined and rigid. The generic and site-specific categories correlate with heritage conservation guidelines or guidance. It depends on each site regarding the character of the area or the historical transformation that is following a certain culture or norms. Regarding WHS, UNESCO requests a detailed management plan for the site that goes into the details of the materials being used to be compatible with the heritage. In the end, the effectiveness of any instrument will depend on the thought that goes into its creation and subsequent deployment.

## 3.3. UNESCO's Position in Heritage Conservation Approach

### 3.3.1. UNESCO's Politics

The 'flagship' organisation in this arena is UNESCO, which has received plenty of attention in recent decades. Most of the analysis has been 'grounded', focused on the ramifications of WHS designation and issues like tourism, planning, site encroachment. Where UNESCO policies have been on a more abstract, conceptual level, there has been a widespread

preference for examining 'outcomes' through critiques of charters, conventions, or the plethora of policy documents associated with formal heritage designation, such as the WHL (Keough, 2011; Rodwell, 2012; Donnachie, 2009).

The focus is not on the outcome instead; it is in the process. What are the main principles and goals that were behind the establishment of UNESCO? How this developed and shifted gradually and why? This focus is exposing how expert knowledge is formed in bureaucratic contexts, as well as how and why ideas acquire currency and ascendency in such settings. Understanding transnational knowledge production, according to Kuus (2014, p. 40), is about reading messiness, the formal and informal lives of expert knowledge, and how decision-making is contingent on formal and informal modes of competence; processes regarded as critical to understanding how an organisation such as the UNESCO produces knowledge about the world.

In principle, UNESCO's early worldwide initiatives were to rescue the Nubian sites in the 1960s, followed by Moenjodaro, Bamiyan, Borobudur, Basra, and Tabqa in the 1970s. It always had the goal that heritage should not serve for conflict but as a tool for dialogue and reconciliation. A heroic period of conservation in UNESCO'S history was between 1965 and 1985, 'administrative and legislative action and parallel growth of the voluntary association, along with media pressure' expanded conservation internationally (Meskell, 2015). This expansion occurred as quasi-colonial European interventions and the idealistic solidarity in heritage protection in developing nations to the current juggernaut of 1,007 sites across 161 countries, with million-dollar nomination dossiers. This extensive investment, whether of time or resources due to the promise of vast tourist revenues, proved itself as a real and core value of heritage gradually. Thus, WH status became a political business, both in attaining and maintaining it. The reality now has been overtaken by politico-economic leverage and advantage in the international arena instead of the past in the service of intercultural understanding and peacebuilding – associated with the establishment of UNESCO (Di Giovine, 2009).

Besides disputes emerging around heritage on the ground, WH Committee conferences frequently include political, economic, and territorial issues (Meskell, 2010). WH regimes may have always been about 'marking territory', but what we see now in WH Committee meetings is considerably more expansionist in its international reach, and its capillary networks extend well beyond the purview of culture or heritage (Wright, 1998). The WH Committee has grown more political and antagonistic in recent years (UNESCO, 2011;

Brumann, 2012; Bertacchini & Saccone, 2012). Transgovernmental networks constituted of informal horizontal peer-to-peer contacts, such as vote swaps, have also become standard practice. This escalating multipolarity increases the number of states whose cooperation is required to obtain agreements internationally. In UNESCO, the state is not receding; rather, sovereignty is being exercised differently, resulting in new forms of negotiation and governance, like in other UN agencies (Slaughter, 2004).

For instance, numerous State Parties reported concerns in the external auditors' report (2010, p. 5) that China exerted pressure on other members to acquire their own proposed sites for inscription prior to the official Committee meeting. Brazil, as Committee chair and host country, requested the Committee's authority to make judgements beyond the Convention. Some of the most influential delegates in Brazil now acknowledge they helped to establish this new platform for partisanship and self-interest (Meskell, et al., 2015c). The forthcoming national elections made it crucial for Brazil to get São Francisco Square in São Cristóvão inscribed on the List. You can see the variation in the concordance factor across sites proposed by the 21 different State Parties represented on the Committee (Figure 4).
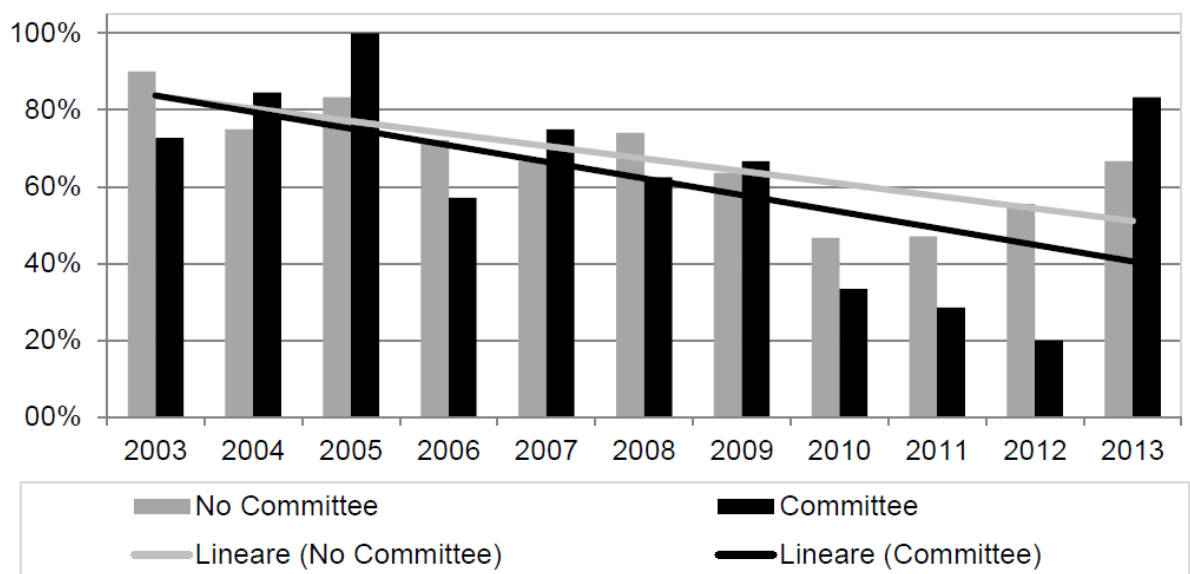


Figure 3 The black bars show the concordance factor for sites nominated successfully by State Parties to the WH Committee. This factor was larger in the early years but has since dropped drastically. This also reflects the diverging concordance factor between the two groups throughout the whole period (69% for nations on the WHC vs 62% for those not represented) (Meskell, et al., 2015c)

So, when we look at the politics here, it is related to Tiesdell and Allmendinger's discussion on behaviour (Section 3.2) whether shaping, stimulating or even regulating and how it is

directly related to guidance. The decision-making environment with the WH committee was not ready for unpredictable changes such as economic globalisation and its impact on the rise of new players, such as India, China, and Brazil, have shifted the ability for State Parties to corporate multilaterally. This shift in powers highlights one issue, which is the production of knowledge of such sites. Does the local knowledge here mean the local community/nation, or the local is the WH committee considering UNESCO as a place on a different level that has its local knowledge as well?

The reason behind discussing the politics of UNESCO is it matches Foucault's (1991) concept of 'governmentality' which captures political knowledge. His primary challenge is not to determine whether activities are reason-compliant, but to identify the specific rationale at play. In this view, rationality does not require a normative judgement, since it pertains to social relations rather than any kind of transcendental reason. Here, studies of governmentality follow Foucault in analysing unique objects and experiences and their development or historical transformation of behaviour over time (in his case, sexuality, madness, delinquency, and so on), rather than Weber's (2009) concept of a universal process of rationalisation or the idea of a totalising and self-enclosed system of ideas or attitudes (e.g. Zeitgeist, mentality). This rationale is to give a better understanding of different organisations' standing points and differences.

### 3.3.2. UNESCO – Whose Knowledge Is It?

In this Section, the details of the technical approach to heritage conservation are examined, which formulates or shapes the guidance tools of heritage governance. One of the core concepts of the WHC is OUV, as discussed earlier in Section 2.4.1. OUV raises several theoretical concerns. What is the manifestation of OUV in heritage sites? And how decides on this? To what end does the concept that values are inherent to properties play such a vital role in heritage discourses?

The basic belief of UNESCO's heritage protection philosophy is that certain places are unique in how they are worthy of being preserved for the benefit of all mankind. This reasoning suggests people worldwide, regardless of their income level, where they were born, or their cultural background, should love and enjoy the same exceptional locations. With this assumption, there is a contradiction with the idea of expertise 'technical'. If this is true, why do we need experts in the first place? We are neglecting the fact that people's perception and understanding of the world is different. Due to this, we attribute these landmarks with

timeless, immutable inherent qualities independent of the desires of the people living in the here and now (Laenen, 2008; Lafrenz Samuels, 2008). The terms 'intrinsic' and 'objective' are used often in key UNESCO papers like the Operational Guidelines for the execution of the WHC to denote remarkable universal value. For instance, the 'intrinsic features' of nominated attributes are mentioned in paragraph 116 of the 2005 edition of these rules. For example, perhaps the Great Pyramids of Giza in Egypt have inherent worth since they have been recognised throughout history. They were one of the seven wonders chosen by the Philon of Byzantium in 200 B.C.E., and they were included in the WHL as one of the first sites in 1979.

For instance, Kant (1790) explained beauty in the first paragraph of his Critique of Judgement. His main point is people enjoy what they find attractive, rather than judging things as beautiful as they are pleasing to them. In addition, these objective assessments are presented as universal since they originate in the human mind, align with a commonly held concept of 'common sense', and represent a broad agreement among people on the worth of various works of art. To paraphrase the Critique of Judgement, 'experience of art, and the values that derive from that experience, are available to all people equally and individually, in, say, the 'public' museum and, further, that good taste is innate (a sort of a secular state of grace)' (Nelson & Shiff, 2003). Recently, theorists like Bourdieu (1984) have deconstructed this view, showing a love of the arts is not innate but something that can be taught via formal education and personal/familial networks. Therefore, people from different educational, personal, and financial backgrounds have vastly different experiences and perspectives on art and heritage.

The belief in the 'intrinsic value' of art and heritage continues to be widespread and important in heritage debates for a variety of reasons. According to Smith (1988, p. 53), the 'intrinsic' values at stake here are those 'repeatedly referenced and recited, translated, taught and emulated' by different people worldwide, such as the Egyptian Pyramids and classical Greek and Roman architecture. They are places 'everyone knows about', as Jokilehto (2006, p. 6) emphasised. These locations do not seem to be intense public contestation, and therefore they appear to have gained objective and intrinsic qualities accepted by everybody. The normative work of different institutions is essential to the upkeep of these aesthetic standards. To define what is meant by OUV members of the WH Committee and WH specialists, often cite examples of famous works (Francioni & Lenzerini, 2008; Cleere, 2011).

Objective values are often understood to refer to inalienable features associated with a property's structure or past. Designated 'experts' often identify them and assign characteristics to them. Heritage professionals must make a place for the interests and views of other, equally involved stakeholders if values are not inherent to cultural heritage but are developed via a process performed and affected by many persons. Due to being placed in this setting, the expert's perspective no longer stands out as distinctive or superior and is instead on par with that of the layperson. If values are intrinsic, then the significance of locations stems from what experts determine to be significant. Then, by giving 'experts' the power to determine the 'real' importance of attributes, intrinsic value is used to control and restrict the spread of meaning.

Traditional notions of authenticity also place heavy emphasis on appreciating cultural artefacts for what they were originally intended to signify, look like, and be used for. When used in the administration of cultural properties, this word usually refers to the need that places be kept in their original, historical condition. To meet the criteria of this definition, a place is considered more genuine if it more closely resembles its original layout, construction, and materials. The latter developments and changes that make up the historical strata of a specific site must be preserved, as stated in significant charters such as the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964) (especially Article 11). However, these modern alterations are often downplayed and ignored in favour of the building's original shape and principal function. This view of authenticity was a Western perspective. As was debated at length during the Nara Conference and Document on Authenticity (UNESCO, 2007), non-Western frameworks do not limit authenticity to the original form, design, material, and craftsmanship of cultural heritage monuments.

When we reflect on the OUV, whose knowledge here is being generated to shape the WHL, answering the question about OUV manifestation from UNESCO's viewpoint, it is a universal or unique value which does not have an equivalent elsewhere. Each heritage site to its surrounding context or community is unique to them, but it does not mean it is unique to all humanity equally. So, universal, here is a social construct based on the community of experts on UNESCO's level or what is called in this context the 'global level' that does not reflect the reality perceived by others. However, this understanding of intrinsic value is dominating the world heritage discourses, as opposed to others.

### 3.3.3. UNESCO Operational Guidelines'

In continuing the technical approach, the operational guidelines are acting as prescriptive generic (Figure 3) guidance. This is due to the increasing risks that heritage sites face which threaten their existence. Topping the current list of the most often cited problems harming WHS (World Heritage Committee, 2016) are the lack of or inadequate implementation of management plans and gaps in the management systems (Table 4). The variables vary depending on the heritage property being evaluated.

Table 3 Presents the most reported factors affecting, respectively, natural, and cultural properties, as identified in the State of Conservation reports presented in 2016 (World Heritage Committee, 2016)

| Cultural Properties | | Natural Properties | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Factor | % of the reported Properties affected | Factor | % of the reported Properties affected |
| Management systems/ management plan | 78.1 | Management systems/ management plan | 59.3 |
| Housing | 43.7 | Illegal activities | 51.9 |
| Management activities | 24.0 | Mining | 31.5 |
| Legal framework | 19.8 | Water infrastructure | 25.9 |
| War and civil unrest | 17.7 | Land conversion | 25.9 |
| Ground transport infrastructure | 15.6 | Livestock farming/grazing of domesticated animals | 25.9 |
| Land conservation | 12.5 | Ground transport infrastructure | 25.9 |
| Impacts of tourism/visitor/ recreation | 12.5 | Impacts of tourism/visitor/ recreation | 24.1 |
| Major visitor accommodation and associated infrastructure | 12.5 | Oil and gas | 18.5 |
| Deliberate destruction of heritage | 11.5 | Major visitor accommodation and associated infrastructure | 16.7 |
| Illegal activities | 10.4 | Legal framework | 14.8 |
| Interpretative and visitation facilities | 10.4 | Identity, social cohesion, changes in local population and community | 14.8 |
| Erosion and siltation/deposition | 9.4 | War and civil unrest | 14.8 |
| Human resources | 8.3 | Invasive/alien terrestrial species | 13.0 |
| Effects arising from use of transportation infrastructure | 7.3 | Governance | 11.1 |
| | | Invasive/alien freshwater species | 11.1 |

Some common threats have different rankings; for example, illegal activities like illegal logging or poaching affect only 10% of the cultural sites but 60% of the natural sites; other factors, like major visitor accommodation and associated infrastructure, are results of the

increased public and touristic interest following listing as WH. However, the absence or poor implementation of an integrated management system is closely related to each of the most often cited problems (Table 4). The influence on the OUV of WHS is rising and managing these sites effectively has been designated as a top priority for protecting these sites.

Maintaining and preserving the WHS, that has been designated by the WHC, is essential through management plans or what is said as 'generic prescriptive guidance' that is site specific to guarantee full protection.

Although the WHC's guiding principles and key institutions have been in place for 45 years, the necessity for heritage management was only recognised relatively recently. Article 5 of the Convention mandates the adoption of 'a general strategy which aspires to provide the cultural and natural heritage a role in the society's life and to incorporate the conservation of such heritage into comprehensive planning programmes' (UNESCO, 1972). For the policy to be implemented, 'one or more services for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage with an appropriate staff and possessing the means to discharge their functions' should be in place (Ringbeck, 2018). Further requirements are 'to develop scientific and technical studies and research and to work out such operating methods'. Lastly, State Parties are requested to provide information to the WH Committee 'on the legislative and administrative provisions, which they have adopted and other activities, which they have taken for the application of this Convention, together with details of the experience acquired in this field' (UNESCO, 1972).

### 3.3.3.1. The Conservation Principles, Charters, and Recommendations

As the 1990s progressed, it became clearer the Convention and Recommendation's appellative nature guiding principles and core structures were not adequate to safeguard and maintain WHS on their own. Therefore, full explanations of the management's process were required in response to the advisory bodies' demands for information about the status of conservation reports and nomination dossiers. After the new Operational Guidelines for implementing the WHC were released, the notion of management was clarified, and management requirements were established, allowing for properties to be inscribed on the WHL (World Heritage Centre, 2005a). Concerns such as effective protection limits, buffer zones, and sustainable usage were initially established in the guidelines. These issues included legislation, regulation, and contracts aimed at protection. To back up their claims that 'the measures have been implemented efficiently' and that 'various stakeholders have

been able to work together effectively', they detail the components of a standard management plan or other documented management system.

Therefore, a management plan or management system should include things like a thorough shared understanding of the property by all stakeholders; a cycle of planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation, and feedback; the involvement of partners and stakeholders; the allocation of necessary resources; capacity-building; and an accountable, transparent description of how the management plan or system operates.

The next Section discusses a significant document in the history of UNESCO that helped in the transformation of heritage management within WHS. Adding a new concept to the understanding of heritage to sort issues around heritage at risk (Table 4).

### 3.3.3.2. Historic Urban Landscape- Vienna Memorandum

84 cultural sites had State of Conservation assessments drafted for them, papers important for the preservation of historic urban environments. 33 of the cultural sites presented to the Committee were highlighted with negative consequences of urban development and regeneration programmes, such as dangers posed by modern architectural interventions and high-rise structures. The traditional approach on how best to develop and preserve WHS is changing, with authorities struggling to find solutions on every continent (Table 5). Multiple authorities have called for a new, robust impetus to be put toward reconciling the development and conservation of protected sites, along with revised guidelines for decision-makers and the WH Committee to evaluate potential impacts on values and integrity systematically and objectively.

The memorandum authors argued that updating the conceptual tools on which the existing international rules are based is important if these goals are to be realised. For this reason, the phrase 'Historic Urban Landscape (HUL)' emerged to replace more established words in the historiography and theory of heritage, such as 'historic centres', 'historic regions', and 'historic cities'. However, it was unexpected when concepts with solid traditions were replaced with a new, more holistic approach that was also dangerously ambiguous. The term HUL was settled upon in the 2011 Paris Recommendations (World Heritage Committee, 2011).

Today, this terminology means 'the urban region regarded as the product of a historic layering of cultural and natural qualities and traits, going beyond the idea of historic core' or 'ensemble'. Meetings to define and clarify the idea of historic urban landscapes have

continued after the Paris Recommendations were adopted, highlighting the complexities inherent in the topic once again (Ginzarly, et al., 2019).

To be dynamic, to be alive, a city must evolve; this development necessitates contemporaneity, mobility, dynamism, and advancement, as asserted by the 'new cultural operation' (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2014, p. 256), which is reflected by the Vienna Memorandum of 2005 (UNESCO, 2005) and the Paris Recommendation of 2011 (World Heritage Committee, 2011). With the different documentation discussing and highlighting the significance of this shift, neither Vienna nor Paris detailed how this transition would be overseen and implemented. It was one of the main reasons that impacted Liverpool as the selected case study.

However, there has been a minor debate that was not given enough attention needed. Roder and Van Oers (2011, p. 279) discussed with the HUL, the justification that is used (that we face new challenges that require new concepts to face them).

Above all, the implications derived from broadening a field that is already extensive, and ill-defined can be detected in various documents, and generate a deep uneasiness since they convert an approach based on the coherence of existing knowledge into one that fuzziness and broad strokes are a sign of weakness, as a display of all that can be done in the end. It was reflected in the old centre of Vienna, added to the list of WH in Danger by UNESCO in 2017. This resounding failure necessitated the implementation of threats issued to Vienna in 2002 with the construction of the Wien-Mitte railway station, after more than a decade of promoting conferences, conventions, recommendations, and all kinds of events intended to shape and establish the notion of historic urban landscapes in the international arena. This urban renewal includes the construction of high-rise structures, which have significantly altered the skyline of the Austrian capital and the appearance of its historic centre (World Heritage Committee, 2017).

Recent years have seen a disturbing trend of things occurring at WHS. Seville's instance is well-known already; the city has built the 'Pelli Tower' (World Heritage Committee, 2012). The intrinsic ambiguity of the notion of HUL allowed the city to justify its construction through counter-reports commissioned by the Ministry of Culture of Spain, the Junta de Andalucia, and the City Council of Seville (Santander, et al., 2018), despite UNESCO's threats in 2008 that it would include Seville on the list of WH in Danger due to the profound alteration of the city's landscape.

# Table 4 Comparative Analysis of Key Charters and Recommendations (Van Oers, 2007)

| | 1968 | 1976 | 1987 | 2005 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Recommendation concerning the preservation of cultural property endangered by public or private works | Nairobi recommendation concerning the safeguarding and contemporary role of historic areas | Washington charter for the conservation of historic towns and urban areas | Vienna memorandum on world heritage and contemporary architecture – managing the historic urban landscape |
| Definitions | a) Immovable: Archaeological, historic and scientific sites including groups of traditional structures, historic quarters in urban or rural built up area and ethnological structures b) Movable: (not relevant here) | Historic and architectural areas: group of buildings, structures and open spaces in an urban or rural environment, the cohesion and value of which are recognised from the archaeological, architectural, prehistoric, historic, aesthetic or sociocultural point of view. Environment: Natural or man-made setting which influences the static or dynamic way these areas are perceived or which is directly linked to them in space or social, economic or cultural ties. | Historic urban areas, large and small, including cities, towns and historic centres or quarters together with their natural and man-made environments. | HUL goes beyond the notions of historic centres, ensembles, surroundings to include the broader territorial and landscape context. Composed of character-defining elements: land use and patterns, spatial organisation, visual relationships, topography and soils, vegetation and all elements of the technical infrastructures. |
| General principles | a) Preservation of the entire site or structure from the effects of private or public works b) Salvage or rescue of the property if the area is to be transformed, including preservation and removal of the property | a) Historic areas and its surroundings to be considered in their totality as a coherent whole whose balance and specific nature depend on the parts of which it is composed. b) Elements to be preserved include human activities, buildings, spatial organisation and their surroundings | a) Conservation should be integral part of coherent policies of economic and social development and of urban and regional planning. b) Qualities to be preserved include urban patterns, relationships between buildings and open spaces, formal appearance of buildings, relationship with surrounding setting and functions. | a) Continuous change acknowledged as part of city's tradition: response to development dynamics should facilitate changes and growth while respecting inherited townscape and its landscape as well as historic city's authenticity and integrity. b) Enhancing quality of life and production efficiency help strengthening identity and social cohesion. |
| Identified threats | a) Urban expansion and renewal projects removing structures around scheduled monuments. b) Injudicious modifications to individual buildings c) Dams, highways, bridges, cleaning and levelling of land, mining, quarrying, etc... | a) Newly developed areas that could ruin the environment and character of adjoining historic areas b) Disfigurement of historic areas caused by infrastructures, pollution and environmental damage c) Speculation which compromises the interests of the community as a whole. | a) Physical degradation and destruction caused by urban development that follows industrialisation. b) Uncontrolled Traffic and parking, construction of motorways inside historic towns, natural disasters, pollution and vibration. | Socio-economic changes and growth that would not respect historic cities authenticity and integrity as well as their inherited townscape and landscape. |
| Proposed policy and recommended strategies | a) Enact and maintain legislative measures necessary to ensure the preservation or salvage of endangered cultural properties b) Ensure adequate public budgets for such preservation or salvage c) Encourage such preservation thru favourable tax rates, grants, loans, etc... d) Entrust responsibility for the preservation to appropriate official bodies at national and local levels. e) Provide advice to the population and develop educational programmes | a) Prepare detailed surveys of historic areas and their surroundings including architectural, social, economic, cultural and technical data. b) Establish appropriate plans and documents defining the areas and items to be protected, standards to be observed, conditions governing new constructions, etc... c) Draw up priorities for the allocation of public funds d) Protection and restoration should be accompanied by social and economic revitalization policy in order to avoid any brake in the social fabric | a) Conservation plans must address all relevant factors including history, architecture, sociology and economics and should ensure harmonious relationship between the historic urban area and the town as a whole. b) New functions and activities should be compatible with the character of the historic area. c) Special educational and training programmes should be established. | a) Planning process in historic urban landscapes requires a thorough formulation of opportunities and risks in order to guarantee a well-balanced development. b) Contemporary architecture should be complementary to the values of the historic urban landscape and should not compromise the historic nature of the city. c) Economic developments should be bound to the goals of long term heritage preservation. |

Even when it is mentioned that continuous change is acknowledged as a part of the city's transformation (Table 4), there is an argument that tall buildings are threatening the image and the coherence of heritage. The question is how to define change, as this is a vague concept that means different things to different people. What if the city's tradition for development includes tall buildings as a sign of modernity or responding to globalisation trends? There is a contradiction between what is mentioned in the document as a change and what can be applied. With this, again, come the tools of guidance to be site specific concerning the heritage ensemble. In the next Section, an overview is done of the specific guidance needed for WHS management.

### 3.3.3.3. Guidelines for Urban Development

- The planning process must begin with a commitment to delivering high standards of design which respect the local culture and history. The architecture of new buildings should be of high quality and should respect the existing scales, especially to build volumes and heights. Direct effects on major historic components, such as historic buildings or archaeological deposits, should be kept to a minimum in any new construction.

- Urban design and art are essential to the revival of historic cities. They convey the unique historical, social, and economic features of these places and pass them on to future generations.

- The design of public space is an important component of the preservation of WHS; this includes aspects such as utility, size, materials, lighting, street furniture, advertising, and vegetation. Preserving the heritage must contain all measures such as protecting the historic fabric, building stock, and context, lessening the negative impacts of traffic circulation and parking, and the urban planning infrastructure in historical areas.

- Historic urban landscapes are defined heavily by their townscapes, roofscapes, principal visual axes, building plots, and building kinds. The original rooftop landscape and building lots are used as a starting point for the design and planning.

- Proportion and design should be suitable for the historic pattern and architecture of the area but destroying the heart of historically significant buildings ('façadism') is not an acceptable method of structural intervention. If a city wants to keep its WH status, it is imperative its modern architectural growth not only competes with the ancient urban environment but enhances it.

The previous criteria involve the design quality of the surrounding context. The term 'design quality' is problematic since it may have a variety of meanings depending on whom you ask. This variety is true not just to many professionals working on development projects, but also to the many members of the community directly or indirectly impacted. When people hear the word 'design', many of their first thoughts turn to how the object looks. Aesthetic control was the name given to the practice of regulating design via the planning process in the UK until the 1990s, when the term 'design' was primarily associated with aesthetic concerns (Carmona, 2016). For a long time, especially in the 1980s, the national government's design agenda was mainly restricted to instructing the local government to stay clear from 'meddling' (as they viewed it) in such matters (Carmona, 2016). The Japanese example demonstrates that even the most aesthetically disorderly urban settings may function in various ways, such as being pleasant, engaging, safe, sociable, efficient, and sustainable. Aesthetically, what one individual find to be a pleasing visual harmony, another may find dull.

If we are considering all the criteria mentioned earlier, there is a value judgement. First, if we are discussing masses or heights of new developments, be respectful of the historically built environment. Who says that this indicates disrespect? Every day, users of those environments perceive it the way technical experts do. It depends on other factors, one of which is the meanings associated with such places and their value that transcend the tangible. Second, conservation experts thought different building masses might have a negative effect on the coherence of the historic fabric. What if it represents certain sociocultural norms based on the signs and symbols? Therefore, the communicative mechanisms and their interpretation are always key to understanding the surrounding environment. Interpretation is the creation of new information based on signals experienced in a world outside observers but always mediated by the observers' prior knowledge, categories, and conceptual frameworks. Peirce (and Eco) argued signs have their own norms and regularities and are thus arranged in sign systems (Eco, 1976; Van Zoest, 1978). Besides language and other written symbols, architecture, landscape design, and space itself may be considered signs (Barthes, 1965; Eco, 1972; Gottdiener and Lagapoulos, 1986).

Places have meanings that may be engraved in space, and that space can disclose intentions governed by laws and conventions. Unlike certain schools of geography (Barnes & Duncan, 1992), the way of thinking does not restrict signals to the world of language. It is impossible to make sense of space without using signals and, by extension, established practices. Similarly, only via signals can we get access to the past and the present (Eco, 1976; Dixon-

Hunt, 1994). Conventions in historical narratives, such as how we discuss and categorise people, places, times, and ideals, impact our thinking about the past (Bal, 1985). Therefore, the only place for historical allusions in spatial design is at the junction of several standards. We distinguish between the rules that regulate how space is interpreted and the rules that govern how time is interpreted (Eco, 1994). In addition, it is reasonable to suppose exposure to standard formats for historical sources will enhance their comprehension. Every allusion to the past is inherently a symbol operating within a larger symbolic framework. Since several sign systems in a culture co-evolve (Lotman, 1990), developing one sign system will affect the outcome of other sign systems. There is still independence, however. Artistic and scientific results and societal shifts are reflected in buildings; these developments must be understood in preceding buildings and established standards and norms in the field (Bal & Bryson, 1991; Dixon-Hunt, 1994; Assche, 2004). When a (landscape) architect uses a steel sculpture to allude to the history of a location, they are not only engaging with the history of that location but also the history of sculpture and steel sculpture, as well as the narratives of those mediums' respective typologies, topics, tropes, and debates. The designer's ability to convey their vision to their target demographic is heavily influenced by the sign system they use, the creative genre. You cannot say everything with sculpture will be comprehended (Howett, 1987; Iedema, 2003).

Third, authoritative language is used to keep the WH status. Globalised value contributed to their local context. This language clarified the shift in UNESCO's value of protecting heritage sites with universal values for all mankind, instead of reconciliation of the roots of such a problem for a better historic environment. This shift from national to global. UNESCO does not care about what those heritage values mean on the national/local level to be something transcending those boundaries.

## 3.4. England's Conservation Guidance and Principles

### 3.4.1. Historical Transformation

Looking back to its pre-war roots, we can see that conservation as a planning goal underwent a tremendous evolution towards the end of the twentieth century. The most glaring aspect of this shift is the exponential growth of designation categories, designation asset counts, and the reinforcement of statutory law and policy. All of this added to make heritage conservation a far more fundamental part of cities' design, a trend persisted into the current century. Even though some areas are pausing the constraints, this may impose on their growth. It is an

inexorable and significant shaping factor in creating our towns and cities. The focus is on the history of conservation policy in England, and its development and reflects on the shifting function and aim of England's heritage conservation in the following Sections.

### 3.4.1.1. Conservation Policy, 1947-1997

Conservation designations mostly served as a mild check on the overall development plans between the 1940s and the 1960s. From the outset, the listed building system was designed with this in mind. Therefore, no action was expected from the historic protection community. The little amount of heritage being protected was done for its own sake, not due to any broader social or economic value it could have. Preservation and Change (Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1967) was a government document that limited heritage preservation goals to preserving aesthetics and openly accessible history.

By the early 1970s, bureaucratic development and reform helped build a methodical and supportive policy framework for a policy of conservation that was, at least in some areas, mirrored at the local level. However, this was not the case everywhere, and conservation goals sometimes ran head-on against proposals for large-scale urban intervention. Many discussions regarding the character of British towns and cities were sparked by the unsettling events of the 1960s and 1970s, which resulted in a much-strengthened conservation-planning system and were mirrored across much of the Western world. Protests from across the nation brought a more serious focus on preservation and conservation as a response to the major breaks with the city's past that were brought on by redevelopment. The social conflict engendered by redevelopment was not limited to major monumental heritage. People realised the psychological value of urban continuity and the ontological stability conservation might bring (Grenville, 2007). The famous formal manifestation of this was the use of the term 'familiar and treasured local landscape' regarding conservation areas (Department of the Environment, 1973). Anticipating the political atmosphere of the 1980s, the agile conservation organisation SAVE Britain's Heritage (1978) made the argument for the commercial possibilities of heritage in the 1970s. However, social concerns faded as the market capitalised on a growing awareness of the economic possibilities of historic neighbourhoods. Thus, for instance, social concerns were swiftly marginalised. The neighbourhood was successfully gentrified and evolved into a centre of tourist-consuming activities in Covent Garden, which was saved from the bulldozer thanks to a strong protest effort on both conservation and social grounds (Pendlebury, et al., 2004).

Although the exact reasons a liberalising Conservative government, under successive Secretaries of State, should have imbued restrictive conservation planning with such an enhanced role are elusive (Pendlebury, 2010), to lie in how heritage could be mobilised for economic purposes seems part of the answer. This was not a simple political choice; many of the era's most prominent cultural signifiers, such as the new construction style, looked backwards or were inspired by the past. Both politicians and developers in many markets found it convenient that history could be repackaged as a component of economic development initiatives. Tensions arose during this procedure. Developers were more open to the idea they would have to save some old structures, but they often attempted to completely alter them to make them suitable for modern use. Fascism was a typical example of this trend; it was a practical solution for local planning authorities trying to balance competing policy goals, but preservationists widely criticised it for reducing historic structures to 'skin-deep preservation', or the mere appearance of authenticity (Earl, 2003, p. 82). Fascism was discussed in Vienna's memorandum document. It is not accepted as a conservation approach

In this way, the 1980s laid the groundwork for the economic potential of heritage and, increasingly, for its potential to be mobilised in programmes of urban regeneration. This emphasis on market potential was incorporated into a neoliberal planning agenda that sought to relax the constraints imposed by planning systems on growth. Several pieces of policy advice, such as PPG 15 (Department of the Environment & Department of National Heritage, 1994), which has been replaced by the National planning policy framework (NPPF), and Circular 8/87 (Department of the Environment, 1987), reinforced this shift by advocating the commercialisation of the past. These steps, taken with a broader emphasis on culture and history as valuable economic assets, are helping to revitalise cities and towns worldwide. The historic environment has become an important asset in the regeneration process for certain cities, especially 'jewel cities' and off-centre areas in larger industrial cities. As local authorities have become more attuned to culture as a weapon of urban renewal. Several urban renewal plans prioritised initiatives nominally focused on conservation and regeneration. Conservation-planning practitioners embraced and promoted the concept of the historic environment as an asset to be utilised and transformed for economic advantage between the 1980s and 1990s.

### 3.4.1.2. Historic Environment Policy and Conservation (the late 1990s)

Concerns were voiced in the conservation community after the 1997 election of a self-consciously modernising Labour administration due to a perceived lessening of support for conservation policies (Pendlebury, 2016). The government mandated the heritage sector, led by English Heritage (HE now), thoroughly review the historic environment system, which resulted in the report Power of Place (Historic England, 2000). The concepts explored extended far and broad, touching on such diverse realms as policymaking, technology, management, and finance. Despite criticism in the sector on the document 'A Force for Our Future' (Department for Culture Media and Sport & Department of Transport Local Government, 2001), the government's response was a powerful statement about the significance of the historic environment, which is now said to contribute to environmental quality and identity, community cohesion, local distinctiveness, and social inclusion, as well as act as a stimulus for economic growth.

After that, the government began conducting several studies on historic environment policy, and the heritage reform process proceeded slowly via many consultation papers and drafts of policy declarations (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2003; 2004; Department for Culture Media and Sport & Welsh Assembly Government, 2007). The PPS (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2010) is shorter than prior policies, which reflects a concentration on policy rather than guidelines, but it does not provide any substantial new insights or directions. It did not reflect the development of HE's ideas on the heritage management process that reaffirms the value of the past in a fresh context centred on evaluating the 'significance' of heritage assets (Historic England, 2008). The government statement emphasises the importance of the historic environment to a wide range of other policy objectives, including but not limited to economic growth, quality of life and place, tourism, place-making, regeneration, and local distinctiveness; to define identities, as a focal point for local communities, and as a contributor to the achievement of a low-carbon economy. It was unclear how a coalition government's declared focus on localism may affect conservation planning. However, the coalition's strategy to decrease public sector financing will surely reduce the state's ability to manage the historic environment.

Thus, the conservation movement has been successful in part as it has showed to historic environment contributes to many other objectives besides the cultural grounds to preserve history, which remain at the centre of law. For instance, traditional notions of 'the familiar and treasured local scene' have been replaced by the more general and nebulous ideas of local uniqueness and sense of place.

### 3.4.1.3. Economic Vitality and Social Harmony

One of the most notable aspects of the 1980s and 1990s was the growing awareness of the economic possibilities of the historic environment. A new urban policy goal of 'urban renaissance' was a prominent push in the early years after 1997. The Urban Task Force (UTF), formed to provide legislative solutions to the ongoing economic and social issues of urban areas, was the impetus for the renaissance agenda's focus on design and environmental quality (Urban Task Force, 1998). While the UTF found historical contexts had the potential to boost economic and social well-being, they also found they posed a barrier to the industry's ability to expand and compete in the future (Urban Task Force, 1999). After these discussions, the Department of Environment, Transport, and the Regions published the Urban White Paper (2000) with more ambitious goals for the historic environment, hoping to integrate it into the urban regeneration discourses. In contrast, the historic environment may have become less central to place-making objectives due to a more widespread discourse about place-making and a revived trust in modern design that evolved throughout the 2000s.

Making cities appealing to those with choices of where to live were essentially geared by the urban renaissance agenda. This approach was in parallel with the incoming government to enhance the environment and life choices of those with little or no choice over where they live through its emphasis on tackling social exclusion. The historical sector was slow to prove its worth, and it was unclear what part the historic environment played in achieving the objective. The Department of Culture, Media, and Sport government agency responsible for history did not mention the historic environment in its first pronouncements on social inclusion. There has been an improvement in the conservation planning practice, with more thought being given to the social function of heritage, although this is still an underdeveloped area (Pendlebury, et al., 2004; Pendlebury, 2009; Pendlebury, et al., 2020).

The overview discussed above gives a better understanding of the English heritage conservation system. It shows the economic values that heavily dominate the discussion around the significance of the historically built environment. Again, it is directly related to the changes in the political agendas across the nation. This correlated with the concept of cultural capital, which considers historical sites to be an investment with a return on investment (Lawton, et al., 2020). The assets and services they offer give that capital its value, and those values benefit people. Some argue further a monetary value can be placed on these benefits, allowing for 'better' (i.e. more rigorous) decisions to be made. Cultural

resources can be compared to other types of resources or services using the common language of monetary value (and the simple ability to look up those values) (Dorpalen, 2021).

Legislative values limit what may be designated or preserved while planning policy and policy guidelines provide direction for disputes about value in alteration to cultural assets. This selection and directions raise the question: what matters, why, and to whom? It is a question that has been raised within UNESCO politics and its operational guidelines. However, it was on a global level when we discussed it, excluding properties or countries from the WHL. This behaviour does not match the goal of UNESCO's organisation. It is the same case with the English heritage when the selection is made. What are the criteria for such a process? There is no intention of answering those questions, as no one has a clear answer for them. When setting priorities for development, even those claims might fall for the sake of something more beneficial for the surrounding context. It is a question that provokes the discussion. Notions of value also influence decisions about government spending and private investment. Architecture, planning, outreach, interpretation, and engagement are where heritage practitioners may use valuable ideas daily. Organisational behaviour, transformation, advocacy, and leadership are all influenced by cultural values. How much simpler would all this soul-searching be if there were a simple look-up Table of proxy monetary values in a set of cultural and heritage capital accounts?

In 2006, HE, the Heritage Lottery Fund, and the National Trust invited David Throsby to the UK to debate the use of capital as a metaphor for cultural assets and the benefits they deliver to people as part of broader conversations about public value. However, when narrowing the focus to specific asset class definitions, the concept becomes more problematic. For historical physical assets like historic buildings, the idea of an 'asset' could function well. For intangible heritage assets like craft traditions or knowledge, it might not work so well.

### 3.4.2. Conservation Planning Structure and Tools

The responsibility for discretionary decision-making in England is the Local Planning Authorities (LPAs), with HE guiding on conservation and enhancing the historic environment (Table 6). Planners use legislation, national planning policy, and guidance (Ministry of Housing, 2014). HE Practices Advice, their own local plans, and any pertinent local supplementary planning documents, such as conservation area character appraisals and management plans, to perform their duties. Local plans are required by law to provide planning strategies for planning choices in a particular area. They may also link developers

to other relevant non-mandatory advice materials they must consider if they intend to maximise the likelihood of receiving planning approval for their projects. Therefore, the English conservation planning policy offers a framework for 'managing change' in historic landscapes and responding properly to development pressure or investment possibilities. Managing change is the buzzword that differentiates the heritage conservation approach in England from that of UNESCO. It gives a better understanding of what are the key priorities for development and how it is going to be managed.

This planning system controls history by designating listed buildings, conservation areas, and other heritage designation systems (Table 6). The Town and Country Planning Acts of 1945 and 1947 were the first to mandate the compilation of legislative lists of buildings based on their architectural, artistic, and historical significance (Ashworth & Howard, 1999; Hobson, 2003; While, 2007). The first criterion for a building's eligibility for listing was its age (Pickard, 1996), but this was later expanded to include the ideals it embodies (Delafons, 1997; While, 2007; Pendlebury, 2009).

Conservation areas reflect local character, and their 'special interest' derives from the area's 'topography, historical development, archaeological significance and potential, the predominant building materials of an area, its character and hierarchy of spaces, and the quality and relationship of its buildings' (Department of the Environment & Department of National Heritage, 1994). In addition, PPG15 for the Historic Environment advocated the production of official 'character assessments' to support and validate conservation area designations. This assessment provided a favourable chance to move beyond limited judgements of artistic or architectural excellence and towards a knowledge of the growth of a region and the interrelationships of its historic components (Chen, et al., 2020). The character assessments of conservation areas often specify which aspects of the area's character or appearance should be conserved or promoted. Some assessments contain management plans that provide suggestions for preserving or developing the unique character of the place, depending on the availability of such possibilities.

As of 2022, the UK has 33 cultural, natural, and mixed WHS (UNESCO, 2022), and England had roughly 19,854 scheduled monuments, 377,587 listed buildings, over 1,600 registered parks and gardens, 46 recognised battlefields, and nearly 7,000 conservation areas (Historic England, 2021). In England, there are different historic designation schemes. Some municipal governments develop a local inventory of cultural resources (non-statutory, non-designated heritage assets). Within the hierarchy of designations, locally listed buildings

and conservation areas are afforded the lowest level of protection and bear the least weight in decision-making, although often of tremendous significance to local communities (Ludwig, 2016). However, formally designating distinct kinds of 'historic assets' allows their importance to be recognised and guarantees they are included in planning decisions.

Table 5 Summary of England's institutional context of conservation planning (Chen, et al., 2020)

| Institutional contexts of conservation planning in England | |
|---|---|
| Responsible Authorities for Conservation Planning | Local Planning Authority<br>Historical England (HE) |
| Types of legal documents | Local Plan;<br>Conservation Area Character Appraisal and Management Plan;<br>HE Practice Advice;<br>National Planning Policy Guidance;<br>Other non-statutory guidance document; |
| Ways to manage heritage | Listed Buildings;<br>Conservation Areas;<br>World Heritage Sites;<br>Local Lists of Heritage Assets;<br>Intangible heritage scheduled monuments;<br>Registered gardens, parks and battlefields |
| High-level Conservation Principles | Historical environment as shared resource;<br>Everyone participating in sustaining the historic environment;<br>understanding the significance;<br>sustaining the value of significance;<br>reasonable transparent consistent decision-making about change;<br>documenting and learning from decisions |
| Overarching heritage values | Evidential, historic, aesthetic and communal values |

Historic England has produced several guideline publications for local conservation practice. These include guides on local planning, settings and vistas, tall structures, and local history listings, which are discussed in the next Section. Besides the 'Conservation Principles, Policies, and Guidance' (2008) document, which is the foundation for all consistent judgements. The HE value system is recognised in four broad categories: Historic, Evidential, Communal, and Aesthetic, which are discussed in the next Section. The 'communal' value represents the more ephemeral parts of heritage, such as meanings, experiences, and memories, to combine expansion and sensitive change with conservation.

The differences in the value system of HE are discussed in the next Section and how the WH status is integrated within the national policies.

### 3.4.3. The Technical Approach of Heritage Conservation

HE heritage conservation principles focus heavily on change in the historically built environment and how it can be managed. For example, it states (2008) 'Changes which would harm the heritage values of a significant place should be unacceptable unless:

a) the changes are demonstrably necessary either to make the place sustainable or to meet an overriding public policy objective or need;

b) there are no reasonably practicable alternative means of doing so without harm;

c) that harm has been reduced to the minimum consistent with achieving the objective;

d) it has been demonstrated that the predicted public benefit decisively outweighs the harm to the values of the place, considering:

- its comparative significance,

- the impact on that significance, and

- the benefits to the place itself and/or the wider community or society.

Enabling development to secure the future of a significant place should be unacceptable unless:

a) it will not materially harm the heritage values of the place or its setting

b) it avoids detrimental fragmentation of management of the place;

c) it will secure the long-term future of the place and, where applicable, its continued use for a sympathetic purpose;

d) it is necessary to resolve problems arising from the inherent needs of the place, rather than the circumstances of the present owner, or the purchase price paid;

e) a sufficient subsidy is not available from any other source;

f) it is demonstrated that the amount of enabling development is the minimum necessary to secure the future of the place and that its form minimises harm to other public interests;

g) the public benefit of securing the future of the heritage asset through such enabling development decisively outweighs the disbenefits of breaching other public policies'.

Heritage-led regeneration has been dominating the heritage conservation discourses in England. This approach focuses on local social and economic growth (Strange & Whitney,

2010; Pendlebury & Strange, 2011; Reeve & Shipley, 2014b). Based on the previous statement, HE's ultimate objective is bolstering the local economy, local pride, and social cohesion; derelict and outmoded buildings are being saved and repurposed (Reeve & Shipley, 2014a). Thus, the objectives of 'heritage-led regeneration' gradually aligned with the objectives of urban regeneration, which is defined as a 'comprehensive and integrated vision and action that seeks to resolve urban problems and bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social, and environmental condition of an area that has undergone change or offers opportunities for improvement' (Roberts & Sykes, 2016). It is also common to see urban development programmes that deliberately include historic structures within a larger development strategy. Typically, the outcomes are favourable from a conservation standpoint, since financial sources protect and maintain heritage.

As a result, although studies of Birmingham (Holayek, 2010) and Sheffield (Booth, 2010) emphasised the use of heritage within regeneration programmes, they also detailed the eradication of non-protected property and the compromising of the city's overall identity. Since Liverpool applied to be on the WHL, these problems have been brought into particularly sharp focus in both cities. In Liverpool, as Biddulph (2010) explained, history has been put to good use in regeneration plans, and, in fact, the ability to aid redevelopment was at the core of Liverpool's successful 2004 nomination for WHS status as a Maritime Mercantile City (Pendlebury, et al., 2009). The site takes up the waterfront and the city's central business district, with a buffer zone covering the rest of the centre. While the numerous government agencies and organisations working on the city's regeneration gave the designation of its stamp of approval, others in the business sector worried the WHS discouraged investment. Local amenity authorities continued to report depressingly on the loss of listed buildings in Liverpool, suggesting a conservation sensibility has been less thoroughly established there than in other main cities.

There are often unforeseen detrimental societal implications, the risk of gentrification, which frequently results in the 'pushing out' of local communities (Skoll & Korstanje, 2014). This gentrification, or what we call the 'elitisation' of heritage, is using heritage to raise property values and create a distinct, wealthy community while erasing 'poorer' communities. Seldom has the community managed the 'regeneration' or 'transformation' of an urban environment. It recognised the historical assets of the place through time, often in collaboration with local stakeholders (Guttormsen & Fageraas, 2011). Community-led attempts to alter an area result from local opposition to development projects affecting the heritage and what it represents

for them as an identity (such as with Woolwich Town Centre, UK). Rarely do heritage organisations strive to identify societal requirements and then adopt a strategy of adaptive reuse that matches those needs (e.g. Churches Conservation Trust). Under development-led, conservation-led, and community-led models of heritage-driven regeneration, environmental issues do not play a significant role, since the emphasis is primarily on heritage's social and economic consequences.

The question then is, what will be the case if the heritage assets are not enabling the change? The answer based on the previous statement will be in favour of change as one priority to help enhance the quality of the built environment. Obviously, it contradicts UNESCO's approach that only focuses on heritage and alienates it from its surrounding context to be the only priority for development.

### 3.4.3.1. Heritage values

**Evidential value**

A location's evidential value arises from its ability to offer evidence of prior human activity. Physical traces of previous human activity are the major source of information on the composition and development of places, as well as the people and cultures that created them. These artefacts are part of a record of the past that starts with early human traces and continues to be made and destroyed. Its evidentiary value is proportional to its capacity to enhance people's comprehension of the past. In the absence of written records, the sole source of evidence for the distant past is the material record, notably archaeological deposits. Therefore, age is a significant predictor of relative evidentiary value, but it is not the most important factor, since the material record is the major source of evidence for poorly recorded features of any time. Geology, landforms, animals, and ecosystems all provide information on the development of the planet and its inhabitants.

**Historical value**

The historical significance of a location stems from the connections made between previous people, events, and elements of life and the present. It is illustrative or associative. The concept of showing parts of history or prehistory – the view of a location as a connection between past and current individuals – is distinct from the notion of a location's solely evidentiary significance. Evidential value (such as that of buried remains) is not affected by visibility, while illustration is. Typically, locations having illustrative value will also have

evidentiary value, but in a different order of significance. A historic structure that is one of many comparable instances may reveal little evidence that is unique to the past, even though each similarly demonstrates the objectives of its architects. Their distribution, like that of planned landscapes, may be of substantial evidentiary value, revealing, for instance, the uniqueness of areas and characteristics of their social organisation. Illustrative value helps in the past's understanding by establishing links to and offering insights into former societies and their activities through the shared experience of a location. The illustrative value of locations is higher if they include the first or only surviving instance of a significant design, technological, or social organisation innovation. Similarly, the term applies to the natural heritage assets of a location, such as the geological layers visible in an exposure, the survival of veteran trees, or the observable interdependence of species in an environment. Often, illustrative value is stated regarding the topic shown; for instance, a structural system or a machine may be considered to have 'technical value'.

Association with a noteworthy family, person, event, or movement imparts unique resonance to historical significance. By connecting historical narratives of events with the location where they occurred, being at the site of a significant event may enhance and deepen knowledge – assuming, of course, the site still resembles its look. How a person constructed or furnished their home or created a garden often reveals their personality or reveals their political or cultural affinities. It might imply elements of their character and motive that expand, or even contradict, what they or others wrote or said. Numerous structures and landscapes are linked to the evolution of other kinds of cultural heritage, such as literature, art, music, and cinema. The recognition of such association qualities influences people's reactions to these locations. Places intimately associated with the work of persons who have produced significant discoveries or advancements in the understanding of the natural world also have associative significance. The historical worth of a place relies on both accurate identification and direct experience of fabric or landscape that has remained from the past, yet this value is not as quickly lost by alteration or partial replacement as evidentiary value. Indeed, the authenticity of a location frequently lives in the visual evidence of people's responses to changing circumstances. Only to the degree that modification has demolished or obscured them are historical values compromised, although completeness enhances illustrative value.

**Aesthetic value**

A location's aesthetic worth originates from the sensual and intellectual stimulation it provides to individuals. A place's aesthetic qualities might be the product of creative endeavours and deliberate design. Likewise, they might be the seeming serendipitous result of a location's evolution and usage through time. Others may inspire awe or dread. Many locations mix these characteristics, such as when man-made enhancements are added to an already beautiful area. Aesthetic principles are time- and culture-bound, although their appreciation transcends cultural boundaries.

Design value pertains largely to the aesthetic aspects provided by the deliberate design of a whole structure, building, or landscape. It includes composition (form, proportions, massing, silhouette, views and vistas, circulation) and often materials or plants, embellishment or detailing, and workmanship. It may include a philosophical agenda directing the design (such as a structure as a representation of the Holy Trinity), as well as the selection or influence of sources from which it was developed. It may be credited to a well-known patron, architect, designer, gardener, or artisan (and so have associative value), or it may be the mature result of a vernacular building or land management tradition. Quality of design and execution, as well as originality, especially when influential, are strong markers of significance. Sustaining design value often depends on adequate care to preserve the integrity of a created idea, whether it is architecture, landscape, or building. It may be helpful to distinguish between design developed via specific instructions (such as architectural blueprints) and the direct production of an artwork by a designer who is also a craftsman to a substantial degree. The value of an artwork is proportional to the amount to which it retains the artist's handiwork. Although the distinction between design and 'artistic' value is sometimes clear-cut, as with statues on pedestals (artistic value) in a formal garden (design value), it is sometimes not, as with repetitious ornamentation on a mediaeval structure. Some aesthetic qualities are not primarily the result of formal design, but evolve through time as the outcome of a series of reactions within a specific cultural context. Examples include the organic shape of an urban or rural environment, the connection of vernacular buildings and structures and their materials to their surroundings, and a harmonic, expressive, or dramatic aspect in the juxtaposition of vernacular or industrial buildings and spaces. According to the picturesque philosophy, design is best seen as a design value.

**Communal value**

Communal value is derived from the significance a place has for the individuals with whom it is associated, or for whom it is a part of their collective experience or memories. Communal

values are intricately intertwined with historical (especially associative) and aesthetic values, but they have additional, distinct characteristics. Those who get a portion of their identity from a location or have emotional ties to it ascribe symbolic and commemorative significance to a location. The most apparent examples are war and other monuments erected by community effort, which deliberately reflect previous lives and events. However, certain structures and locations, such as the Palace of Westminster, may also represent broader principles. These values fluctuate over time and are not always positive. Some locations may be significant as they remind us of unpleasant events, attitudes, or times in England's past. They are significant parts of communal memory and identity, memorial sites whose significance must not be ignored. Sometimes, this significance may only be comprehended via knowledge and interpretation, while in others, the nature of the location itself reveals most of the tale. Places that individuals view as a source of identity, distinction, social interaction, and cohesion are related to social worth. Some may be minor, gaining social importance over time due to the collective memory of tales associated with them. They provide reference points for a community's identity or sense of itself, gaining significance via the resonance of previous events in the present. They may have served a communal purpose that fostered a stronger bond or influenced a facet of community behaviour or views. Through regional and national identity, it is also possible to communicate social value on a broad scale and with considerable temporal depth.

The social values of a place are not understood by the people who inhabit there and may only be expressed when its future is endangered. They may pertain to an activity related to the location rather than its physical structure. The social worth of a location may have no direct correlation with any formal historical or aesthetic characteristics that have been attributed to it.

Social values are less reliant on the conservation of historic fabric than other historical values. They may survive the replacement of the original physical structure so long as its key social and cultural characteristics are preserved; and they can be the popular impetus for the re-creation of lost (and frequently intentionally destroyed or desecrated) places with high symbolic value, although this is uncommon in England.

The spiritual importance of a location may derive from the beliefs and teachings of an organised religion or previous or current impressions of the area's spirit. It encompasses the sensation of inspiration and awe that might result from intimate encounters with venerated or freshly discovered locations.

### 3.4.3.2. Guidance on Conservation Areas and Listed Buildings

**Conservation areas:**

They are areas of special architectural or historic interest, the character or appearance of which they are desirable to preserve or enhance' (Historic England, 2019).

Conservation areas' controls over private ownership include (Historic England, 2019):

- The requirement in legislation and national planning policies to preserve and/or enhance, as discussed further in the NPPF and the PPG.
- Local planning policies give special consideration to the desirability of preserving or enhancing the character or appearance of the area.
- Controls over the demolition of unlisted buildings.
- Controls over works to trees.
- Limitations on the advertisements displayed with authorised permission.

Conservation areas are created on a resolution by a local authority, with no central government check. Though there has been an increase in designations and critical commentary on local authority use of these powers (Larkham & Jones, 1993; Hobson, 2004)), it is notable that central governments have made no serious attempt to limit the administrative discretion of local planning authorities to designate new areas. More areas dedicated to conservation were also extended.

However, the overall desire of local authorities to implement the conservation policy instruments under their purview is without question. For instance, the number of conservation areas and the space inside continued to expand at a stunning rate. The 1970s saw a concentration on protecting the oldest parts of cities. Local governments went from being seen as the developers' allies in the early 1970s to being seen as the advocates of conservation, and the reasons for this transition are complicated. This was in part a reaction to central government policy that strengthened conservation's already strong footing in the political landscape. Some have countered, however, that maybe the local governments were trying to undermine a national policy that clearly suggested they should not, overall, become involved in design issues. With design still being a more valid material consideration in these areas, the designation of conservation areas gained momentum in the 1980s thanks to this situation and the control over demolition afforded by conservation area status (Carmona, 2018).

General guidance on characteristics that contributes to the heritage conservation character identification include (Historic England, 2019):

- From urban streets, views of rivers, the sea, and the surrounding hills.
- Church towers, Open spaces, and prominent public buildings provide landmarks in views or views that illustrate a particular element of the area's historic development.
- Groups of buildings, both those with a degree of conscious design or with recognised fortuitous beauty and the consequent visual harmony or congruity of development.
- Townscape attributes such as enclosure, the definition of streets and spaces and spatial qualities and lighting, trees, and verges, or the treatments of boundaries or street surfaces
- The quality of a view is influenced by the uniformity of building height, which might be the consequence of historical factors or current planning limitations.

**Listed Buildings**

Listing a building not only recognises and honours its unique architectural and historical significance but also takes it into the planning system, where it may be safeguarded for future generations. A building's chances of being listed increase with its age and the rarity of similar structures.

All structures from before 1700 still standing in substantially their original form are eligible for listing, as are the vast majority of those constructed between 1700 and 1850. The post-1945 era's constructions need extra caution while being chosen. Structures less than 30 years old are seldom admired for their architecture or history since they have not had enough time to mature.

**Architectural Interest (Historic England, 2019)**: A structure must be significant in its design, ornamentation, or workmanship. Important examples of certain architectural kinds or methods (such as structures demonstrating technical innovation or virtuosity) and noteworthy plan form. Some structures benefit from an emphasis on engineering and technology. The building's functionality (to the degree this matches the original design and intended usage when known) will also be considered, especially for more modern structures. Interest in buildings, as well as the items and structures attached, may be influenced by their artistic uniqueness.

**Historic Interest (Historic England, 2019)**: For a structure to be considered historically significant, it must serve as a tangible representation of an important moment in the nation's history and/or have well-documented ties to prominent figures, organisations, or events on a national scale; the building must retain significant elements that contribute to a meaningful connection between the present and the past.

Listed buildings are graded to reflect their relative special architectural and historic interest (Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport, 2018):

- Grade I buildings are of exceptional special interest;
- Grade II* buildings are important buildings of more than special interest; and
- Grade II buildings are of special interest, warranting every effort to preserve them.

**The UK's Urban WHS Integration**

Planning policies, incorporating management plans within the planning policies, and decision-making about projects are the key mechanisms through which urban WHS in the UK are managed. There is no explicit statutory provision or additional statutory controls for WHS in UK planning law; however, government guidance (in England) has made the existence of a site a key material consideration in planning decisions for some time (Department of the Environment & Department of National Heritage, 1994) and there has been a tightening of both regulatory controls and the scrutiny process recently (Historic England, 2009), in a period when British governments adopted a fairly flexible perspective of development and conservation following economic interests.

Looking at the guidance of the protection and management of WHS in England, there is no clear explanation of the OUV in the English context. The nature of cultural heritage in England has specific characteristics that need a translation. Even though there is an acknowledgement that OUV transcends national boundaries, it is not reflected deeply in the English planning system, which is nationalistic in the approach to defining and managing heritage that does not match those of UNESCO. Copy and pasting wording from the WHC directly into the guidance documents does not help much regarding implementation of those technical differences.

Many people believe, correctly or not, the UK's planning system is among the greatest in the world due to the wealth of policy direction and development plans it offers, together with the many checks and balances provided by the country's form of representative government.

However, the historic environment's law is narrowly tailored to its many subparts, such as scheduled monuments, listed buildings, registered parks, and conservation areas. Except for being an 'important material factor' in the planning process, World Heritage Sites presently have no unique protections (Department of the Environment & Department of National Heritage, 1994). Given the manifestly arbitrary nature of the WHL, with its emphasis on a global strategy that prevents the addition of such internationally renowned monuments as St. Paul's Cathedral and cities as Cambridge, Oxford, and York, there is a substantial argument that protection of historic environment should be addressed foremost following the standards expected under mature, national criteria standards, which, in this author's view, should be at least as stringent as those of the WHL.

The Heritage White Paper of 2007 (Department for Culture Media and Sport & Welsh Assembly Government, 2007) reaffirms suggestions to combine these disparate elements into a single registry and to harmonise administrative and permission processes, as proposed in the heritage policy review for England, 2000 onwards.

There are currently no regulations, guidelines, or laws in place or proposed by the White Paper that deal with historic cities. This policy study is being heralded as a once-in-a-generation chance of re-evaluating and streamline heritage preservation policy. However, its expected conclusion will include some changes to Urban Regeneration and the Management of Change. Not only did the review not coordinate with the UTF, but it also did not consider mechanisms that would address historic cities as coherent entities (Rodwell, 2007). This struggle to have clear comprehensive 'historic cities' guidance is one issue affecting the WHC integration, since heritage is defined between conservation areas and listed buildings.

### 3.5. UNESCO and Historic England Standing Points

The technical language used in the heritage conservation approach is tricky. It seems to be a universal language understood the same by all conservationists as being 'the expert' in the field. However, when discussing with professionals, there are huge differences in interpreting even the common terminologies in practice. These differences are due to the entanglement of heritage conservation with other factors that create complexity in the process as discussed in Chapter 2. Adding to this the different levels of heritage governance and the involvement of different actors in the process who do not speak the same expert language and affect or sometimes dictate the interpretation.

For example, when looking at the heritage conservation process between UNESCO and HE (Figure 5, it is almost the same, between understanding the current situation, identification of heritage values, and assessment of their significance. However, the differences came into understanding heritage sites as a node of the WHL network that must be protected as the goal, while HE perception of heritage as a part of the context that contributes to the quality of the social life and built environment of the whole. Thus, the former is dealing with a heritage as an isolated island, while the latter extends existence.

Although there is a UNESCO UK office that delegates between the UK and UNESCO, there is a gap in communication or finding the right tools and mechanisms to mediate this gap. A some of the alerting situation, for example, is the extensive use or dependency on heritage as an economic asset to its local and national context that UNESCO cannot deny or reject anymore. It is one of the main discourses shaping heritage studies nowadays, aligning with globalisation.
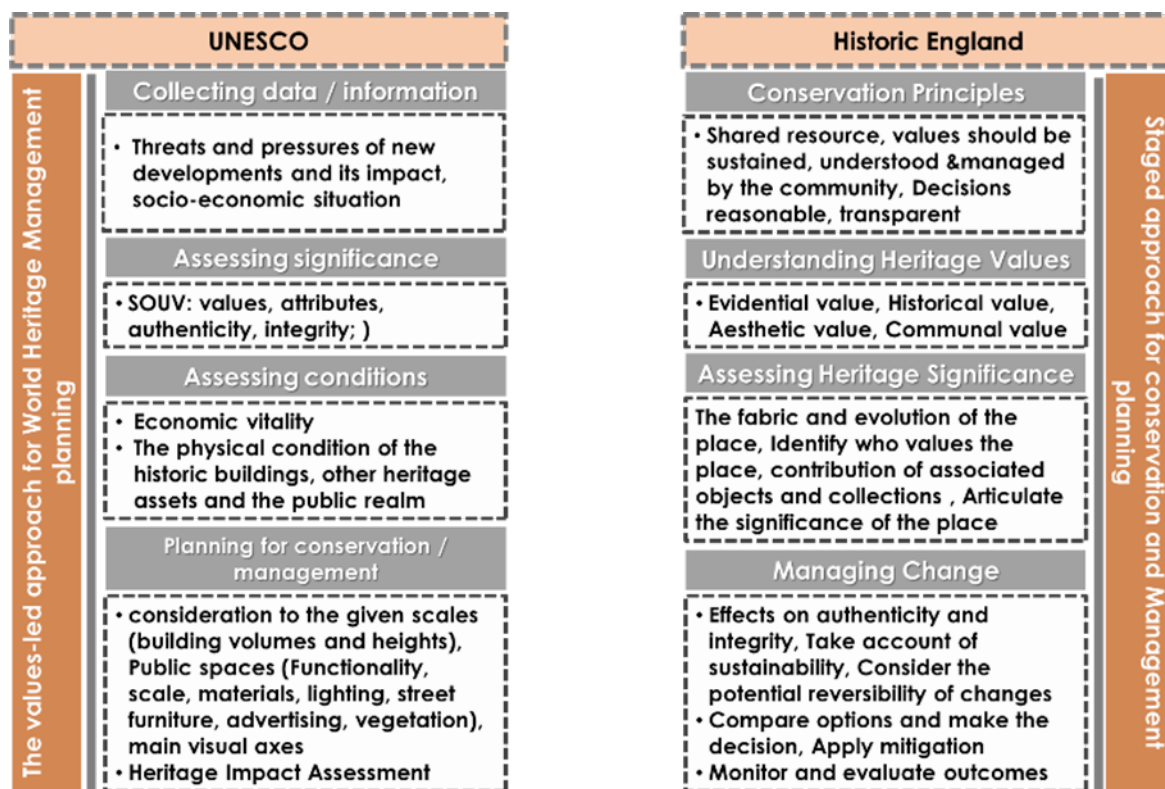


Figure 5. UNESCO's approach for heritage management versus HE approach (Researcher, 2022)

'Change' is one of the core points used in HUL and HE guidance. Discussing change does not mean its consequences are fully digested and understood. That is why the emergence of

HUL is an attempt to integrate it into the WHC, however, the HE's use of the concept seems to be the main driver for heritage conservation and management.

These differences are one example of the multiple understandings of heritage conservation between different levels. There is a gap in the literature on how to translate global heritage conservation at national and local levels. There is a need to identify first the difference and gaps in each approach and, second, how they can be used as soft powers of negotiations or persuasion in the heritage conservation approach.

## 3.6. Conclusion

The UK governmental discourses increasingly frame heritage as a solution to economic, social, and political challenges. All spheres of government have targeted and promoted heritage as an untapped urban regeneration opportunity. It was a situation the UK faced during the 1980s and 1990s, with a perception of its dual complexity as a barrier to the industry's ability to expand and compete. Therefore, it shaped the heritage conservation policies in the UK towards a heritage-led regeneration approach. However, UNESCO has a different understanding of heritage, or as it is called 'world heritage', with a universal value that transcends the boundaries of its local or national context.

Such differences in heritage conservation between different institutions create numerous struggles to include control over developments, unconducive regulations, and policies and outdated or limited infrastructure, as well as non-compliance and a lack of public support. For example, the unconducive regulations or operational guidelines from UNESCO's side do not give the acquired freedom for State Parties to protect and manage their heritage without neglecting its local and national context of development. This control might cause noncompliance from state parties' side to cope with urban developments. Those numerous struggles affirm the findings from the ICOMOS study that showed unrestrained development and mismanagement have become pervasive in Europe and North America. These issues also explain why plenty of WHS have been listed in danger since the 1990s until now without reflecting on what could be the core problem. The Dresden Elbe Valley case is an example of a cultural heritage being removed from the world heritage following an intervention that directly caused its de-listing. It is often used as an example of the ineffectiveness of the WHC and its related procedure that refuses to recognise the need for a change and yet never reflects on reasons for the repetition of such incidents in the WHS.

It synthesises the discussion from Chapter 2 on how heritage understanding is framed based on how the multiple logics, experiences, and relations that surround, and are produced through, interpretations of the technicalities of heritage conservation are channelled through the role of different expertise. It highlights the gap in the literature regarding what are the channels and tools for communication in heritage governance. This Chapter argues the technical and managerial approach in heritage conservation can be used as a soft power of negotiations forming cultural politics that frame the nexus between heritage conservation and urban regeneration.

# 4. CHAPTER FOUR: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

## 4.1. Introduction

From the literature in Chapters 2 and 3, there is a difference in perceiving and implementing the heritage conservation approach from a global and national perspective. From UNESCO's perspective, that heritage, with its OUV, lies intrinsically within the heritage itself. Therefore, it is going to be perceived and appreciated the same globally, which means transcending the national boundaries, and the national boundaries do not affect the value of the heritage. However, with the increase of the WH significance globally, the State Parties' perception of the WH status deviated from the main goal of the WHC. Thus, there is a lack of consensus among actors on how this translation from global to local is going to be applied. With ambiguity from State Parties on how to integrate the WHC within their planning systems.

While from the UK's side, heritage conservation adopts a different perspective depending on maximising the benefits and potential of the heritage for the development of the local context. There are political and technical factors that contribute to such a difference in approach, which is the focus of this Chapter. The differences are the shift from heritage conservation to heritage-led regeneration, the conservation planning tools used within the national planning system to integrate the global within the local and the governance of conservation to focus on how the responsibility for the management and development of the heritage is done.

The methodological direction of the study is going to be explained in full in this Chapter. It begins with the research design reason. First, an explanation is developed on the choice of qualitative research technique. Then, a descriptive case design is selected, and a reason is presented for the ontological and epistemological assumptions informing the investigation. The following are justified, particularly research techniques, including interviews and policy document analysis. Then, the research method will be introduced, including the pilot study, which contains information on the sample and participants.

The appropriateness of employing thematic discourse analysis and the process for analysis is explored based on forms of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and global governmentality (Rose, 1996; Foucault, 1991). The quality of the study will next be discussed and ethical problems will be discussed. Lastly, a methodology reflection on the role of the researcher

and other important questions that can or cannot impact the study outcomes arising from the research process will be explored.

## 4.2. Conceptual Framework

Heritage studies nowadays have given a voice to a more critical approach in the field. It is still unclear how it might affect the research agenda in this area. The current era is indeed a moment of paradigm change in heritage studies. Waterton and Watson (2016) did a comprehensive overview of 'where heritage is now', covering a wide range of topics. The topics were divided into seven sections, each of which focused on a central concept that underpins much of what passes for contemporary heritage research: heritage meanings; heritage in context; heritage and cultural experience; contested heritage and emerging issues; heritage, identity, and affiliation; and heritage and social practice. Those main topics cover a range of aspects which include conservation planning, heritage and globalisation and values-based system, etc.

From Chapter 2, the issue around the conceptualisation of heritage is based heavily on the actors who are involved in shaping the concept and the practice. While other factors have influence, our focus is the role of actors in negotiation and persuasion as soft powers in the decision-making process. Plus, discussing issues related to heritage conservation with multi-level actors involves heritage governance and how those relations and dynamics influence and shape heritage conservation practice. In addition, the nature of heritage conservation as a technical approach represented in guidance and principles for controlling development is discussed in the next Section.

In Chapter 3, England's heritage conservation, many essential themes arose for debate and examining the changing agenda of heritage-based conservation regeneration. Simultaneously, how the WHC is incorporated into this national planning framework. The method is a discursive examination of the development of conservation rhetoric and practice in the UK. Thus, the conceptual framework of this thesis is evolving around three concepts: heritage-led regeneration, as used by the UK as a substitution for heritage conservation, which helps in encouraging change rather than being treated as a barrier to development. This concept gives better insights into how heritage-led regeneration understands and deals with heritage and to what extent it respects its historical context to ensure economic development. The second concept is conservation planning for a better understanding of how development and management plans are articulating the heritage in the policy formulation. Besides

highlighting the deeply embedded perception of heritage conservation as an obstacle to development. The third concept is conservation governance to understand the interconnection of various organisations at the local, national, and international levels. Plus, how the power dynamics between the different actors were negotiated within the decision-making process.

## 4.2.1. Heritage-Led Regeneration

Different scholars discussed the link between the heritage-led regeneration approach and the local economic and social development within cities (Reeve & Shipley, 2014b; Strange & Whitney, 2010; Pendlebury & Strange, 2011). This linkage was a response to the urban transformation occurring due to the incompatibility of heritage buildings to cope with the modern requirements of societies. Thus, derelict and obsolete buildings were increasingly conserved and adaptively reused with the goal of boosting the local economy, local pride, and social cohesion (Strange & Whitney, 2010; Reeve & Shipley, 2014b; 2014a; Pendlebury & Strange, 2011). Therefore, the objectives of 'heritage-led regeneration' efforts were gradually aligned with the objectives of urban regeneration. The latter constitutes a 'comprehensive and integrated vision and action which seeks to resolve urban problems and bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change or offers opportunities for improvement' (Roberts, 2000, p. 18).

The heritage-led regeneration approach adopted in England heightened the significance of the economic value of heritage over other values perceived by local communities. It proved itself as a successful solution to manage the change occurring (the change could be negative as derelict areas or positive, attracting new investments to the city based on the fast pace of urban transformation). There are different dimensions or characteristics of this approach. However, our focus is on partnerships or what is called public-private partnerships and the reuse of heritage buildings. Those two factors expand on the ideas of power dynamics between different actors (could be financial authority or control) and explain the complexity of the situation when different actors have different opinions or understandings of how the priorities are set. The other point is the reuse of buildings, which was one of the key factors that shaped this approach. Besides the technicalities of this approach, regarding heritage conservation principles and guidance.

### 4.2.1.1. Partnerships/Public-Private Partnerships

It resulted from the new labour government empowering local governments to do anything to promote or enhance their communities' economic, social, and environmental well-being. The Local Government Act of 2000 (2002) represented a significant milestone in England in developing a relationship between central and local governments. The Act acted as a check on the increasing centralisation of local government operations that characterised the preceding two decades (Munck, 2003). It reaffirmed the trend toward collaboration in urban government. Local governments must develop 'community strategies' in collaboration with other organisations and agencies operating in the area and with the participation of local communities. Thus, the Act not only confers additional powers on local governments but also requires them to use those powers in collaboration with other organisations and local communities – through 'Local Strategic Partnerships' (Blackmore, 2008). For example, Liverpool Partnership Group brought together the chief executives or head officers of eighteen public, private, and voluntary bodies, including the city council, the Government Office for Merseyside, the police, English Partnerships, the Housing Corporation, the Liverpool Housing Association Trust, the Employment Service, the Benefits Agency, and the local universities, most of which do not exist anymore or became a part of other organisations. This dimension highlights the issues of who is in charge or responsible for the development and, the power dynamics between actors.

### 4.2.1.2. Reuse of Heritage Buildings

The heritage-led regeneration approach depended heavily on the reclamation of derelict land and the reuse of heritage buildings (Adorno, 2020). It was part of a broader strategy of urban regeneration and renewal, outlined in the work of the UTF (1999) and the Urban White Paper 1999, as discussed in Section 3.4. Thus, it is offering new housing developments and offices in the city centre or waterfronts that were disused and with zero market value (Jones & Evans, 2013). While reusing all the abandoned industrial buildings and warehouses (heritage buildings) with new functions, such as hotels, bars, shops, and public transport facilities. This physical regeneration helped set the stage for private sector developers and organisations to invest in the conversion of warehouses, lofts, and old office buildings into residential apartments.

The reuse of heritage buildings overlaps with heritage conservation tools and guidance represented in conservation areas and listed buildings that require a specific approach in dealing with them that does not meet with owners or investors' intentions.

## 4.2.2. Conservation Planning

Planning functions have long been seen as being insufficiently linked with conservation goals for built heritage. The policymaking mechanisms of drafting development plans and conservation area designation are essentially distinct, with little cross-pollination (Pendlebury, 2013). The local development plan's broad objective of planning and associated processes to aid in protecting its designated places is not articulated in policy terms compared to how the heritage environment is an essential component of broader planning or regeneration strategy (McClelland, et al., 2013). The local/national practice persisted in a variety of socioeconomic and political settings. Equally problematic is that most conservation areas lack area-specific regulations establishing goals and outlining general strategies for preserving and developing local identity (Donnelly, 2014). Conservation as a component of urban planning establishes policies and methods for managing and valorising history.

### 4.2.2.1. Planning Tools for Heritage Conservation

The planning tools are discussed as the tools of design governance in which they are used for control over the development and management of heritage sites. In this context, there are the WHC operational guidelines that should be taken into consideration, such as the WHS and Buffer zone boundaries, and how they are identified and translated into the national policy. There are England's national planning tools for heritage conservation, which are conservation areas and listed buildings, to exercise control over new development. New developments should adhere to those guidelines to take permission for development from the local government. The guidelines are mentioned in Section 3.4.3.2.

### 4.2.2.2. The Recognition of Heritage

Since the 1980s, heritage has been seen as a cultural activity rather than an impersonal 'object' (Smith, 2006, p.44). Understanding how heritage is conceptualised in various national contexts is therefore critical in conservation planning. There are increasingly value-based definitions of heritage that have emerged since the mid-twentieth century (Section 4.2). Such values encapsulate a collection of perceived traits and attributes by people or groups (De La Torre, 2002; Mason, 2008).

The most widely recognised values are historic, aesthetic, cultural, symbolic, spiritual, educational, social, economic, political, architectural, and recreational ones (English Heritage, 1997; Lipe, 1984; Mason, 2008). In addition, McClelland et al. (2013, p.589) asserted that values are socially created and linked to local communities' intellectual and emotional attachments to historic sites (Jokilehto, 2006).

### 4.2.2.3. Conservation Objectives and Principles

Certain local governments compile a local inventory of historic assets (non-statutory, undesignated heritage items). Locally listed structures and sites fall into the lowest level of protection, having the least weight in decision-making, even though they are often of tremendous significance to local communities (Boland, 2008; Ludwig, 2016). However, formally classifying various types of 'historic assets' allows their importance to be documented and ensures they are considered during planning and decision-making.

Numerous guideline papers for local conservation practice are available from HE. These include guidelines on local planning, landscapes and vistas, tall structures, and local historical listing. HE authored 'Conservation Principles, Policies, and Guidance' 2008, which serves as the foundation for any future choices (Historic England, 2008). Recognising that individuals value legacy in various ways, the text classifies values into four broad categories: evidentiary, historical, aesthetic, and communal.

### 4.2.3. The Governance of Conservation

Heritage governance is a complex landscape, defined by the interconnection of various organisations and interests, from central government departments to quasi-governmental bodies, such as HE, from local governments to community-based conservation groups, and from private sponsorship to central funding programmes, such as the Heritage Lottery Fund. The built environment development and planning choices are made due to the political and policy interactions that occur throughout this terrain.

Local Planning Authorities are often responsible for making discretionary decisions on issues related to the conservation and enhancement of the historic environment, with advice from HE. Planners operate following applicable legislation, national planning policy and guidance (Ministry of Housing, Communities, and Local Government, 2014), HE Practices Advice, their local plans, and any applicable local supplementary planning documents, such as conservation area character appraisals and management plans. Local plans are statutory

documents that outline the rules that govern the area's planning choices. They may also refer developers to other relevant advice papers (non-statutory) that must be considered if development plans have the best chance of obtaining planning permission.
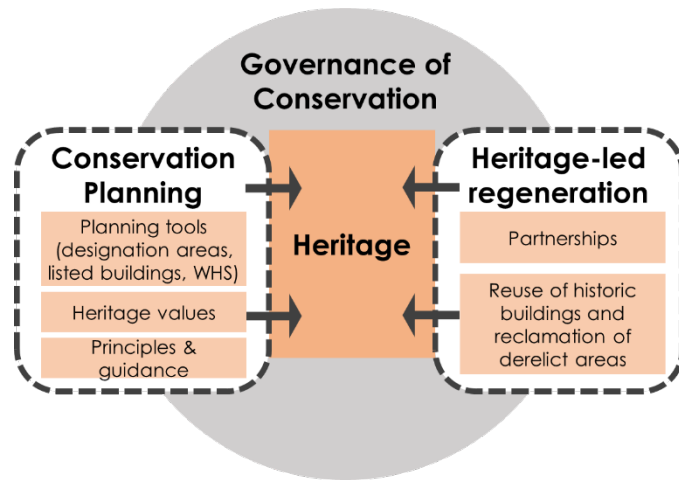


Figure 4 Research conceptual framework (Researcher, 2022)

## 4.3. The rationale for Qualitative Research

The main aim of this research is to study the politics of technical decision-making in WH conservation and how it informs local and national urban transformation. Originating from the research aim, the following research objectives were developed to guide the research design:

a) To review the relevant literature on national conservation policies in the UK and global heritage conservation (UNESCO's convention and operational guidelines) to understand the rationale behind the different approaches.

b) To investigate how the aspiration for development and global recognition shaped and formulated Liverpool's policy documents.

c) To identify the differences and consensus on the technical aspects of heritage conservation between Liverpool city council, HE, and UNESCO.

d) To understand the power dynamics between the different stakeholders in the process of heritage conservation and how it was negotiated in Liverpool.

e) To explore lessons that could be drawn to similar cases.

Using global governmentality theory as a social constructivist lens, this thesis examines the context and setting of a single case study in Liverpool. As discussed in the literature review (Chapters 2 and 3), the global governmentality lens is used to understand the different

rationale of stakeholders (UNESCO and UK national planning policies) involved in the heritage conservation process, which refers to the historical practices that constructed the political knowledge, since it refers to political-economic relations and their interpretations in the globalisation process (Table 7).

The research adopted a qualitative approach based on the interpretive paradigm, to explore how the actors' backgrounds and areas of expertise influenced the conservation practice through different understandings of the universal heritage values. The two primary research strategies in social sciences have been recognised as quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative method is typically more connected to positivism and the normative paradigm, according to Denzin and Lincoln (2011). The qualitative approach, in contrast, is more often centred on anti-positivism and interpretation. In addition, the quantitative method is employed most for testing a hypothesis, measuring variables, and examining the connection between variables (Bryman, 2016). The qualitative method is taken to seek an insight into the human experience and behaviour and relate the context to the explanation. The latter enables a proper understanding in events, perceptions, and behaviours. Since the research question is related to understanding how the global heritage conservation approach is localised concerning the interpretation of its technical standards among different stakeholders into material intervention, a qualitative approach is appropriate.

The research performed a detailed study of networks within the heritage conservation on a local and global level, and the urban regeneration approach to get the interrelated or conflict patterns in the city's transformation.

In addition, a detailed study was undertaken to focus on the political networks within heritage conservation at the local and global levels and the urban regeneration approach to get the interrelated or conflict patterns in the city's transformation. Over four months, during the negotiations of whether Liverpool will remain on the endangered list, the fieldwork for the study was conducted during the peak and off-peak tourism season. The tracing process included three levels of governmentality:

- Actors' identification: key players, their position (local, national, and global), their roles (advisory or statutory) and interests (investors, urban designers, heritage conservation officers, academics, and politicians).
- Networks and coalitions: stakeholders' selection (preparation for nomination WHS and post nomination), discourses (framing issues, solutions, and narratives).

- Practice cultures: accepted modes of governance (local and global), range of embedded cultural values (core goals of WHC, national and local institutions aspirations for development), formal and informal structures (policing discourses and practice).

The entire research methodology is discussed in the following Sections.

## 4.4. Research Design

The qualitative approach provides the basis for the empirical data collected to be critically generated and analysed in this research. This research is at the intersection of urban planning and heritage conservation disciplines. The key research question of the study identifies how different interpretations of the technical standards of global heritage conservation have informed/impacted Liverpool's urban regeneration, besides how technical policy decision-making was conducted for both urban planning and the research tools and techniques for heritage conservation. With a qualitative approach, urban planning research methods place the case study at the centre of conceptual research design methods (Flyvbjerg, 2012).

The research and background study are developed for the logical and historical transformation of the different process institutions/organisations and how their perception and integration of the WHC and its operational guidelines influenced policy formulation and urban development in Liverpool. This research's theoretical and methodological frameworks, aims, objectives, and respective methods were adopted and designed around a detailed case study, and a series of qualitative techniques ranging from policy documents, and semi-structured interviews are the core of this research design.

The research involves a thematic discourse analysis to understand how the WHC and its operational guidelines were interpreted to prepare the nomination dossier for inscription by articulating the OUV of Liverpool's WHS. After the nomination, how the national and local planning policies integrated the WHC and its operational guidelines after the inscription will be examined. It identifies how the priorities were set for the city's development with all different layers of policy and documentation to identify the gap in translating the global technical standards into a material intervention to achieve the aspired goals for development. Lastly, it investigates how the process was conducted, from policy formulation to implementing the selected projects within the WHS and buffer zone boundaries; the study will compare what was targeted in the policy with what was achieved.

Table 6 Research approach (aim, objectives, and methods) (Researcher, 2022)

| Research aim: To study the politics of technical decision-making in Liverpool's WH conservation and how it informed the city's transformation | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Objectives | Units of analysis | Methods |
| Literature review | •To review the relevant literature on national conservation policies in the UK and global heritage conservation to understand the rationale behind the different approaches | •Key core concepts in WHC and the operational guidelines (OUV, authenticity, integrity, HUL) <br>•Technical standards (key views, vistas, building volumes and heights, Public spaces functionality and advertising, etc.…) <br>•UK policies transformation to heritage-led regeneration approach <br>•HE national conservation policy (Conservation principles and guidance- conservation areas, listed buildings and values) | •Desk-based methods |
| Empirical data and analysis | •To investigate how the aspiration for development and global recognition shaped and formulated Liverpool's policy documents. | •Actors identification (UNESCO, HE, LCC and WHS steering committee) <br>•Inscription Documents (SRF, nomination dossier for the WHS, ICOMOS feedback on inscription) <br>•Post –inscription Documents (SPD, WHS Management Plan, LPD) | •Document analysis |
| | •To identify the differences and consensus of the technical aspects of heritage conservation between Liverpool city council, Historic England and UNESCO. | •Projects documentation (Fourth grace competition brief and shortlisted projects, Pier Head design Brief, Liverpool waters project) <br>• UNESCO's monitoring mission and management evaluation of Liverpool's WHS (2 missions 2006, 2011) <br>•Different interpretation of OUV and the operational guidelines for development | •Document analysis <br>•Semi-structured interviews |
| | •To understand the power dynamics between the different stakeholders in the process of heritage conservation and how it was negotiated in Liverpool. . | •Identifying different actors role in the heritage conservation process (UNESCO-global organization/ HE-statutory body for heritage conservation in UK/ WHS steering committee-advisory) <br>•HIA of Liverpool's water project (HE, LCC and Peel Holdings) | •Semi-structured interviews <br>•Document analysis |
| To explore lessons that could be drawn to similar cases. | | | |

All acquired data were transcribed and stored in a safe place given by the university discreetly and confidentially after fieldwork. The data were subsequently digitised during the final writing-up phase. A thorough explanation of the final writing steps is provided in the next Section.

### 4.4.1.  The Rationale for the Case Study

The focus of this study is to unpack the tensions and conflicts between local development, national planning policy, and WHS conservation and trace back the dilemma of trading off between the significance of the WH status as a crucial economic engine and safeguarding the heritage for all mankind. The aim of the research is context and place-specific; to understand how global heritage conservation is localised to respond to the challenges facing the city and the WHS. Assessing how the practice of global heritage conservation aligns with the stakeholders' rationale and examining how the manifestation of the local generated within

the global process. In the wider context, the case study represents a salient example of WHS-listed endangered list and expands on understanding the reasons for the continuation of such a phenomenon to occur, even though the problems or the threats to WHS have become known. However, it is essential to understand the capacity of the different actors involved in the process and their flexibility to update or improve the framework they are using. It portrays an idea of much of WHS regarding political-economic leverage State Parties gain from such status and how this could impact the WH list and their management.

Based on the research question developed through the background study and theoretical framework of this research, forms of cultural capital (objectified and institutionalised state) and global governmentality were selected. The case of Liverpool WHS is ideal to study the evolving practice of heritage conservation on the global level and how the multi-polarity of stakeholders could influence such a process, taking into consideration their different backgrounds and experience. Besides how the local was generated for the global to occur within the process. This ongoing transformation was interesting to study the relationship between local development, national planning policy, and WHS conservation. The unusual insistent from UNESCO on the need to develop a policy framework that reflects the site's needs, with unprecedented conditions being imposed, posed the idea of how the technical standards were used as a power of negotiations. As well as the different parallel initiatives between SRF, ECOC, and WH status that occurred at the same time created confusion in identifying the attributes of WH's significance in the city's development.

## 4.5. Cultural Capital Theory

Cultural capital is the central concept of this research that explains and elaborates some propositions:

(1) Finding the balance between economic value and cultural values within the globalisation and urbanisation process, imposed significant challenges and pressure on the city's development. Liverpool, as a case study, represents such a proposition by searching for an identity in the modern world. Urban heritage was revealed in this context from an economic viewpoint, with an asset that embodies both economic and cultural value (Thorsby, 2000). However, it has a cultural value that stands apart from the property's financial value and reflects a significant assessment for historical, symbolic, and identity purposes. Thus, the critical success of this concept is its cultural value.

(2) Policy-makers often neglect the existence of qualities of non-market or unexploited direct use. These might give valuable direction in assessing the economic significance of protecting heritage sites with a distinctive cultural, architectural, and historic identity. With Liverpool's critical situation, the economic benefits were the overarching aim for development. The functionality of the Maritime mercantile history of the WHS, which does not exist anymore, created a challenge to identify the precise dimensions of economic and cultural values that give Liverpool's heritage the distinctiveness for development.

(3) The need to integrate the broader cultural resources of a place as a productive factor into the local economy by directly or indirectly connecting it to its heritage by leveraging the intangible heritage and the local system of cultural and creative activities. Such as the heritage-led regeneration approach, which shares:

- The spatial concentration of cultural and heritage resources or activities related to culture in the specific urban areas.

- Economic expertise that enables the system of culture to use the levers of exogenous development (with markets outside the relevant territory) as well as endogenous (production factors specific to the territory).

- Developing positive spillovers and externalities among the local players, enabling them to fine-tune their expertise and knowledge.

- The ability to generate great symbolic significance and improve the local and worldwide reputation of the site.

According to the three propositions, the methods depended on how the research problem is defined or how the lines of enquiry are formulated, hence, giving enough scope to experiment. Therefore, the use of document analysis between policy documents and design briefs or proposals unpacked how the symbolic significance could generate a positive reputation for the site and the city and how building on the local to relate to the global was articulated. Besides conducting semi-structured interviews to understand how the perception and interpretations of those values were negotiated in the project's choices and policy formulation, it highlights the gaps in the technical approach of heritage conservation to achieve the aspired goals for the city's development.

## 4.6. Research Methods

Two primary methods for collecting materials were used, semi-structured interviews and analyses of policy documents, evaluation reports and design briefs, which will be addressed sequentially, and were informed by the adoption of a qualitative research methodology.

### 4.6.1. Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders (HE, LCC, member of the WHS steering committee between academics and practitioners) have been implemented to combine a pre-determined set of open questions (questions that prompt discussion) (Bryman, 2016) with the opportunity for the interviewer to explore how the global heritage conservation approach is localised to inform Liverpool's urban transformation and regeneration. It enables the researcher to document the participants' perspectives based on their knowledge and background. It also allows respondents to discuss and raise issues they may not have considered. In addition, having high interaction with the respondent gives the researcher control over the measurement process.

Based on the objectives of the research, a set of interview questions was prepared beforehand to guide the interview process (see Appendix 1). Each interview lasted approximately half an hour in offices for convenience. All interviews were recorded using audio recording equipment with the consent of the participants. Each group of participants had a different set of interview questions based on their role and contribution to the formulation of Liverpool's policies and whether they had a direct impact on the decision-making process of the WHS development or were part of the steering committee of the WHS.

**Academics**: who are experts in heritage studies and have been involved in the nomination dossier of the WHS have a specific set of questions to let them elaborate on their experience and understanding of the WHS value and its contribution to the city's transformation.

**City council officers/HE representatives/UNESCO representatives**: were asked questions related to their role in the formulation of the SPD and WHS management documents. Other questions investigate the power dynamics between the different decision-makers.

**Civic societies**: were asked questions focusing on their contribution in retaining the WHS on the in-danger list, their perception of heritage significance and contribution to their identity

and the city's development as being part of this process who are directly affected by such developments.

**Practitioners and heritage conservation professionals**: were asked questions to evaluate the development that occurred within the WHS boundaries and how the heritage impact assessment was articulated within the development of the project.

## 4.6.2. Policy Documents

Alongside a targeted analysis of documents to identify relevant policy documents, also a complementary examination of pertinent projects was performed, competitions, and initiatives. Beginning in October 2017, this exercise analysed documentation from all levels of government (local and national), including bylaws, regulations, policies, plans, and strategies related to heritage conservation, urban regeneration, and the iconic projects that were the main reason for the conflict in Liverpool.

The investigation is using a hermeneutic method by identifying the discourses and language used, based on the theory these discourses convey the dispositions (Gadamer, 1989), and logic approved and published by state institutions and actors. As a result, the significant concepts and arguments made in various papers were recognised while also considering how various organisations and domains of government use different stances and frames. For instance, there may be differences in perceptions of Liverpool's historical and cultural significance. The relevance of collaborative governance and expectations of accountability for specific services and types of assistance vary significantly across governments and organisations. Like how it highlighted the disconnect between constitutional, national commitments and competence issues inside and between various government institutions and players. These results, together with the larger backdrop around Liverpool's physical transformation, are introduced in Chapter 5.

When the investigation started by carefully examining the policy texts, it was not intended to extend and edify the rationale and framing forwarded by state authorities. Seeing these materials as relics of established and explicit institutions or as unquestionable foundations for subsequent performances and activities would take much work. Papers and their contents assert purpose, calls to action, and delivery strategies. They serve as instruments and public archives to validate material changes, financial distributions, and rearranged relationships. Both government discourses and policies result from state authority and may serve as artefacts that guide further action (Jacobs, 2013; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Lees, 2004).

Official documents influence subjective and material transformations as they are generated and interact within larger assemblages, but this agency arises from how they develop via power-laden relational processes. Although written words do not always translate into concrete realities, they provide a valuable framework for examining connected socio-material circumstances and subjective perspectives. A comprehensive grasp was gotten of Liverpool's urban renewal and historic protection. The objective of the next phase of my study was to examine these first conceptualisations and understandings of heritage conservation at the local, state, and international levels.

The documents involved in the data collection are planning policies, evaluation reports, Project assessments, and Design briefs for the selected projects (Table 8). The documents are divided into primary and secondary sources. The primary sources are the main policies and reports which were identified as crucial to investigate how the WHC and the operational guidelines were articulated and interpreted within the national policies, at the same time how they informed the city's development.

The secondary data are the documents that helped in formulating the primary resources or responding to the primary resources for the development and management of the WHS. The analysis of the regulations and policies will be a content analysis that is concerned with organising the information into categories related to the central question and problems of the research (Casey & Wong, 2020). This helps modify the list of questions for the in-depth interviews.

The procedure for conducting the documentary analysis:

Selecting the documents, based on:

- Relevance with the research purpose and problems: primary documents such as the supplementary planning document, local development plan, and WHS management plan. As an understanding of the use of urban governance tools regarding aspiration for development of the city and how it is matching the control over development within the boundaries of WHS. How those two dialogues between the city's development/transformation are adopting the heritage conservation within its goals.

Table 7 A list of the primary (P) and secondary (S) sources used in the empirical analysis; sources are listed by document type, relevance, and source (Researcher, 2022)

| P/S | Document Name | Relevance | Source |
|-----|---------------|-----------|--------|
| **Planning Policy Documents** | | | |
| P | Supplementary Planning Document-Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City | Identify the framework for development within the WHS and its buffer zone | Liverpool city council 2009 |
| P | Liverpool Local Development Plan | Identify how the WHC and operational guidelines were integrated in the city's development | Liverpool city council 2018 |
| P | Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City WHS Management Plan 2017-2024 | Management plan of the WHS- Reconciliation of the enduring ambitions for growth and prosperity established by the City's mercantile founders with the need to protect, develop and enhance the OUV of Liverpool's WHS.' | Liverpool City Council 2017 |
| S | Liverpool City centre; Public Realm Implementation Framework | Responding to the SRF on how to connect the waterfront with the city centre through movement and public realm scheme- Identify how the WHC and operational guidelines were articulated | Liverpool City Council 2004 |
| S | Liverpool Culture Company Strategic Business Plan 2005-2009. | Reflecting on the ECOC'08 delivery plan Identifying the key priorities for the city's development- if the WH status articulated or not? | Liverpool Culture Company 2005 |
| S | Visitor Economy Investment Plan for Growth 2016 - 2025 | to establish a range of options that will counter the significant reductions in local authority budgets and highlights the importance of visitor economy to the Whole Liverpool Region | Liverpool City Region Visitor Economy Board 2016 |
| P | Maritime mercantile city of Liverpool- Nomination Dossier | Identify the OUV of the WHS, Key attribute and characteristics of the character areas of the WHS | Liverpool city council 2004 |
| p | Liverpool Strategic Regeneration framework | bold and ambitious 15 year vision to secure our position as one of Europe's leading cities-Identify the detailed recommendations for development within the WHS and its buffer zone | Liverpool Vision 2012 |
| **ICOMOS/UNESCO's Evaluation Reports** | | | |
| P | Advisory body Evaluation for Inscription | Approval on Inscription with recommendations for development (Fourth Grace project) | UNESCO 2003 |
| P | Mission Report 2006 of ICOMOS Liverpool WHS | Feedback and Evaluation of fourth grace – Mann Island development and approval | UNESCO 2006 |
| P | Mission Report 2011 of ICOMOS Liverpool WHS | Feedback and Evaluation of Liverpool Waters project and recommendation for adversing the threat on the WHS | UNESCO 2012 |
| **Assessment Report** | | | |
| P | HIA of Liverpool Waters | Assessing the impact of the Liverpool Waters project on the WHS town coherence | Liverpool city council 2011 |
| **Design Brief** | | | |
| S | Fourth Grace competition Brief | Competition design brief and the shortlisted projects- key issues for threatening the WHS | Liverpool Vision - Liverpool city council 2004 |
| S | Pier Head and Mann Island Public Realm Design Guidance | Identify how the design met the SPD and the WHC and operational guidelines requirement for development | EDAW 2005 |

- Suitability with the conceptual framework of the research: other documents were found in Liverpool's central library that formed the background knowledge of the significance of Liverpool's history within the social development of the city. The fourth Grace competition brief was one document, that was highlighted during the literature review on Liverpool's development. While other documents were identified as significant ones regarding the conflict on the WHS status, such as the advisory body evaluation for inscription, mission report 2006, and mission report 2011. Those documents were focusing on the concern for UNESCO's side on the WHS and the developments that were occurring within its boundaries threatening the coherence of Liverpool's maritime mercantile townscape.
- Authenticity, credibility, accuracy, and representativeness of the documents: other documents were highlighted during the interviews with the participants as significant documents such as the HIA of Liverpool waters, Pier Head, and Mann Island Public realm design guidance, and visitor economy plan for growth. Those documents were critical regarding the key stakeholders' perception of the heritage significance and how it is a totally different approach than the one UNESCO is using.

Discovering the basic information of the documents:
- Purpose
- Tools and methods used
- The original source
- Level of authority

Other documents could be used, however, from the literature review and the identification of the conflict between the urban regeneration approach and heritage conservation, the documents were selected to unpack those tensions and conflict.

## 4.7. Research Process

This Section describes the research method, including the primary studies and specific techniques (gaining permission from the participants, details of sampling and gathering research materials).

### 4.7.1. Main Study

The main study was undertaken between June and September 2018 in Liverpool. The Sampling process will be discussed in the next Section.

## 4.7.2. Sampling

Purposive sampling was chosen for this research as the selection of the participants is based on their experience and knowledge of Liverpool's WHS conservation approach with its operational guidelines and WHC, and their interpretation of the technical standards was reflected in the policy formulation. This sampling helps with optimising valid findings extended to other arenas (McIntosh & Morse, 2015). Participants were identified from policy documents and evaluation reports and were approached via emails or on LinkedIn.

Table 8 list of participants and their involvement in Liverpool's WHS (Researcher, 2022)

| Participant ID | Position | Work involved in |
|---|---|---|
| **Global** | | |
| WX | UNESCO representative | Monitoring mission for development on the waterfront |
| **Local Statutory** | | |
| ZY | Liverpool City Region Local Enterprise Partnership- Visitor Economy (member of the steering committee) | Developing business plans for Liverpool and identifying the key areas for visitor economy |
| AK | Liverpool city Council- Urban design and heritage conservation (not anymore) | Involved on several project Mann Island, fourth grace, Pier Head and Liverpool waters |
| KV | Liverpool city council WHS coordinator (not before recently involved) | Involved in the formulation of the supplementary planning document of WHS |
| DZ | Liverpool city council- WHS heritage officer | Involved in the HIA and different projects (fourth graces, Mann Island, Liverpool Museum) |
| **Local Advisory** | | |
| MF | Representative from Engage Liverpool- member of the steering committee of the WHS | Involved in the negotiation with UNESCO to keep the WHS on the endanger list and not to be removed |
| SP | Academic- Former Chair of the steering committee of the WHS | Involved in the formulation of nomination dossier and the supplementary planning document of the WHS |
| TZ | Academic- member of the steering committee of the WHS | Involved in the nomination dossier |
| **National Statutory** | | |
| WT | Representative of HE | Involved in the HIA document- UNESCO negotiations |
| **Local practitioners** | | |
| XQ | Urban design practitioner | Involved in the design brief of several projects on the waterfront |
| LY | Urban Design practitioner | Involved in the design brief of Pier Head |
| BK | Heritage conservation practitioner | Involved in the WHS management plan |

Besides the support from my supervisors in getting key contacts who might be interested, the snowball strategy (ref) is used to reach people with inside knowledge based on the required criteria of the participants' background, experience, and involvement.

The participants were categorised into different groups according to their position (Local, national, and global) and role (advisory, statutory).

1. Local statutory (LCC)
2. Local advisory (steering committee of the WHS and Academics)
3. National statutory (HE)
4. Global UNESCO does not have a statutory role; however, Liverpool could be removed from the WH list
5. Local Practitioners (delivering projects on the recommendation of the city council)

Twelve participants were selected from all categories. Interviews were conducted in their offices or on the waterfront within the WHS boundaries. As a result, it was easier for them to relate and explain the development done on the WHS and how it transformed the city (Table 9). Interviews were recorded with consent.

### 4.7.3. Transcription

Transcribing was done from an audio record in English and was written the same as the audio, not paraphrased (Appendix 2). All information that might jeopardise the participants' privacy or others they refer to throughout the interview was deleted for confidentiality. All pages of the transcript are numbered, and the number of participants is given before each item number (Morse and Field, 1995). The contents are verified for the correctness of data via audio recording.

## 4.8. Analysis

This study aims to understand the politics of technical decision-making in Liverpool WHS conservation and how it informed its regeneration. It focuses on the different stakeholders' interpretation of the technical standards of the WHC according to their backgrounds and area of expertise. It focuses on the discourses significant in the materials (policy texts and interview transcripts). The literature review (Chapters 2 and 3) described the complexity of the WHC and its different perception from State Parties with constraints of the local context. Besides, the UK planning approach towards heritage conservation differs from UNESCO's

approach, which created a conflict in implementing the WHC. As the research question focuses on the translation from global heritage conservation to the local context, using Liverpool's policy documents to reflect and highlight this process and how the issues related to this translation are constructed discursively by various social actors. Thematic discourse analysis was chosen to meet the aim of the research. The following Section will discuss this approach.

### 4.8.1. Thematic Discourse Analysis

### 4.8.1.1. Thematic analysis:

Nvivo analyses both interviews and policy documents using a qualitative data analysis tool for data coding and interpretation. Nvivo provides a platform for database analysis and uses coding techniques analysed thematically. For example, to understand and follow the reasoning of the different organisations involved in global heritage conservation, the codes were used to interview (choice of projects and policy implementation). Following the research aim, the politics of the technical decision-making process will be performed. First, transcribed interviews have been classified based on semi-structured interviews. Second, the interviews were marked and classified based on essential topics and summaries. After reading them, the interviews revealed commonalities and contrasting viewpoints to the researcher and then categorised them according to the Nvivo subjects. This is a systemic and recurrent approach until all transcribed interviews are classified, and no new line of thinking occurs. Lastly, the following empirical Chapters were designed and written using this analytical knowledge.

The themes emerging were based on:

1. The vision or aspiration for Liverpool's development 'Global city' and the ideology of globalisation is to position the city on the global economic image.
2. The technical: different interpretations of the OUV and how it was formulated due to their background and area of expertise 'Liverpool is about…' According to this different interpretation, identifying the characteristics and attributes shaping the OUV of the WHS was different, which influenced the setting of the priorities for development.
3. The politics: how the technical standards were used as a soft power of negotiations and how the stakeholders' role and position influenced this process (updating and developing the design briefs for evaluation and approval and related to the OUV and the heritage values).

While from the document analysis, themes emerged:

4. The use of the WH status as a brand for Liverpool's development. The approach was parallel documents and initiatives working separately, not complementing each other to shape the city's identity and image.

Themes were analysed more profoundly, taking comprehensive social discourses into account and utilising discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is based on the examination of social theories and discourse analysis, according to Rogers (2017), to define and explain how discourse is constructed and conveyed in a social setting. It seeks to study representations and meanings worldwide and to evaluate them in an effective way.

### 4.8.1.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis comes in a variety of forms and draws on a variety of social and theoretical backgrounds (Titscher, et al., 2000). According to Wodak (2011, p. 17), 'Linguistic and semiotic components of social processes and issues are analysed in CDA'. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), CDA sees language and discourse usage as a social practice and acknowledges the connection between discourse and society, where discourse both influences and is changed by social practises (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough (1989) discussed the discourses analysed by referring to a set of values and norms and determining whether such values and norms are followed. Rogers (2017) asserts that CDA seeks to combine social theories with discourse analysis to characterise and clarify the processes through which the social world constructs and represents discourses. The goal of CDA is to investigate how texts build world representations and meanings, social interactions, and social identities (Lees, 2004). The function of CDA, according to Wodak and Meyer (2012), is to critically analyse connections of dominance, discrimination, power, and control. The CDA offers a theoretical framework for a thorough investigation of the social, political, and economic settings in which texts are formed. As mentioned earlier, they are components of a dialectical connection, hence the goal of this research is to understand how the key stakeholders in Liverpool's WHS interpret heritage and heritage conservation. As a result, it is important to examine both the practitioners' understandings and the translation of those understandings into technical components of heritage conservation and the context in which such understandings are made. This research uses Fairclough's technique, along with Foucauldian discourse analysis and other social theories (such as

Bakhtinian and Bourdieusian concepts), to perform the analysis after exploring the notion of CDA.

**Analysis Techniques**

This study uses Fairclough's CDA framework to analyse the materials framed by the research question. Policy documents and participant interviews were read for important information, which was then constructed using the historical, social, and cultural contexts to identify underlying meanings.

According to Fairclough (1989), CDA has three stages. He suggested every event has three components: a text (speaking, writing, visual images, or a mix); discursive practice, which comprises the creation and consumption of texts; and social practice. Fairclough created three CDA phases besides the three discourse dimensions:

- The description is concerned with the text's formal properties, such as vocabulary, grammar, and textual structure.
- Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction (Fairclough, 1989, p.26).
- Explanation, which is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context.

The first phase of CDA is to recognise and characterise linguistic elements present in the text. A vocabulary segment that discusses word selection, a grammar section that discusses grammatical aspects, and a textual structures section that examines how words and phrases are connected should all be studied (Fairclough, 1989). Asking questions regarding discourse type, presuppositions, context, and difference, as well as considering changes in each text, are all part of Fairclough's CDA's second stage (Fairclough, 2003). 'Interpretation is concerned with the link between text and interaction with perceiving the text as the outcome of a production process and as a resource in the process of interpretation' (1989, p. 26). Analysis of the connections between the discourse, its creation, and its consumption is the focus of the second (interpretation) stage (Fairclough, 1989). The writings are examined regarding their historical, social, and cultural settings in the third stage. The link between interaction and social context with the social determinants of the process of production and interpretation and their social implications is what Fairclough (1989, p. 26) claims that explanation is concerned with. The relationship between the social-cultural milieu and the creation and consumption of texts is completely explained in the third stage, when aspects like ideology or power are considered. The three-stage approach provides a range of

analytical categories that allow me to pinpoint, summarise, and record the participants' top concerns concerning 'heritage meanings and values within the heritage conservation process'.

Lefebvre's social production, Bourdieu's forms of capital culture and global governmentality theories, were used in this thesis to analyse the materials. Plus, Foucauldian discourse analysis was used for the three analyses Chapters. Foucault's discussions on power and knowledge made it possible to be used in different disciplines, regarded by others as a Foucauldian 'toolbox', from which users select a tool and determine its purpose. In my analysis, I focus on 'force relations', which denotes power as a complicated web of interactions. The entirety of an action's impact on other actions is its power. Power under Foucault is aimless and blind, and it comes about due to a network of strategic relationships. The model illustrates how power is related. It serves as an example of how power is impersonal and not personal, since it is a web of relationships between acts rather than between actors. Whenever necessary, Foucault's ideas were combined with ideas from other theoretical sources. For example, in Chapter 6, Bakhtin's (1981) double-voicing theory was utilised to analyse the different interpretations of the OUV of Liverpool's WHS, while Foucault's (1980) 'force relations' theory was employed to clearly show the power dynamics between different actors/institutions in the heritage conservation process. To examine how participant practitioners exercise power and adopt particular positions in implementing 'heritage conservation', Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital was drawn on in Chapter 5 to examine how heritage was used as a discourse of economic capital with different forms based on local, national, and international perspectives. The study of this thesis is influenced by the social theories described above to include both local and global concepts of heritage conservation practices.

**Taking Research Quality into Account**

The primary objective of qualitative research is to identify complexity (Tracy, 2010). The methodology used for this research could compile thorough documentation of the participants' nuanced comprehensions and applications of 'heritage conservation and heritage values'. The quality of the study is further enhanced by using several sources of information to improve the interpretation. Three techniques were utilised to gather information, including interviews, observations, and policy papers, to better understand how the WHS was integrated within the city's transformation, taking into consideration the city's current critical

situation. These three types of resources were mobilised to check for inconsistencies or conflicts in the interpretations and analyses.

Participants were checked in during the interview to guarantee authenticity by asking them to flag questions, confirm they understood my inquiries, and confirm their thoughts were documented accurately. Interviews were conducted one-on-one with open-ended questions, limiting the likelihood of the questions being influenced by my experience. Regarding dependability, various steps were taken, such as thorough descriptions of participants and environments, strategies for gathering data, conducting analyses, and dealing with problems, surfaced throughout the process. All interviews were routinely audio recorded and meticulously transcribed, which gave a trustworthy depiction (Cameron, 2011).

## 4.9. Ethics

Ethics are crucial for research, particularly the study of people, their relationships, and their conduct (Bryman, 2016). In gathering the materials, analyses, and reporting for the proper conduct of the investigation, researchers encounter and observe an ethical code such as respecting participant rights via informed permission, privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality (Cohen, et al. 2007). Ethical approval was granted for the research activities to occur in Liverpool from the University of the Manchester School of Environment, Education and Development (see Appendix 3).

### 4.9.1. Informed Consent and Confidentiality

Participants received informed consent and information sheets (see Annexes 4 and 5) via email and face-to-face information. They have also been thoroughly aware of their rights to decline to participate in or withdraw without reason at all stages of study. Before doing the interview or during the interview, they were invited to ask questions regarding the research. The names of the settings and participants were all replaced, when required, by pseudonyms to preserve the participants' anonymity.

## 4.10. Reflexivity

The development of progress of the PhD passed through different phases: the first phase was during working on the methodology in my first year, there was a need to access policy documents in Egypt, which are confidential. A change in the case study occurred. The second phase was doing the pilot study. The answer received from participants was not expected,

which needed a reflection on how to benefit from the different perspectives on how heritage and heritage conservation can enrich the data collected.

Therefore, the change of scope occurred to focus on the politics and the different dynamics between different stakeholders during the decision-making process to get to the conflicts that added Liverpool to the WH endangered list and then removed. The transformation was as a type of questions to be asked to the different participants and additional policy documents to be reviewed.

## 4.11. Limitations

This study has three primary constraints, the first restriction of the misunderstanding of the case study. In Merriam's 1998 case study, the notion of generalisability for such studies is nearly difficult to investigate concerning a particular phenomenon in a particular environment. As Flyvbjerg (2012) and Shenton (2004) suggested, each case study is unique and might refer to parts of the case study related to their settings for academics or practitioners who work in comparable scenarios. In this research, the case study is related to a specific context, and it is hoped that ICOMOS/UNESCO, practitioners, and policymakers in other WHS which are threatened by urban developments, will find it useful regarding reference, comparison, and development within their similar situations.

The second limitation of the study exists in purposive sampling. This does not represent the entire population of the stakeholders involved in the WHS conservation process/urban regeneration, but focuses on a small sample limited to twelve participants who agreed to participate in the research. The selection of the case study was discussed previously, and it is one of 28 Cultural heritage sites on the WH list, but it was the only one listed danger in the UK. Thus, it might be difficult to make broad conclusions about the wider population based on this type of small sample. However, the main aim was to have a thorough description from an in-depth analysis of the experiences and knowledge who are the focus of this case study. Therefore, the claim here is the current study can provide open and rich opinions through those participants who voluntarily agreed to participate.

The third limitation is the case study is mainly focusing on a specific period in Liverpool where it got the WH status and achieve the SRF and ECOC'08 with their corresponding projects that had or may still impact the WHS. However, the debate and conflict are still ongoing, which made numerous investors or developers lack interest in being part of the

research and discuss the confidentiality of their projects. The other part is some participants who were still in LCC did not want to jeopardise their position to unpack or reveal those tensions. Though they were approached via email, telephone, or even formal letters, however, they refused to be part of the research.

## 4.12. Chapter Summary

In summary, the interpretive technique used has been explained in this Chapter. It discussed how the researcher conceived the research and collected and analysed qualitative materials. The design of this thesis employed the case study technique for conducting cross-disciplinary research between urban studies and heritage conservation in Liverpool. The researcher addressed further how research analyses, such as sample restrictions and participants, might be improved. In the Chapters that follow, presentations of analyses from the policy documents and interviews seek to explore how the politics of technical decision-making of global heritage conservation informed Liverpool's transformation and regeneration.

# 5. CHAPTER FIVE POLICY TENSIONS AND CONFLICT

## 5.1.Introduction

Existing literature shows conflicts between different stakeholders in the planning process the dilemma between heritage conservation versus urban transformation. The traditional concern in heritage conservation is the protection and preservation of the historic fabric; development is focusing on the economic premises and values, as well as the quality of the built environment supporting those values. Although change and transition are unavoidable in urban development, they frequently include preservation and protection. Recently, the most common and agreed concepts are cultural or heritage-led development (England's approach to heritage conservation) which reflects and responds more to the economic value of urban transformation, as discussed in Chapter 3.

Liverpool is a good manifestation of these clashing approaches. Where heritage and heritage sites were used as valuable assets for the city's development, often described by HE, as heritage-led regeneration instead of a heritage conservation approach. Heritage is recognised and reused as an opportunity to legitimise and promote heritage concerns and requirements through a re-functioning or reappropriation process. Besides recovering from a long history of the negative image of the city by selecting what is useful for the development narrative and ignoring the rest. However, this superficial understanding triggers conflicts by failing to acknowledge that heritage values are deeply interwoven with its historical fabric.

As Liverpool has not yet recovered from the extreme decline after a long history of prosperity, despite being a forerunner of many features of the contemporary industrial megalopolis, it was de-urbanised during a ruinous late twentieth-century decline, halving its population (Rodwell, 2015). Losing jobs has increased more in the past 50 years due to restructuring and urban transformation than in any other city in Britain or Europe (Sykes, et al., 2013). The city has served as a testbed for almost every policy and planning experiment of the contemporary era. There has always been a trial and error in for searching or creating an identity for the city. More projects from different organisations (public or private), were launched between 1967 and 2000 as a response to adverse the negative image of the city, which is perceived publicly, and the local government struggled with how to best advance the city's economy and enhance the quality of life for its residents (Couch, 2003).

In this Chapter 5, the analysis is focused on the aspiration for the city's development and how it is used in policy formulation to alter the perceived negative image of Liverpool. In addition, how it influenced the decision-making process and the language dominating the discussions and negotiations less focused on heritage conservation as understood by UNESCO and more on the quality of the built environment of the city. This Chapter reflects on the urban regeneration approach versus heritage conservation on the policy level to reveal England's approach to heritage conservation using Liverpool LDP, SPD, SRF, and UNESCO's nomination dossier of Liverpool's WHS.

While the second empirical Chapter 6 focuses on the core technical difference of heritage conservation between UNESCO and HE, interpreting the OUV, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, due to the lack of consensus on implementing the operational guidelines, it investigates the conservation planning tools while highlighting the second political impact on the planning policies in the UK, which is the introduction of cultural policies with their guidance for the development and how it meets or collides with the WHS. It shaped the permission granted for the development of different projects that emphasise how the differences in technical approach were creating the conflict and tensions between the different actors.

This Chapter analyses the process of policy formulation and identifies the vision and aspiration for Liverpool's development and how the WHS, with its global recognition, is integrated. The focus is drawn on how the vision of a 'global city' is translated into technical design aspects, informed by best practice, as a model for waterfront and city centre development. The technical standards here are based on two strands: the urban regeneration approach, which highlighted six potential areas for development that help transform Liverpool's image and attract inward investment. The second strand is the WHS, with its operational guidelines for development, which are divided into six character areas centred on the waterfront and the city centre. These two strands are connected regarding the aspiration for making Liverpool a global city. A WHS guarantees the ability to be recognised globally.

SRF and SPD were the primary sources of investigation with other secondary documents (nomination dossier of the WHS, Liverpool City Centre, Public Realm Implementation Framework, and Liverpool Culture Company Strategic Business Plan, 2005-2009). As the informal tools of design governance used in their formulation helped in stating what kind of development would occur within the area, the first as a WHS with its outstanding universal values (OUV), while the second as waterfront regeneration development.

The Chapter begins by setting the global image of Liverpool by exploring the attributes used for this perception and how its situation as a derelict city was used as a justification that economic development is inevitable in achieving such an image. The second section focuses on the WHS with its OUV, how it was identified within the SPD through the general design guidance of development for the whole WHS and then the site-specific guidance, focusing on the waterfront and what it means to Liverpool regarding its culture and history and its impact on the city's development. The third section examines the waterfront regeneration development identified by the SRF and how the post-industrial development of Liverpool as a port city, followed by similar cases implemented in Europe. This is to test urban regeneration requirements for development and how Liverpool, as a case study, fits within these criteria, especially the waterfront development.

The final section of the Chapter draws upon those different strings, highlighting the synergies and the contrasts between what defines the current understanding of Liverpool's image as a global city and what can be seen across the different approaches to achieving the right balance of development. This discussion will also outline how the OUV of the WHS was interpreted differently according to the different actors involved in the process (Chapter 6).

## 5.1. Setting the Scene: Liverpool as an Industrial Heritage Site

Industrial heritage sites and their heritage complexity make them challenging regarding heritage conservation and sustainable revitalisation. According to Sir Neil (2015), the most complicated type of heritage is its industrial heritage, which he characterised as 'arguably a distinct cultural discourse; it poses issues found nowhere else in the heritage sector and necessitates fresh responses'. He also emphasises that 'it requires knowledge, excellent judgement, and genuine understanding'. This knowledge has to do with how material remnants are an intangible component of industrial history and, therefore, of work values, often neglected when dealing with industrial heritage. Sometimes it is because industrial heritage sites lost their functionality and consequently people lost their connection with the heritage. These are the characteristics that needed to be known for effectively revitalising the sites on a social and sustainable level, as well as achieving efficient heritage conservation. As production sites transform from active economic actors into issues impeding growth, a thorough grasp of the 'formation of heritage' is crucial. This hindering of development had been reacted to by demolitions and replacements made feasible by new programmes that have a future while remaining as disconnected from the past as possible. It is critical to investigate the viability of utilising the current structures and knowledge potentials, which

are often critical components of industrial sectors, but are disregarded in restructuring operations. These are crucial jumping-off points that enable understanding of the current circumstance in a different framework. When people are included in the revitalisation process, the remnants of the past have a different understanding and perception of taking on a new, multifaceted role as a source of new economic stability and cultural identity. Thus, Liverpool is considered an example of a post-industrial city that attempted to remake itself by valuing its cultural and historical resources after years of deterioration. As the city suffered, regarding how to integrate the industrial heritage into the city's development is going to be discussed in the next section.

## 5.2. Perception of a 'Global City': Critical Perspective

Liverpool's reputation as a global city was at the heart of its recognition historically. Based on new systems of international commerce and money throughout the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, Liverpool developed into a contemporary global metropolis. Grand architectural landscapes and the planned construction of often pioneering contemporary urban infrastructure, including railroads, parks, docklands, and public housing, served as tangible manifestations of growth and wealth. Liverpool is stuck in a certain period of history that it is trying to retrieve. The question to reflect on here is, 'does the global concept of a city during this time in history mean the same or has it evolved?' Then, if it evolves, does Liverpool have the potential characteristics to regain this image in the age of globalisation?

A brief understanding of global cities will be given here as it was used heavily in Liverpool's local development plan (LDP) and the strategic regeneration framework (SRF) document and other policy documents in the analysis. This understanding is an attempt to explain if the use of 'Liverpool as a global city' was justified by the policymakers. Sassen's (2001) definition of 'Global cities' is the authority and power to orchestrate the volatility of capital. All cities are now interchangeable entities, to be played off against one another, forced to compete from positions of comparative weakness for capital investment due to the mobility of capital (Kantor, 1987). In the current economic sphere, the primary responsibility of municipal leadership is to foster an urban environment desirable to new and expanding businesses, investors, and the city's long-term growth. Local authorities and their abilities to negotiate with supraregional and supranational capital, and to tailor local conditions, are more important than ever before for the development prospects of a city (Lever, 2001). Major urban design projects and the avant-garde design of space have historically resulted from cities and national economic prosperity. As the world becomes more interconnected, a

reversal of the process is occurring: urban planning is 'used' to boost city economies in the age of globalisation (Gospodini, 2001). To contend with globalisation and intercity rivalry, cities are increasingly reshaping and transforming their urban environments. In this period of economic globalisation, new urban policies have emerged, prompting the question, 'What type of urban landscape alteration are they promoting?' Which elements make up the new urban landscapes currently taking shape?

The previous paragraph set the background for what is going to be discussed in the rest of the Chapter. There are big questions that needed to be asked: 'with Liverpool's situation and the resources, is it capable of really achieving the concept of a global city?' Yes, it can alter the negative image with the right, balanced choices of projects and development. However, the global city is another level that might need more effort beyond the city's capacity.

### 5.2.1. Liverpool's Significance as a Global City

> '[Liverpool] is the New York of Europe, a world city rather than merely British provincial' (Illustrated London News Group, 1886).

Several factors contributed to the global city image from the middle of the nineteenth century until the middle of the twentieth century. Innovation in dock construction and management created Liverpool's global image as a model port, notably following the formation of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board in 1857. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the harbour of Liverpool had established itself as the main point of departure to migrate from the British Isles, due to the growth of steamship travel. With its plethora of international ships and cotton traders, Liverpool quickly became the main UK insurance centre outside London (Hughes, 1999, p. 54). As a result, the Liverpool office district was extremely important at the beginning of the twentieth century – the 'international centre of authority' (Stenhouse, 1984, p. 85). The ambition to make Liverpool a leading figure in the worldwide economy has also been represented in the physical environment with global articulation, such as the Pier Head, which became a new headquarters for three of Liverpool's major business enterprises (1914).

The development of mixed characteristics of global and local links led to the fact Liverpool functioned as a gateway between the raw material world (West Africa, the West Indies, and North America) and the powerhouse of manufacturing (the northwest of England). Due to its links and co-dependent interactions with the British colonies, the expansion of its political economy was crucial. Forms of active business engagement in broader city government

networks were created (Atkinson & Wilks-Heeg, 2000) which quickly became part of a global economic trading system. Historical facts and a previous truth built Liverpool's image as a worldwide metropolis, particularly in the global economic world, allowing stakeholders to develop more passionately about preserving a political economy that formerly existed.

However, to a remarkable degree, the port was the primary source of economic development for Liverpool at the beginning of the twentieth century, with a minimal diversification of the local economy. It was a commercial and not an industrial centre.

### 5.2.2. Post-Industrialisation Impact on Liverpool's Development

> 'They should build a fence around [Liverpool] and charge admission. For sadly, it has become a 'showcase' of everything that has gone wrong in Britain's major cities' (Daily Mirror, 1987).

The reason for Liverpool's prosperity and global reach was undoubtedly greater than that of its immediate rivals. It was the reason for its deterioration due to the restructuring of the global economic forces until it reached the derelict situation mentioned above. The difference between the two statements is almost 100 years of difficulties. However, one main factor that impacted Liverpool's deterioration was that it has not only been on the receiving end of virtually all the subsequent urban policy initiatives, but it has also often operated as a kind of an experimental testbed for a significant number of them, which occurred in two phases in its history:

- Due to the dispute between the national and municipal governments, centralisation was influencing Liverpool. There was a significant problem between the development priorities and the targets. Urban plans had little strategic vision and slow execution, while centralisation weakened local democracy (Lawless, 1996; Moore, 1992). With the rapid social and environmental change, the policies were incapable of coping with its transformation innovatively.
- The partnership was essential to new urban policies, and the modernised local government's reconciliation of the divide between local and national authorities and its recognition of the local government as the best entity to coordinate project offers. It was the most critical regeneration mechanism in the city. The institutional mechanisms established to manage the funds and carry out projects also became essential elements of the developing governance framework that was vital in helping to restore the city's fractured governance capability and build confidence in the central government. This led

to the formation of high-level groups of stakeholders, which bring service providers together in a coordinated approach to activities and public expenditure.

The two stages influenced Liverpool. Centralisation, with a lack of cooperation and communication between local and national authorities and the city's degradation, has intensified. Although decentralisation moulded and changed the city, some were successful, while others failed. The number of private agencies and companies that participated in urban governance in Liverpool increased due to the partnership strategy.

### 5.2.3. Current Situation: Liverpool's 'Global City' Concept

As the Liverpool partnership model predominates and private financing resources depend on solving the problems faced, deregulation opens the local economy to international companies and places Liverpool on the global market network. Understanding globalisation is essential in this context. However, before that, the image of the city will be constructed and its current situation to understand why globalisation was an answer to the city's problems.

> 'I am not a politician but if I were working in LCC and someone came to me saying we would like to do this sort of development, I would have said yes automatically as Liverpool was one of the fastest declining cities in Europe. So, it must be very hard to reject any kind of proposal' (TZ, 2018).

So, imagine the city, its urban fabric has plenty of empty pockets, and the quality of the built environment in several areas has deteriorated. There is a disconnection between the waterfront and the rest of the city. Therefore, the population decreased, and job opportunities decreased. The city lost its identity or, what is about Liverpool now for attracting investment or economic growth to occur. Thus, the LCC does not have enough resources to even support the city's development aligned with deregulation.

As discussed in Section 2.3.2.2, with Lefebvre's notion of social production of space, there was a huge gap between representations of space (mental perceptions and symbolic representation of what Liverpool used to be or represent historically) and representational spaces (lived and social experience of a deteriorated city with fewer opportunities or potentials to give). So, as the previous statement explains, the critical situation of the city and the right choices for development needed to be taken. Of course, the LCC has a responsibility to decide how to improve the local services of the city. There are not numerous options to be considered in such a situation.

Meanwhile, globalisation as a concept comprises many processes, such as the spatial integration of economic activities, movement of capital, migration of people, development of advanced technologies, and changing values and norms that spread among various parts of the world. In Liverpool's context, according to the stakeholders' perspective, globalisation is the increased trade and mobility, increased concentration of economic control, and reduced welfare-oriented regulatory action of the nation-state. Planning requirements were relaxed and companies were offered urban development grants [and] exemption from rates for industrial and commercial properties, as stated by Liverpool's LDP below (Lord Heseltine & Leahy, 2011). The rise of development corporations such as the Merseyside Development Corporation was one of the first of thirteen Urban Development Corporations created by Parliament in 1981 with a 'mission to secure, in partnership with others, advances towards self-sustaining regeneration on Merseyside' (Adcock, 1984). The work of the Corporation has been highly successful. Its flagship and best-known project are the Albert Dock, home to the Tate Gallery and the Maritime Museum and to several retail units, restaurants, and prestigious apartments. In 1988, the Corporation's designated area was expanded, reflecting past success and confidence in future achievements.

> 'Government should respond as helpfully as possible to any proposals from Liverpool Vision to kick-start new commercial development' (Liverpool City Council, 2018, p. 29),

Globalisation was used as a means of economic development in Liverpool with its complex growing global economy network; as the change in the production processes and the emergence of new investment strategies were inevitable. This is to build on the multiplication and exchange of internal and external company relations, which, in return, have a spatial restructuring in the city (Fainstein, et al., 1992; O'Loughlin & Friedrichs, 1996; Musterd & Ostendorf, 1998; Madanipour, et al., 1998).

When reflecting on Liverpool's need for urban transformation and economic development, urban regeneration will be the answer. Urban regeneration is a method of considering space utilisation that integrates social, economic, physical, and environmental considerations into a single framework (Evans & Jones, 2008). Questions regarding the local economy's structure, employment and unemployment, economic connections, production, and income flows are covered by the economic component (Roberts & Sykes, 2016). Regarding the physical dimension, this refers to vacant spaces and/or abandoned industrial areas, considered urban voids, to promote the reuse of unoccupied buildings, as well as the improvement of infrastructure and urban services. The social component deals with concerns

such as social stress, deprivation, skills and capacities, community facilities, and enhancing people's quality of life (Roberts & Sykes, 2016). Through the encouragement of economic activity and environmental improvements, larger social and cultural components may be brought about. Innovations, economic diversity, competent personnel, connection and effective communication, the quality of the setting, and strategic capacity – also referred to as decision-making, political processes, and leadership – are some of these integrative methods (Colantonio & Dixon, 2011). Besides the governmental context (Couch, et al., 2011), to supplement existing integrative techniques, it concerns the involvement of several parties (institutions from various sectors), as well as the institutional and normative circumstances of urban regeneration initiatives. The emphasis of the UR is on improving the standard of living and providing chances for underprivileged groups, which is a widespread issue. This strategy's focus is centred on enhancing cities' economic competitiveness (Son, 2018). Therefore, the most appropriate approach for the spatial and economic restructuring in Liverpool was urban regeneration to address significant latent development opportunities and bring about regeneration through developing and implementing a clear and agreed vision for the areas of development.

The cornerstone of this regeneration model is to seek the competitive advantage a modern city may enjoy and help it find a niche that is hard to replicate (Tallon, 2010), regarded as a success factor in which cities attract market share, capital, and workers (Kitson, et al., 2004). Although some researchers question the utility of competitiveness for regional and urban development (Bristow, 2005), many believe it plays an important role in urban development, with an emphasis on creating high-quality urban locations to attract international firms and investors (Florida, 2002; Metaxiotis, et al., 2001; Rosenthal & Strange, 2004). Therefore, achieving competitiveness is a main target Liverpool should offer to be recognised on the global economic network, which was challenging due to its negative representations in the press (Kokosalakis, et al., 2006). Liverpool was trying to re-position itself as a 'World Class City' and re-brand it as 'the World In One City', and the official rhetoric claims it is now a city of culture, creativity, and competitiveness (Boland, 2007).

Thus, the global market creates an intercity competition which usually focuses attention on the urban imagery that identifies the city and differentiates it from others (Dovey, et al., 2005). This was reflected in the choice of 'arc of opportunity' as a single transformational intervention by LCC as the first step to achieve the aspired goals, as shown in Figure 9. The intervention prioritised by the Council in the strategic investment framework (SIF) embraces

the St. George's Quarter and the Waterfront, highlighted in red in Figure 9, linked by the main routes through the Historic Downtown area of Dale Street and Victoria Street.

Building on its strengths and potential assets for development represented in the St. George's Quarter, which is the home to some of the greatest civic buildings, and the city's main arrival point for visitors and commuters, while the 'waterfront' with its dual characteristics as a potential for economic development and being at the heart of its historic centre. As the uniqueness of the waterfront was identified in the local planning document as

> 'The City has one of the longest and most recognisable waterfronts in the UK, and it has the largest and most complete system of historic docks anywhere in the world. The area is a major asset of significant architectural and historic importance' (Liverpool City Council, 2018, p. 26).

The global city concept here is identified as an emerging global, where Liverpool draws on significant local resources and inputs from the central government. This is due to it having limited relational linkages with the global economy. It is also much more dependent upon inward flows of development capital, people, goods and services, and information from the global economy.

This was the opposite of what the stakeholders aimed to achieve from being an interactive strategic node in the coordination ('command and control', in Sassen's terms) of the global economy to facilitate the export of significant outward flows of development capital (or information) to service the global economy, as often expected in dominant definitions of global cities (such as London) (Critchley, 2011).

The question here is how to represent that image in a form that appeals to the investors. There has been a makeover in recent times to reshape the city for the consumption of outsiders. It generates employment and investment; does it achieve what was expected? This is going to be discussed in the next section, focusing more on the waterfront development with its unique characteristics and potential.

Figure 5 Arc of opportunities for development within Liverpool according to Strategic investment framework reflecting the regeneration framework (Liverpool Vision, 2012)

## 5.3. Representations of Urban Regeneration in Liverpool

In the 1990s, the government was keen on reinforcing the role of cities and adjusting peoples' perceptions of urban life (Biddulph, 2011). It recognised performing cities will have a considerable bearing on the overall economic success, and, therefore, the efficiency and the well-being of cities were of national concern (Begg, 2002).

The impact of the UTF report (discussed in Section 3.4.1.3) was significant for Liverpool; it grabbed the attention of the city to the role that urban design can play and this has been reflected through policy initiatives, design strategies, and new developments.

Liverpool, soon after the publication of UTF's report, established Liverpool Vision (LV) in 1999 as the UK's first Urban Regeneration Company 'URC' to guide the regeneration of the city centre and the waterfront (Punter, 2010). The establishment of the URC

indicates the intensity and significance of urban regeneration as an ideology for the city's development. LV aimed to:

- Bring key public and private sector agencies to strengthen the city economy.

- Enable it to compete more effectively in international markets than ever before.

LV (2004) was a partnership organisation formed to build consensus among the organisations responsible for delivering projects. These organisations are:

- Liverpool City Council LCC;

- Homes and Communities Agency;

- North West Development Agency NWDA; and

- Liverpool City Region Local Enterprise Partnership LEP.

SRF document is used here as the main document, as it had recommendations that later shaped the transformation of Liverpool. It was formulated to guide several bodies mentioned earlier by developing the city centre physically, while showing flexibility in and identifying different potential development scenarios and priorities for the dynamic evolution of the waterfront and the City Centre (Liverpool Vision, 2000) with assistance from the private sector. The document utilised the urban design efforts and marketing of the city as a significant tool to attract economic investment, particularly in the world's tourism and convention markets (Harvey, 1989a; Gospodini, 2002; Madanipour, 2006). As discussed in Chapter 3, one tool of design governance is prescriptive site-specific guidance which constructed Liverpool's image as a global city through different projects. These guidelines were driven by the urban design as a public policy as imperatives of the entrepreneurial city and by urban competitiveness strategies (Cuthbert, 2006). This was expressed by flagship property regeneration projects, iconic buildings, and spectacular spaces, events, and festivals (Hannigan, 1998; Miles & Miles, 2003), which will be elaborated further in the waterfront's development in Liverpool.

LV identified the city centre and the waterfront as potentially major drivers for economic and social change (Liverpool Vision, 2012). The reasons behind this were the availability of land around the city centre and the commercial core, the high quality of the historic environment and the need to regenerate it, the area is the most visited and most seen by the residents and the visitors, the existence of economic drivers such as the two Universities, retailing, and its vibrant culture (Biddulph, 2011).

The SRF identified six action areas, as shown in Figure 10, focusing on the deliverability of the strategy and achieving the overall vision of the regeneration, which were based on its unique physical assets that

'can differentiate Liverpool economically from counterparts both nationally and internationally' (Liverpool Vision, 2012, p. 25).

A property-led regeneration approach viewed the built environment as the key to regenerating the area through the culture centre represented in St. George's area, the knowledge quarter where the universities and research centre already exist, and the waterfront assets as a representation of the history of the city and the existing complete dock system. This is to transform the image of Liverpool by creating a growth pole appealing to investors, focusing on the changing nature of the economic activities occurring to cope with the global shift in the production process.

| Waterfront | St. Georges | Central |
|---|---|---|
| Liverpool's World Class Waterfront. It has the potential to compete in the world premier league of destination waterfronts. | Focal heart to the city around a key connecting cultural centre such as St. George's hall and arrival hub such as Lime Street station | To retain its competitive edge in the retail hierarchy more retail offer to connect Liverpool one with the city centre retail area |
| KNOWLEDGE | COMMERCIAL | Great Streets |
| An area of expertise, knowledge and wealth creating potential. Investment in a number of key development opportunities, | Expansion and transformation of the Commercial District for existing City Centre businesses & new businesses look to locate in Liverpool. | Three streets have the greatest unified potential to focus investment & transform Liverpool into one of the best, world class visitor destinations. |

Figure 6 Major opportunities for the regeneration of Liverpool (Researcher, 2022; Liverpool Vision, 2012)

However, the choice of those six areas of potential is not contributing to what was stated as helping to 'differentiate Liverpool economically'; it is more of a potential asset for economic

development, rather than what makes it different from other cities economically. It is the choice of the projects and the funding resources that could contribute to such a goal.

Due to globalisation and the rise of new communication technologies, factors have changed that influence cities' positions on the global economic network and attract foreign direct investment to differentiate them from others economically. Dunning (1998) distinguishes four types of motives for foreign direct investment in global cities: resource-seeking, market-seeking, efficiency-seeking, and strategic asset-seeking. Recently, strategic asset-seeking has gained more importance, which has led to a concentration of investment activities (e.g. manufacturing, research, and logistics) in different regions of the world, which benefit recipient cities regarding increased capital, labour, knowledge, and technology. This could motivate other firms to catch up to the world technology frontier, improve institutions, and open up its economy (Poelhekke & Van Der Ploeg, 2009), which is considered an important measure of urban development within the globalising world (Wall & Stavropoulos, 2016). This is also an indicator of the economic attractiveness of a city, as the data show where companies decide to locate their subsidiaries, however, it is still not clear in Liverpool's situation how this could be achieved with its limited funding resources.

Even with the positive economic transformation that Liverpool witnessed, it is still struggling with loss in employment after an increase in the last ten years. Though many attempts, Liverpool is still struggling to be recognised globally and attract foreign direct investment to the city (Liverpool City Council, 2018).

In the next section, the use of design governance tools is discussed as a form of negotiating the formation of spaces and how the justification for an economic transformation is used through the design quality of the WHS as a part of the six areas of transformation.

### 5.3.1. Place-Design Quality of the Waterfront – Tools of Design Governance

There is a special synergy between waterfront projects which turn large tracts of highly visible public land into the opportunity for a new urban iconography; such projects can revitalise the waterfront, attract investment, build local political capital, and serve as effective advertising for further investment (Dovey, et al., 2005). This clarifies the choice of the waterfront in the arc of opportunity by the LCC.

The area required three sets of projects due to its situation (projects to fill the gap, projects to connect and projects to enliven).

'The following projects will drive forward economic growth by delivering the critical mass of visitors, residents and businesses necessary to transform the Waterfront into a world-class visitor destination' (Liverpool Vision, 2012, p. 32).

The choice of 'World Class' creates an image of either being the national centre of trade with a great port, as Hall (1966) defined port world-class cities; this entails a high quality of the waterfront and the importance of distinctive economic activities occurring , which increase the number of visiting consumers or investors. For Sassen (1994), global cities have three major characteristics, as follows:

- Strategic sites for managing the global economy and providing advanced services and financial operations.
- Key sites for the development and management of global economic operations for advanced services and telecommunications facilities.
- The concentration of headquarters of companies operating worldwide.

Which category Liverpool selected projects shall fall in will be highlighted. However, first there is place design quality embedded in the 'world class' slogan, which must be discussed from a spatial characteristics' perspective. Carmona (2016) identified four notions of design quality relating to the built environment, with each being more complex: aesthetic, project, place, and process quality. The definition of place-design quality as argued by Carmona is the notion that encompasses how particular interventions (e.g. individual projects) interact with and impact the whole and the parts of the complex contexts in which they are situated (from use, activity, resource, and the physical components of place). This is more applicable to the choice of the projects occurring on the waterfront and will be discussed later.

The choice of the place-design quality here is to give a better understanding of how the decisions and judgements were taken in the SRF and SPD documents; according to an assessment of the current physical situation of the waterfront and what is required to be achieved through fully exploiting the waterfront as a main economic asset for the city. This approach was adopted by the UK planning systems on its design guidance, which heavily influenced English urban design policy and practice throughout the 2000s with CABE promoted a seven-part agenda of character, continuity and enclosure, quality of the public realm, ease of movement, legibility, adaptability, and diversity (DETR & CABE, 2000).

The SRF highlighted four main challenges the suggested projects must overcome to achieve economic urban regeneration and create the image of a 'World-class waterfront':

- Movement along the Waterfront is interrupted (incomplete links).

- Lack of consistent ground floor active uses along the length of the Waterfront (engaged users through activity).

- Seasonality: the creation of a protected 'all seasons' route.

- Diversity along the length of the Waterfront defines it as Liverpool's key destination for visitor-related investment.

The choices here are made based on the understanding of how to improve the built environment of the waterfront, not the built environment of a WHS that has specific requirements on articulating the previous four challenging points, as discussed in Section 3.3.3.

The strategy for the Waterfront will look to draw them all together as one cohesive offer, to transform the Waterfront from 'good' to 'great'. However, the choice of such general words is ambiguous. When we discuss good here from which lens it is, is from the viewpoint of improving the economic situation of the city or articulating the heritage in the city's development or it can be both articulating the heritage to improving the quality of the built environment for economic gains. In addition, when it is said 'good', to whom? Is it the locals who identify the heritage as a part of their local identity and how it enhances the health and well-being of the community as well? The lens of the discussion from the stakeholders' viewpoint in this context is singular or looks at the bigger image of a situation and ignoring the smaller bits that help to achieve this aim. This is going to be thoroughly discussed through the selected projects (to fill the gap, to connect, and to enliven).

### 5.3.2. Projects to Fill the Gap

The word gap means 'physical intervention' on the waterfront's built environment due to the post-industrial severe decline between the 1970s and 1980s, which impacted what is perceived now as gap points on the waterfront area. This severe deterioration was the case of different waterfronts worldwide that suffered from similar deterioration reasons (Section 5.1). Thus, most of their development patterns have witnessed economic motivation or development orientation such as market orientation (encouraging tourism or business activities), spatial orientation (public space or preserving historical areas), or financial orientation (value creation by land-use intensification) (OECD, 2013).

As a result, the predominant driver for the urban revitalisation of Liverpool's waterfront is economic and functional transformation to connect it with the rest of the city. Several measures and instruments have been applied in numerous waterfront developments that include commercialising through marinas, fisheries, and aquariums, applying the port function to the tourism industry (cruise passenger terminals), making the most of its maritime heritage (historic building preservation), and organising mega-events that attract people and tourism.

The projects selected to fill the gap were responding to the previously mentioned challenges, as shown in Table 10. This response was to reshape the waterfront, enhance its visual appearance, and increase the number of visitors by creating a vibrant environment which consequently encourages more investment. The aim of this wider economic reinvigoration of the waterfront is to provide Liverpool with a platform for considerable reimaging and (re)branding as forward-looking and cosmopolitan and to counter long-standing and pervasive representations as declining and threatening (Wilks-Heeg, 2003; Hudson & Hawkins, 2006; Boland, 2008).

Table 9 transformational projects to fill in the gap according to the SRF (Researcher, 2022)

| Location | Nature of the project |
|---|---|
| Kings Dock: Leisure-led development | Convention centre<br>Supporting mixed-use |
| Not Specified (attraction) | Museum |
| Queens dock: 'extreme sports visitor destination' | Sports facilities<br>Retail facilities (Food &Drink) |
| Princes' dock<br>Water-based infrastructure | Cruise Terminal<br>River taxis and Cruise related amenities |
| Queens Dock (HM Revenue and Customs building) | Government office Active frontage (Lively waterfront environment) |
| Pier Head | offices within the three graces of the vacant floor |
| Princes' dock and king Edward District are places to live, work and visit. | Mixed-use (business – apartments)<br>New and enhanced pedestrian &cycle connections |

First, the decision to add new buildings and/or uses has certain requirements if it is going to be within the WHS boundaries and buffer zone discussed in Section 3.3.3. The WHS was not mentioned anywhere in this document even though during this time it was added to the endangered list. Second, the selected projects mentioned in Table 10 are general projects found elsewhere in port cities as discussed in the SRF, the use of Düsseldorf and Melbourne as port cities for aspiration of development, which ignores one of the main success factors (competitiveness) to achieve the image of a global city. The image produced here is in an

authoritative commissioned planning document that conveyed the political vision of a 'global city' neglecting the fact of what Liverpool is about. What are the main assets of the waterfront that identify Liverpool from other port cities that could be highlighted and developed around the whole area? Thus, economic diversity, connectivity, and quality of life (Boddy and Parkinson, 2004; Begg, 2002) are one of the key drivers of economic growth besides the agglomeration, industrial clusters, innovation, and entrepreneurship (Boddy, 2003; Porter, 2003; Scott and Storper, 2003). A structural change was needed to shape the new urban conditions of the 'global city', which was based on the function of a market system that depends on commodifying the objects that people value (Polanyi, 1957). As a result, the economic patterns adopted in the SRF have been like those experienced in waterfront revitalisation processes elsewhere.

As Marshall (2001) stated, 'the economic and political stakes (and hence the design stakes) are higher on the urban waterfront and become a tremendous opportunity to create environments that reflect the contemporary ideas of the city'. One of the essential elements to achieving a successful urban place is the 'natural animation' (Montgomery, 1995a) or the 'city transaction base' (Montgomery, 1995b), achieved through the balance between diversity of uses and vitality (Montgomery, 1998).

Vitality, as Jacobs (1961) discussed, is about an experiential whole of the urban texturing that generates a vibrant environment. It is about the coherence of the diverse activities or cultural events to support one another and attract people visiting the area during different times of the day/week and year. While diversity is a complex of primary land uses and (largely economic) not separate uses, it targets the main issues mentioned earlier (movement, seasonality, diversity, and consistent active frontages).

However, the projects in Table 10 did not indicate the coherence of a general theme overarching the waterfront. Instead, they are a collection of economic activities spread along the waterfront. Plus, the activities discussed are daytime activities between museums, water sports facilities, or offices between public or private businesses, except for some uses depending on the retail facilities of food and drink, which affects the vitality of the area during nighttime. Another issue is the nature of the projects and the type of people attracted there, such as the convention centre, museum, government offices, and businesses, which could be people working there or attending specific events. Some areas on the waterfront still will be active. As mentioned by one interviewee,

'There are still parts not active due to the several actors involved in the process' (ZY, 2018).
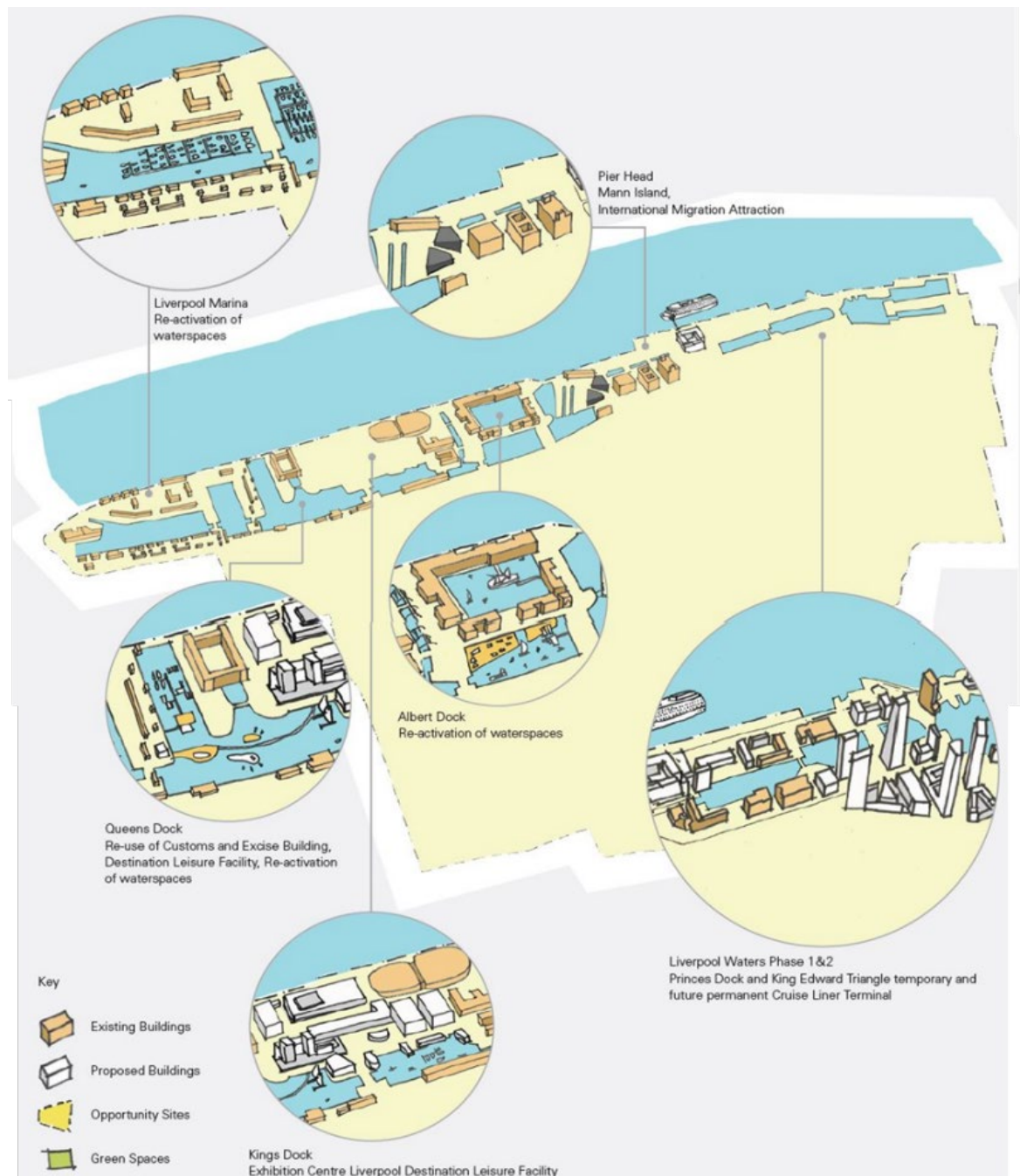


Figure 9. Projects to fill the gap in the SRF (Liverpool Vision, 2012)

The development intentions were to attract and increase investments and the number of people visiting the waterfront, which is difficult to achieve with some uses along the waterfront.

Regarding the image of a global city, the projects focused on the packaging of an ever-expanding range of products, fit the move-to-place marketing, as the main concern is

the performance of their economy regarding value added to the global economic network. Although Liverpool has undergone a significant physical transformation in recent years with substantial economic growth, that narrowed down the GVA performance gap between Liverpool and the rest of the UK (Liverpool City Council, 2018). However, competitiveness among the stakeholders was based on erroneous and poorly developed conceptions of how Liverpool's economy operates after the decline and what could be the expectations of such development. This indicates the chosen development projects on the waterfront result from how planning and design intentions were subverted by the concerns of power and capital (Malone, 1996).

### 5.3.3. Projects to Connect

The severe post-industrial decline that Liverpool's waterfront suffers from impacted its connectivity with the rest of the city. In addition, the physical barrier created by Strand Street resulted in a poor connection with the city, as shown in Figure 10 (Couch, 2003; Meegan, 2003; Munck, 2003; Sykes, et al., 2013). Although the image of Liverpool is inextricably linked to its water, the area was suffering from poor connectivity along the waterfront and between the waterfront and the city centre.
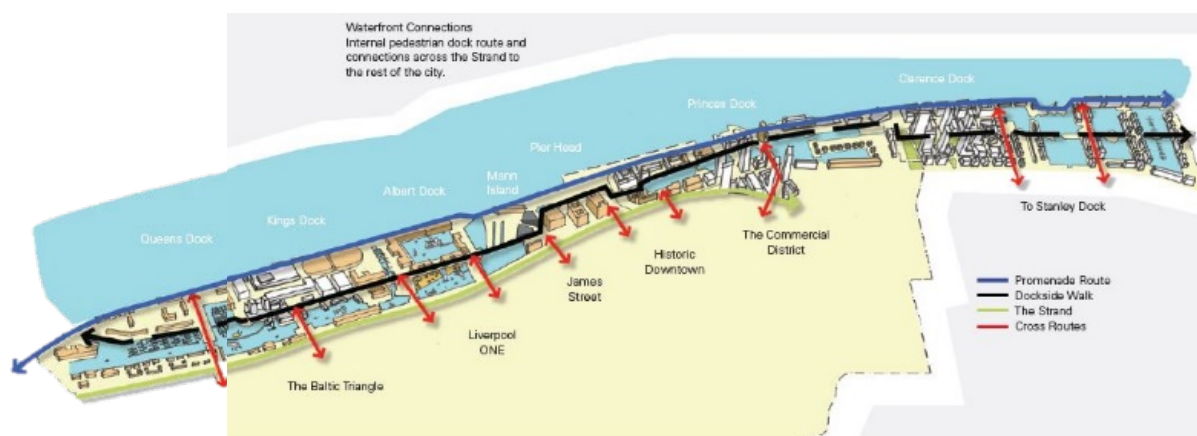


Figure 7 Waterfront Connections Internal pedestrian dock route and connections across the Strand to the rest of the city (Liverpool Vision, 2012)

Since one of its main themes for development was acting as a key destination for visitor-related investment and creating a vibrant environment along the waterfront (Liverpool Vision, 2012), connectivity acts as one of the key design aspects which should be taken into consideration while developing the waterfront. As the movement experience occurs in a series of public spaces where public contact, public social life, people-watching, promenading, transacting, natural surveillance, and culture occur (Montgomery, 1998).

Vitality can be gauged by measuring pedestrian flows and movements, which is a mutual relationship to be achieved.

The SRF document shown in Table 11 focused on the accessibility of the waterfront from different access points and its relationship with the mixed-use development and how the different modes of transportation will improve the quality of the area.

Table 10 transformational projects to Connect according to the SRF (Researcher, 2022)

| Location | Nature of the project |
|---|---|
| Princes' dock – Pier Head Link into Liverpool Waters, which will provide a major expansion of the Waterfront experience over the next 40 years. | A high-quality walking and cycling route around the northern end of the Pier Head, in conjunction with the Liverpool Cruise Terminal, and north through Princes Dock to link into Stanley Dock |
| Canning Dock Dry Dock bridge | Pedestrian Bridge to complete the Pier Head Albert Dock experience |
| King's dock- Albert dock – Pier Head The link between the ACC Liverpool and the Museum of Liverpool | These currently disconnected assets need a high-quality connection for walking and cycling |
| Cruise liner transport | Improved cruise visitor transport system around the city, to major tourism destinations |
| Waterfront – City centre Three Graces | Connecting the Waterfront to the City Centre with the 'Great Streets' Major Transformational Project |
| Waterfront (Pier Head more specifically) Enhanced signage | As the Waterfront develops further, additional signage is required |

The strand street, as shown in Figure 10, representing the green colour, acted as the main barrier, disconnecting the waterfront from the city. Different cross route along the strand were [emphasised] to improve this connection, as shown in red. While along the waterfront there were two paths emphasised as an alternative for pedestrian movement along the waterfront that gives an alternative for movement creating different experiences (one along the river represented in blue and the other along the docks represented in black in Figure 10. Those paths activate the area and pull people from one point to another on the waterfront, which increases the usability of the area.

Also, it improves the cruise liner as a visitor transport system to give alternatives for accessibility to the area with different modes of transportation. Therefore, the permeability of the area is enhanced through an environment that allows a choice of routes both through and within it (Carmona, et al., 2010).

Regarding the global city image, the capacity of the city for growth depends directly on creating and enhancing a high quality of infrastructure. This is on the macro and micro levels. This was represented in the enhancement of the whole network of infrastructure within the city and making use of its local asset. This is where competitiveness appears as Liverpool's port has moved a long way from the bad old days as a declining, over-manned, and loss-making concern: it has been growing, is now profitable, and is in the top five nationally regarding tonnage (Lord Heseltine & Leahy, 2011).

### 5.3.4. Projects to Enliven

Animation of the waterfront is one of the distinctive successful characteristics of the redevelopment of the waterfront (Marshall, 2001), this is due to several reasons:

- Festivals and events are used to bring more people into underutilised public spaces, which are aligned with the notion of '*animation cultural*' to encourage people to visit and linger in urban spaces (Montgomery, 1995a).
- Urban events are the constituents of the branded cityscape (Kolamo & Vuolteenaho, 2013) which explains why events gravitate towards the known parts as the image of the city (Smith, 2016).
- The need to generate revenues to plug holes in public sector budgets is one of the main motivations for sanctioning events in public spaces from the perspective of city authorities (Smith, 2016). Ultimately, this means public space is increasingly funded by temporary privatisation (for events) neoliberal policy that is highly controversial as it restricts access.

Those factors were reasons for choosing the projects discussed in Table 12.

Table 11 transformational projects to enliven according to the SRF (Researcher, 2022)

| Location | Nature of the project |
|---|---|
| River animation | Through activities such as water taxis and boat tours |
| The Mersey River Festival | Enliven the Waterfront and become an annual international standard visitor event |
| The South Docks Water Space Strategy | Enlivening the South Docks Water space including floating buildings, and a promenade, promoting the marina, and encouraging usage of the dock system for a variety of water vessels. |
| Lighting up the Central Axis | As part of the overall 'Lighting the City' initiative, this key component will draw attention to the Waterfront offer during the evening and shorter days |

The development on the waterfront should take into consideration different levels. The first one is the residents and their attachment to and perception of the area, and what it means to them to maintain long-term usability. The second level is the visitors who are visiting the area or investors attracted there. The latter has been highlighted earlier in the different mixed-use development that occurred along the waterfront. However, the residents are an important element in ensuring the successful development of the area. The projects selected here are a representation of a sense of identity for their users (in the sense of identifying as a former functioning maritime port), which often results in belonging to a place through reusing the dockland and the water spaces to accommodate the modern image of Liverpool.

All of this can be supported and projected to wider audiences by more formalised marketing drives. The key point, however, is to encourage associational activity and to generate greater knowledge about what goes on in a place. However, this raises the question of who profits from such developments and whose experiences of living they affect.

### 5.3.5. Reflection on Liverpool's Regeneration

Urban design was used in the SRF to adjust the city to this structural change, by creating a new spatial organisation and projecting a new image that benefits a new society. Swyngedouw, Moulaert, and Rodriguez (2002) described how contemporary urban development must 'stand the tests imposed by a global and presumably liberal world order' as the new urban spaces and the meanings associated with them are for the outsider, investor, developers, or the money-packed tourists (Swyngedouw, et al., 2002).

Gospodini (2002) refers to the final product of such a process and the impact of the new use of the urban design is to attract the higher-value industries and individuals who thrive economically in many locations. Whereas in the past, the quality of the built environment was a by-product of economic development, today, it is seen to be a prerequisite for it. Liverpool's redevelopment and revitalisation as a global city refers to a hard branding approach, as discussed by Evans (2003), which is a combination of tactics like flagship developments (stadia/museums/opera houses/theatres), redeveloped public spaces, festivals and events, while suggesting a homogenisation or placelessness (Relph, 1976) resulting from such tactics, as different cities adopt the same strategies (Turok, 2009). Besides the recent tendency towards 'mega projects, such as convention centres or consumption-oriented shopping and leisure environments (Fainstein, 2008; Lehrer & Laidley, 2008), as discussed in the previous section.

The SRF objectives were to create an environment attractive to investors, a desire to compete with other European cities for investment, and to confirm the identity of Liverpool as a 'Global city' (Parkinson, 2019). The development that occurred had to respond to the economic transformation of the city.

The urban governance of Liverpool was influenced by the urban regeneration approach and how it could help redevelop the city by reusing its resources to attract mobile international capital and investment. This is through place promotion by city authorities. The design choices were a political choice, as Vale (2013) argued the pursuit of a better-designed built environment has been critiqued from both sides of the political spectrum. From the right have come concerns that considering design can undermine the operation of the free market, tying local initiative and creativity with unnecessary delays and red tape. From the left have come critiques that design quality is an elitist concern and is largely a preoccupation of property owners seeking to protect their asset values or developers wishing to enhance theirs and that larger socio-economic inequality, rather than environmental quality, should be the priority.

In Liverpool's case, the economic development, and the operation of the free market shown in Figure 11 created different challenges. For example, the realisation that new technology was playing an increasingly important role in creating both new and existing city spaces which went hand-in-hand with the discovery of unique architectural styles and spatial forms as a post-industrial city. New technologies are present in many facets of modern urban settings, influencing both their physical forms and local economies. There has been a rush to embrace the service economy as a source of wealth development due to the decline of the old industrial sector. Besides other factors shown in Figure 11 on the left-hand side, which influenced the decisions made to redevelop the city. This was all summarised as economic initiatives represented in the urban regeneration on the right-hand side (how to use the waterfront as a 'world-class destination') to achieve the desired image of Liverpool as a global city, as shown in Figure 11.

The urban regeneration model had the same formula which is applied in different cities (Munck, 2003) that was seen to reap benefits for the partners involved. In an ironic twist, these increasingly similar cities and town spaces now compete with one another to attract tourists, shoppers, and residents. However, when every town has the same retail outlets, the same corporate chains supplying nightlife, all offer a range of cultural spaces, and waterfronts are developed with warehouse accommodation, there will be little to distinguish one city from another, which was the case in Liverpool from what was explained earlier.
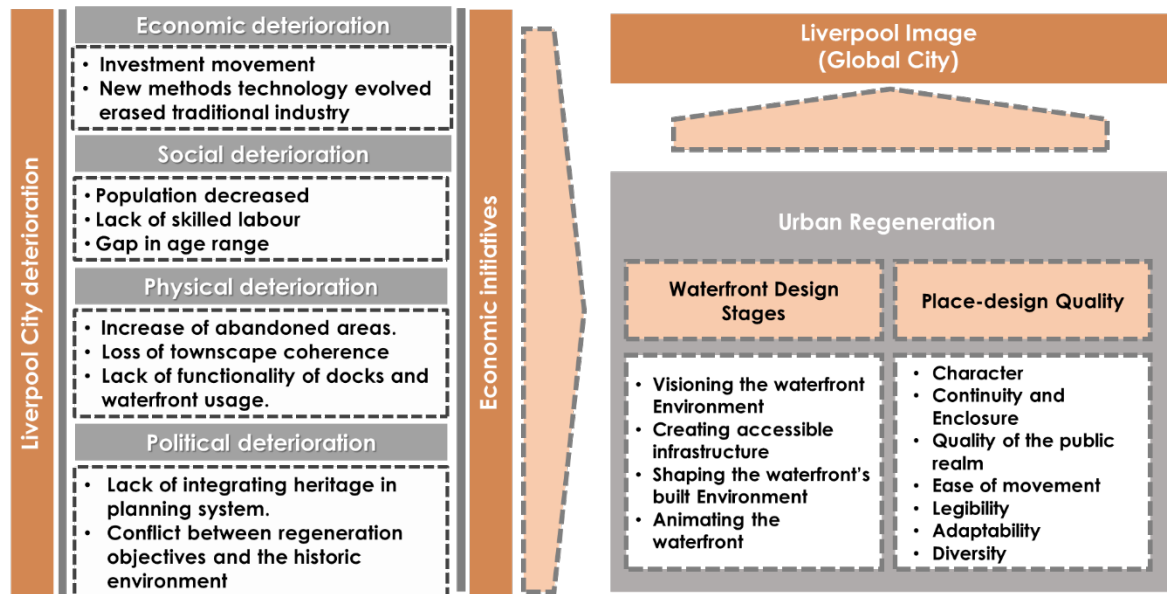
Figure 8 justified the economic approach as a solution to achieve the global city image (Researcher, 2022)

The issue here is not focusing on achieving economic development. It is how to achieve the balance between the economic development of the city and the local identity of the area and its values to the residents. This seemed to be more of a plethora of new projects across a variety of new economic sectors than a solid aggregated plan. The need for a deep analysis was required to expect whether this is going to achieve the aimed targets to raise the city's acute situation. Besides, there was no clear use of instruments needed to ensure a good urban design approach and return life to the city. This regeneration approach takes an apolitical stance with no coordination with the regional context and how this could add or influence the market and in return its advantage to the city, presuming consensus and equality, in contexts where conflicts of power, vested interests, and inequality between actors characterise governance processes for a long time in Liverpool.

Typically, these forms of control are limited in their scope, technical in their aspiration, not generated out of a place-based vision, and are imposed on projects without regard to outcomes (Carmona, 2016). Once the SRF is adopted, there is a tendency for such standards to become the norms, then applied everywhere, regardless of context or relevance.

After discussing how the urban regeneration approach dominated the scene to achieve the aspiration for the city's development, there is an essential element that must be discussed in this process, which is the use of the WH status as global recognition for Liverpool's development. Even though the heritage was used as symbolic evidence of Liverpool's history

as a global city and reusing the heritage buildings of the urban regeneration approach, the heritage conservation technicalities were not articulated in the previously mentioned documents, nor dominating the discussion among different actors. Therefore, the next section focuses on the use of UNESCO's WH status to enhance the perception of the global city's image. In addition, how the power dynamics between different actors shaped the discourses of the heritage articulation within the city's development. In the next Chapter, the focus will be on the technicalities of the heritage conservation approach on the global, national, and local levels.

## 5.4. UNESCO as a Global Recognition

The nomination of a UNESCO WHS (Maritime mercantile city of Liverpool) in 2003 formed a core part of the re-articulation of Liverpool as a world city for the twenty-first, century which was the main driver for this approach when the former councillor of Liverpool stated:

> 'The status can only improve the fortunes of the city with the help and support of partner organisations and the people of Liverpool. To ensure that Liverpool's historic environment plays a central role in the city's future growth' (Liverpool City Council, 2004, p. 5).

The status plays multiple roles, such as being extremely effective symbols of cultural vibrancy that help create a certain image of a place or region, while also functioning as economic development resources for tourism, the attraction of business investment and providing opportunities to mobilise funding and support from donors, and the World Heritage Fund. The inscription of sites on the WHL those not well known, often leads to their increased visibility through incorporation in key guidebooks and the mainstream and specialised press. In tangible terms, benefits are often financial, with the range of heritage-related economic activities using existing urban structures and services, thus, bringing income into the system, and reusing redundant areas and relict features which helps Liverpool to retain its image again.

Coupled with the previous success and learned lessons from the regeneration of Albert's dock, brought back into use as a leisure site after the demise of its industrial purpose. As the economic struggle was obvious in the city from the 1970s onwards, the regeneration became the orientation increasingly reflecting Pendlebury and Strange's (2011, p. 383) wider observations that:

> 'Over the course of the 1980s and 1990s conservation planning practice began to embrace and promote the idea of the historic environment as an asset to be used and adapted for economic gain'.

And:

> '[…] as local authorities became tuned to culture as an instrument of urban renewal, the historic environment became a vital resource for some cities in the regeneration process, whether it be 'jewel cities'3 or edge of centre locations in bigger industrial cities'.

Pendlebury and Strange (2011, p. 375) also allude to the significance of Liverpool within this wider trend, noting that:

> 'The most high-profile and exemplary scheme of this combining of conservation with regeneration was the adoption by the Merseyside Development Corporation of the Albert Dock, a large complex of Grade I listed warehouses, as its flagship scheme' (Pendlebury & Strange, 2011, p. 375).

The regeneration attracted numerous tourists and formulated how the heritage was used to reshape the image of the city. Therefore, heritage movement might find that money is only then made available for projects which enhance that image. However, when heritage becomes linked to economic profits only, it risks losing control of the historical message being selected and presented. This was translated in the SRF document focusing on certain kinds of development neglecting the character and identity of its waterfront, represented by the seminal position Liverpool held in the development of dock and warehouse design and construction, and the surviving urban landscape that bore witness to the city's historical role and significance.

Defining that sense of place today, let alone predicting its future identity, would be difficult enough without identifying its values in the community and economic trade-off. Thus, ignoring the historically built environment characteristics is not the answer. The question will be how congruent should financial values and the values of the form are. LCC's planning manager pledged that

> 'the site will continue to allow developments 'in harmony' with the existing urban fabric' (Wainscoat, 2004, p. 4).

This implies the perception of heritage as an isolated island and an obstacle to development. Often, heritage managers, those officials tasked under legislation to coordinate the identification and management of the national heritage (Labadi, 2017), consider developers to be a threat to irreplaceable heritage resources due to favouring economic benefits over the

cultural and local identity. Heritage management is often considered by developers to be an expensive punishment (Harrison, 2012) and not a necessary exercise, especially when abandoned areas need more maintenance than clearance and starting from scratch, like Liverpool's situation during that time. Heritage managers must respond to the rising threat from developers by adapting their management approaches to the business demands of the twenty-first century.

In England, Pendlebury (2013) showed the need to demonstrate heritage conservation compatibility with existing modes of property-based economic development. To retain legitimacy in a planning context with a strong growth agenda, heritage cannot be seen to block or even be neutral towards economic development; it must facilitate and stimulate it. Therefore, the EH regional manager expected and stressed the importance of UNESCO WHS, that

> 'the designation will act as a catalyst for 'new and imaginative uses' for the city's historic buildings' (Wainscoat, 2004).

This confirms the false perception of heritage as a barrier to development, rather than being regarded as an active agent of change. While others' perspective on the value and significance of Liverpool's WHS was different:

> 'It's a sorry day for those of us that aspire for something more dynamic for Liverpool. Liverpool is a commercially-based city and many people in power have forgotten that. The World Heritage status is not about commercial urban growth – it's a completely different emphasis on the city's growth potential' (Carpenter, 2004, p. 5).

The previous statement highlights the conflict and confusion of the understanding of Liverpool's heritage significance and how it is even valued by different actors which are discussed in the next Chapter the influence of heritage interpretation and how it affected its final image perceived today by those actors.

Before discussing the different understandings of Liverpool's heritage value, the next section discusses the power dynamics between different actors and how their ideology influences heritage perception. Simultaneously, how the decision-making for development was affected by those processes to explain the previous choices discussed in this Chapter.

### 5.4.1. Heritage, Power, and Ideology

Like all globalising arenas, the creation of UNESCO and the shift to global heritage have only reinforced the state's interests, since it is so firmly pegged to national identification, prestige, and the recognition of modernity. This reinforcement of nationalism does not resonate with UNESCO's ideas on heritage conservation, that claims WHS values are transcending the national boundaries (Section 3.3). Following Sassen (1996) and Brown (2010), 'denationalised economic life' runs parallel with 'renationalised political life'. This concept is elaborated when Liverpool used the UNESCO WHS and its heritage to position itself on these global power networks, as Castells elaborated this concept of power as 'identifiable but diffused' (Castells, 2009). This diffusion acknowledges the decentralisation of power and a kind of distributed agency (without explicitly referring to actor-network theory); it uses heritage as a medium of communication, a means of transmission of ideas and values, which constitute global networks that produce and distribute cultural codes. Castells' concept provides a better insight into how heritage, power, and ideology are brought together and impact how UNESCO's operational guidelines are being translated differently in each context, creating a conflict on an operational level.

Simultaneously, the Foucauldian perspective emphasises power as not a contradictory force to be executed by somebody who holds authority against another who is subjugated, but a productive relationship that produces powerful effects of subjectification. This perception of power had an echo on how the communication and negotiation were done between UNESCO and LCC. In addition, how the power was channelled through adding Liverpool's WHS to the endangered list as a warning language to change the approach LCC used in selecting the projects done within the WHS.

> 'Like many issues with politics certainly from UNESCO, it is a kind of continual dialogue and compromise' (DZ, 2018).

The previous statement indicates how Liverpool perceived the symbolic weight of UNESCO as a power that can be converted into material gains in many domains, especially with its desperate situation. State Parties with WHS gain reputation internationally and nationally, access monetary support to the WH Fund, and exploit the advantages of increased public awareness, tourism, and economic growth (Section 3.3.1). However, the aspired power from Liverpool's side will have a knock-on effect on UNESCO's side based on its operational guidelines that must be implemented locally to ensure this exercise of power is continuous. Unfortunately, England's policies do not deeply reflect this translation of WH operational

guidelines on the national level in return or local as well (Section 3.4.2). Even if it achieves a clear understanding of UNESCO's operational guidelines, there is still a gap in how Liverpool can position itself on the global network, with the lack of resources and capacity from the city. The only answer was through the commodification of their heritage as reflected in Section 2.3.2.2. All the previous choices in Sections 5.3.2.3 and 4 reflect this approach.

The understanding of the different actors' ideologies goes back to the heritage definition (Section 2.2). One of the many important current purposes that history, or the events of the past, serves is the creation of sociocultural place identities to support certain state institutions. The deliberate use of aspects of the past is neither new nor exclusive to a certain context. To do so, it is first required to shift from practice to theory, before such conscious and goal-directed involvement of the past is feasible. It is important to understand what is occurring and what has likely always happened in one form or another. Different geographical scales may create and strengthen spatial political entities by using the past as a representation of place identity. The supranational scale of state-building competes with other scales, whether local, regional, or national, whose advancement is often more well-established and forcefully promoted.

Second, history serves a variety of additional contemporary purposes. These include meeting the psychological requirements of the individual and, therefore, the needs of society 'so the comfort of the past may anchor excitement of the future' (Lynch, 1984), as well as preventing collective forgetfulness from causing societal disorientation. Sociologists would redefine education, which museums have used as a key rationale for their existence from its origin, as 'socialisation', which is the process by which the norms and standards of society are transmitted to younger generations. Political scientists would add the term 'legitimation' and contend that historical events are recounted in the present for dominant political ideologies and parties to legitimate their control by drawing connections between the past and present. Purely economic grounds have just lately been introduced, even though similar applications, or post-hoc explanations, have long been common among people interested in researching, conserving, and interpreting the past. History serves as a resource foundation for a variety of high-level economic activities, not only 'cultural' or 'heritage tourism', which is a highly significant business.

Likewise, the ideology should not be interconnected with ideas like identity or authenticity, but should instead analyse these modes of articulation as interconnected (Schramm, 2010). Kuutma (2012) refers to the conception of the ideology of Marc Augé in discussing heritage

regimes between arbitration (as an authoritative scheme) and engineering (as inventive apparatus) to account for the fact heritage configurations communicate relations between strength and signification. This emphasis on meaning-making recognises the variables inherent in the manufacturing and interpretation of heritage, apart from the essential attention to power relations.

John and Jean Comaroff (2003) coined the term 'ID-ology', which means 'a place in which different identity strive to be expressed in politics'. Like Liverpool's case, which also captivated the productivity of this ideological constellation and overcoming its negative image, following UNESCO guidance at the same time (HE principles and guidance).

The heritage sector is connected to problems of identity and power. For example, it may be seen in the development of genetically engineered initiatives and indigenous movements as an embodied feeling of belonging and entitlement (Broz, 2009; Schramm, 2012), or as the commercial branding of 'culture', 'tradition', and 'ethnicity' so characteristic of contemporary heritagisation (Ebron, 2002; Waterton, 2010). Liverpool revived its heritage as a WHS to be used as a medium of communication and information. The rebranding was carried out under UNESCO status, which, via its symbolic strength and operational guidelines, symbolises its authority and enables it to withdraw from its position unless the State Party fulfils the conditions. Authority is shared among numerous individuals in this situation. Thus, while ideology is translated in this attitude, Liverpool was unable, as described below by the heritage officer, to transfer the needed meaning via the identity conflict created by such politics and power struggles through such a complex process.

> 'So some of the management plan and supplementary planning documents took a long time to get there and water down a little bit to achieve consensus' (DZ, 2018).

How the different meanings and purposes justify the debate mentioned on how the different approaches (urban regeneration and heritage conservation) within the city have worked in parallel without coordination and in Chapter 6, how the different languages and communication used by UNESCO and LCC in defining the OUV of the WHS created a conflict in identifying the management plan of the WHS. It impacted how the operational guidelines, whether from UNESCO or HE, were translated into the projects done within the WHS boundary.

### 5.4.1.1.Liverpool's Heritage Planning and Management

As a UNESCO WHS, Liverpool has committed itself to establishing effective measures for the management, protection, and conservation of the heritage site. Although England's planning system through designations usually acknowledges conservation needs, these are not specific to WHS (Section 3.4.2). There are no specific statutory planning controls that apply to WHS. The emergence of site-specific WHS management plans in England since the early 1990s goes some way to filling this gap. Although not statutory policy documents, some plans have become supplementary planning guidance and have become part of the formal development control process.
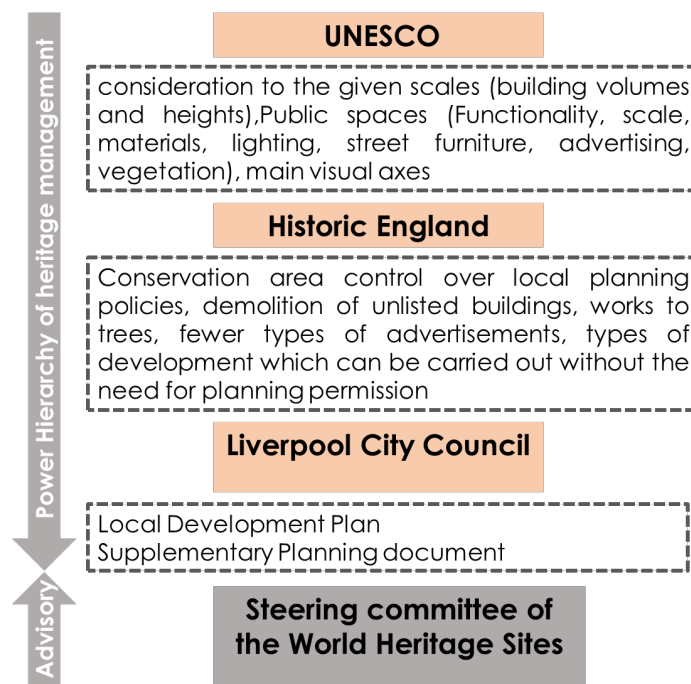


Figure 9 Ideal power-control hierarchy of a UNESCO WHS and Conservation area in the UK (Researcher, 2022)

The number of actors involved in heritage conservation is plenty, as discussed in Section 2.5.2, between political, technical, and administrative responsibilities, besides the investors able to take the final decisions for heritage conservation/management. However, as discussed in the previous section, ideology is a pivotal aspect that impacts this final decision, plus the financial authoritative power discussed in the next Section. In Liverpool's case, there are plenty of factors shaping the power dynamics between the different actors involved. Part of this formation is the policies adopted by the government of decentralisation and partnership, which led to investors being in more control than the local government regarding the type of projects that will apply for planning permission. Another factor is the ownership, as discussed

in Section 2.5.1. For example, if the parties/stakeholders shown in Figure 12 are involved in the management, development, and protection of Liverpool's WHS, it will, in return, create a conflict due to the different background, knowledge and the level of expertise. There are other factors marginalised during the process which is thinking deeper on what the values of this heritage are and how to achieve consensus among different actors on what it means to all of them.

Initially, the principal statutory processes of conservation planning have changed little over the last decade. The 2012 NPPF consolidated a raft of previous policy documents, including for the historic environment (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012) and essentially continued the constructive conservation principles. In determining applications, it states that decision-makers are required to consider whether what is proposed constitutes 'less than substantial harm to the significance of a designated heritage asset' 'weighed against the public benefits of the proposal' (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012; Ministry of Housing, Communities &Local government, 2019). There is no definition of 'less than substantial harm' and the weighing and interpretation of this clause in the local context become key. This changes the terms of discretionary decision-making in the conservation-planning system and can, as discussed below, have a significant influence on how conservation planning is done in practice.

As a top-down approach shown in Figure 12 (Statutory globally), UNESCO has its regulations and development criteria for any project implemented within the boundaries of the WHS with its buffer zone. HE (Statutory nationally) has its guidelines for conservation areas' development. Simultaneously, LCC (Statutory locally) with the steering committee (advisory local) of the WHS is producing a local development plan and SPD is to rephrase those guidelines globally and nationally to befit its local context. The steering committee, represented in grey colour in Figure 12, is an advisory body only which was not involved in development permissions.
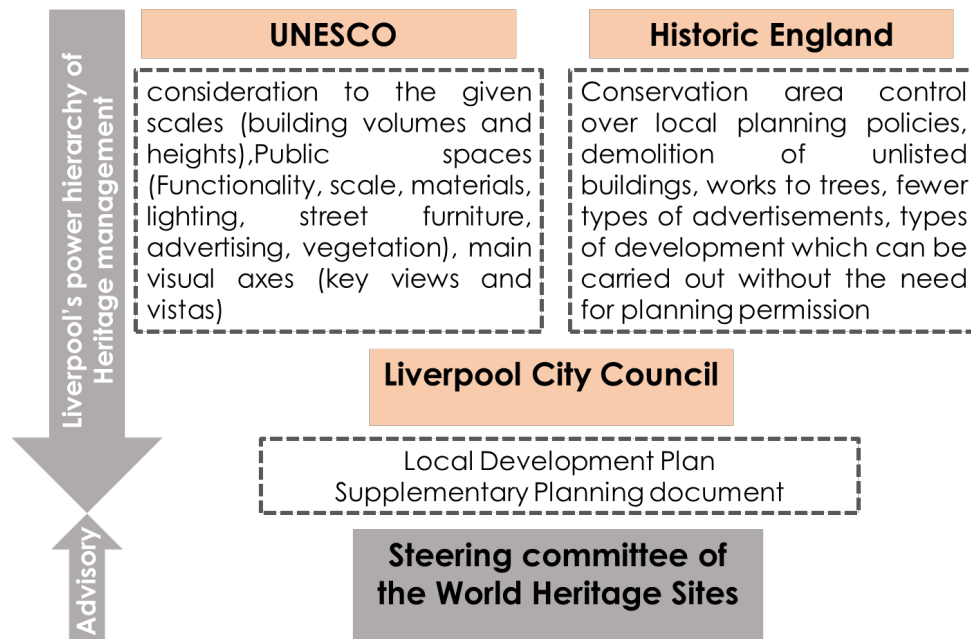
Figure 10 Power-control Hierarchy of Liverpool's UNESCO WHS and Conservation area (Researcher, 2022)

However, HE acted as a statutory body giving permission to development complying with the concept of being a conservation area for beneficial development for Liverpool, as shown in Figure 13. The administration of heritage is managed at the national level in the UK, without taking into consideration the UNESCO WHS management criteria for development. The protective legislation in the UK for the historic environment is strategically weak and focused on fragmented parts known collectively as 'heritage assets' (Rodwell, 2014). There is no overarching designation for historic cities, none for World Heritage Sites, and the concept of the buffer zone is neither encompassed nor understood within the planning system. Thus, urban sites, such as Liverpool, are propelled to the status of WHS in the absence of a nationally formulated protective framework that embraces them.

### 5.4.2. Heritage, Power, and Control

States Parties are increasingly international in their heritage negotiations, underpinned by capitalist desires while being intensely territorial and national in their aspirations for site listing and UNESCO branding. The sovereignty here means to harness global capital and detach those economic imperatives from political life (Brown, 2010).

When WHS are discussed in the literature, they all share several common elements regardless of their actual geographic orientation or original local uses they may have. They all boast a

global tourist infrastructure. They also share discursive features commonly associated with globalisation, as discussed here by the interviewees

> 'The three main buildings of Pier Head symbolise Liverpool's zenith and its economic power at the beginning of the twentieth century' (MF, 2018).
> 'It is all about innovative technology and Liverpool's role in world history' (ZY, 2018)

It can be seen how Liverpool is considered an economic power that gained a global position in world history which got beyond its geographical location. However, Liverpool's scenario was different as a WHS due to the vast economic deterioration the city faced, as discussed in Chapter 5. So, Liverpool theoretically has the common features of a WHS, however, it is difficult to maintain such status without a compromisation that Liverpool cannot give while it is trying to adverse this situation. The ideology mentioned in the previous section that Liverpool is using WH status as cultural branding that mobilises national and international flows was overarching what this status could offer to the city. UNESCO recognition offers the possibility of direct tourist and other economic revenues for national governments and the private sector, besides the transformation of heritage places into emblematic and reflective values that mobilise supplementary tangible benefits in other domains.

The power in this section is discussed through the economic power the UNESCO status offers such as the economic globalisation effect which is echoed in the significant amount of private investment poured into preserving and presenting sites to the public worldwide (Vadi, 2013) which helps Liverpool achieve its vision as a global city. However, with such a power of direct foreign investment, it can have a force to control Liverpool's landscape and erase or highlight a certain part of the past.

The argument here is there are other objectives of UNESCO, such as cultural industries and markets, rather than the humanitarian and democratic dimensions (Singh, 2011), which were reflected in the divergence between the recommendations of the Advisory Bodies and the Committee's final decision (Di Giovine, 2009; Salazar, 2010a; 2010b). This revealed the polished surface of UNESCO used to create this global network, power, and control. However, with the Liverpool case, UNESCO's position was not clear on how they communicated with the LCC as discussed by the heritage officer

> 'After the management planning and supplementary planning document has been adopted by the council and sent it off to UNESCO and they didn't get it back negatively actually they didn't get back at. So, it was assumed that it has been accepted as a practical document which is what they asked for in 2006. It was only

> in 2011 in the next mission when representatives of UNESCO came, and they felt the document didn't give enough constraints to new development. I think they found it a problem against the WHS central area' (DZ, 2018).

The previous statement highlighted the miscommunication and misinterpretation that happened from both sides. Is it because it was related to that shift and divergence mentioned earlier or it is more related to the governmentalisation concept of Foucault (1991; 2002; 2004). According to Foucault, governmentalisation is one that seeks to identify these different styles of thought, their conditions of formation, and the principles and knowledge they borrow from and generate which did not mean a one-dimensional centralisation of state power, but a calculated distribution of resources, positions, and functions between the actors of the state, markets, and civil society. More than just centralisation of the state over 'social', governmentalisation is the emergence of the social – and hence the cultural, too – as a central task for the apparatuses of public governance.

This concept and way of thinking embody the answer to who or what is to govern and how? When UNESCO understand how LCC can manage the WHS according to the resources and the national policies and LCC understands UNESCO's language as mentioned in Chapter 6 and how LCC could integrate it within the system, it could have created a dialogue and a consensus among different actors and understand their role rather than one side needing to compromise to maintain the status. This is where the control is manifested and dominates the continuous dialogue between UNESCO and LCC, which is discussed in the next section.

### 5.4.3. The governmentalisation of Cultural Heritage

The discourses of the governmentalisation of cultural heritage are to make government institutions more governable and self-reflective. In WHC, this was clear in defining the positions of stakeholders and international tools and methods to utilise power over culture. However, the state is not receding, rather, it is changing the way sovereignty is exercised (Slaughter, 2004) leading to new forms of negotiation and governance. This change resulted from an increase in the number of international actors due to the success of emerging economies and, with that, have come diverse interests that require accommodation, combined with globalisation, which are powerful drivers of interdependence. This increases the number of powerful countries whose consent is required or cooperation, while simultaneously decreasing the leverage of any one country even the most powerful to compel a certain outcome. This also means the number of 'veto players' in global governance has increased; affecting the dynamics of the decision-making process within UNESCO.

HE acts as the national statutory body for heritage conservation in the UK, which works through a series of formal criteria and supporting guidance during any assessment for statutory protection, no matter the type of site or the potential outcome of any case, and most cases are subject to public consultation. Beyond these formal steps in the regulatory process lie a range of social and economic considerations, which influence the recommendations of HE and the ultimate decision of the government on if to protect. The increasing pace of national devolution and so, too, the broadly de-regulatory climate of twenty-first-century society affected the decision-making process; what is related to heritage conservation in the UK, which has resulted in a culture of distrust of bureaucracy. It is important to note that with this questioning of authority, the concept of commensurate change in the types and the extent of public involvement in heritage must be highlighted and taken into consideration.
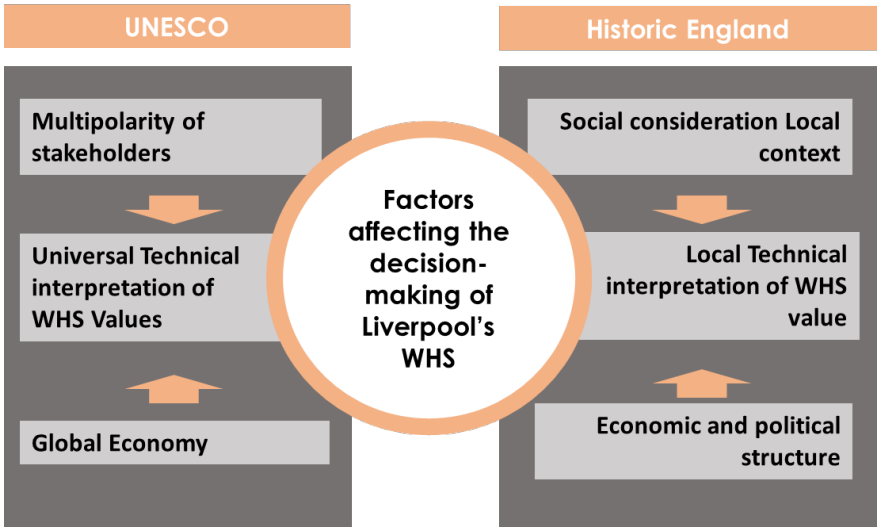


Figure 11 Factors affecting the decision-making process of Liverpool's WHS (Researcher, 2022)

These interconnected trends of social challenge on the one hand and cultural engagement on the other, emphasise arms-length public organisations such as HE to adapt their institutional behaviours to best reflect evolving popular expectations of accessibility, responsibility, and engagement. The most recent iteration of HE's Corporate Plan outlines its priorities for 2017–2020. Many of these priorities have been important for some time and will remain so for the foreseeable future; the need for a geographically small but demographically large nation like England to build, develop, and adapt to the realities of the early twenty-first-century global economy means certain foci are inevitable.

Figure 14 shows how the different factors governing UNESCO and HE affected how the interpretation and the technical language used by both as discussed in Chapter 6. These

different factors have resulted in tensions and conflicts that added Liverpool's WHS being listed in danger. In its research, Price Waterhouse Coopers found nominations are actively being pursued to produce regeneration, which differs completely from pursuing universality claimed by UNESCO:

> 'An increasing local and regional focus on culture and heritage as a tool for regeneration has created an atmosphere where WHS status is more likely to be supported for economic and social reasons that are not directly linked to its primary conservation objective. This hypothesis is also supported by the types of sites currently coming forward and by the increasing involvement of RDAs in the nomination process … This will affect the motivations and the achievement of benefits' (PWC, 2007).

As mentioned in the previous statement with Figure 14, the motivation for nominating a WHS has a certain ideology, as discussed in the previous section, which affected how the OUV is interpreted and accordingly set priorities for development. Even within UNESCO, Schmitt (2009) used official observer status at the WH Committee sessions to examine the role of the advisory bodies. He argues there are markedly different understandings of concepts like OUV and the instruments such as the list of WH in danger, yet such pluralism need not be detrimental to global governance. However, the globalisation concept, as Giddens (1990) contends, additionally intensifies a consciousness of the world as a more cohesive, interrelated whole. The individual agency, as opposed to the agency of sovereign nation-states, is a key component in this theory.

While the other thing is to deeply understand the UK planning system and how it impacted adopting UNESCO's operational guidelines within the local development plans and how it fits with HE as the national statutory body. ICOMOS advisory evaluation in 2004 and 2006 UNESCO-ICOMOS reactive monitoring mission did not recognise the UK planning policies' challenges reflected in Liverpool, such as suffering from being propelled by an assemblage of policy fragments due to the lack of national designation of historical areas.

- The remit for the first UNESCO-ICOMOS reactive monitoring mission in 2006 focused on the waterfront projects at the Pier Head and was broadened to encompass the overall situation 'concerning the state of conservation of the site in its widest urban context, its integrity and authenticity'. Whereas the resultant mission report raised several visual integrity and management issues, including inadequate guidance in the design briefs for the two waterfront projects. It was inhabited by the limited definition of contemporary in the UNESCO Vienna Memorandum from challenging their

endorsement by HE. Constrained by the deletion of 'urban landscape' from the texts of justification for OUV, the 2006 mission report also concluded that redevelopment initiatives in the wider urban context were 'carefully re-establishing the city's coherence through the enhancement of its numerous remaining historical features [and] the infill of vacant lots', and omitted to comment critically on the post-inscription high-rise waterfront developments in the Prince's Dock area of the buffer zone; indeed, it described the urban morphology of the docks and harbours as remaining intact. This failure to address the historic urban landscape holistically contradicts the subsequent condemnation of the Liverpool Waters project.

- In 2011, Liverpool Waters had the responsibility for the second UNESCO-ICOMOS reactive monitoring mission. In the UK, the CABE rejected the proposal on a design basis and by HE on the grounds of a lack of configuration of the historic docks' morphology. Many NGOs, including the UK SAVE Heritage and individuals, are also opposed to the programme. Instead of developing the idea, the governmental opponents focused on project specifics. Others asked about the threat to the functioning and the ongoing investment of the historic city. The 2011 mission report focused on urban morphology and views precisely the proposed heights of 192m; the 55-storey Shanghai Tower, with a secondary cluster of tall buildings, concluded Liverpool Water was irreversibly threatening the OUV of the WHS. Theoretical information on the HUL UNESCO previously agreed to build a considerably taller London Shard, 310 metres, between the London Tower and the Palace of Westminster and the Westminster Abbey WHS, in contrast to its rejection of the unbuilt Shanghai Tower of Liverpool.

- International branding of history has not beneficially affected many existing communities in the city. Since the 1930s, Liverpool's high levels of unemployment and accompanying social difficulties have not been tackled by consecutive high-quality waves of high-profile development projects in the city centre and the waterfront. The gaps between gentrification areas and impoverishment have increased. Liverpool has regularly led the Table for the largest share of the income support population in every city in the UK.

- Liverpool was highlighted in WH as a European example of historic designations utilised for economic revitalisation as a status symbol. Similarly, the Council exploits the ECOC' 08 Award as an excuse for promoting rapid commercial growth at the cost of the city's surviving historic fabric.

With such contradictions in definition and understanding lies the complexity of the situation of how to implement and integrate the operational guidelines of UNESCO as well as acknowledging the UK's planning system, as shown in Figure 15, and how these contradictions resulted in different expectations and outcomes.

> 'When we talk about the city centre and the WHS plus the buffer zone that covers the entire city centre, you can't manage a place like that on preservation principles. You have to manage it on much more tolerant to change and development and that is something the UNESCO found pretty difficult' (MF, 2018).
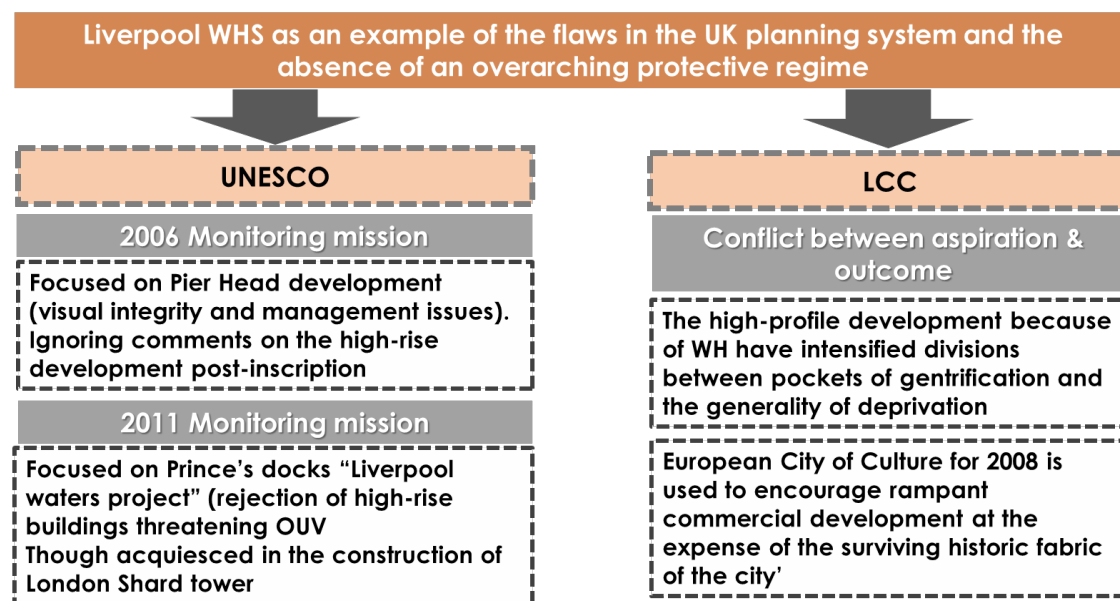


Figure 12 Liverpool WHS as an example of the flaws in the UK planning system and the absence of an overarching protective regime (Researcher, 2022)

The previous statement shows how tough it was to accomplish the idea of global heritage by UNESCO if it is assessed globally to the same extent that it will only happen until the improbable occurrence of consumer priorities among the parties involved is comparable. Therefore, the globalisation of heritage must be resisted if heritage is to be actively exploited to assert distinctive identities in locations, especially in the conserved environment. It was, with Liverpool, and the immediate need for such an assertion as a mechanism for development, which will be discussed in the next Section.

### 5.4.4. Imaginative Reconstruction of Liverpool's WHS in Policies Formulation

As a significant economic driver for Liverpool, it is essential to unpack how the UNESCO WHS contributes economically. Therefore, some common ground is going to be established regarding the relationship between heritage and tourism, especially with Liverpool's context first and then its policies that help shape the WHS as a unique touristic attraction.

| Coexistence | Exploitation | Imaginative reconstruction |
|---|---|---|
| **Sharing Culture** Tourism and heritage coexist when tourism doesn't dominate the local economy, even though the number of tourists may be large | **Using Culture** When tourism begins to occupy a position of importance in the local economy, the cultural heritage becomes the basis for generating a cash flow | **Creating Culture** Seeks to make concrete more abstract elements of culture. It has been embraced as a means of increasing attractiveness & thus the market potential of heritage sites |

Figure 13 the evolution of a tourism-heritage relationship (Ashworth & Larkham, 2013)

Liverpool's heritage perception lies in the category of imaginative reconstruction of the built environment, which occurs by selecting certain elements of the historic built environment and reconstructing the rest of the settings to give an insight into past lived experiences in modern society.

To incorporate abstract history into a marketable product, the developer must present the lifestyles and behaviours of the past employing a tourist experience. This is due to the historically built environment of Liverpool's WHS and what is remaining of the past and its suitability for the present time, and the derelict situation of Liverpool, with plenty of its abandoned areas and gaps within its townscape. A more valid set of criticism concerns the impact of this tourism-led development on the authenticity and integrity of the heritage townscape and people's ideas about the cultural heritage itself. Such a process is critical to the selection of the elements that represent the characteristics and values of heritage and how it is interpreted. UNESCO and HE have the same framework on how to approach heritage sites, as shown in Figure 16.

As the most important stage is managing change or planning for conservation/management, which is going to be described more in the supplementary planning document of the maritime mercantile city of Liverpool, to manage a change, there should be a clear image that is not enough to understand the physical characteristics and success factors that could help for achieving development for the city and add more values, rather than be treated as a burden and leftover areas. Achieving the imaginative reconstruction of Liverpool's WHS would raise critical issues if the characteristics of the physical built environment are not understood and values, as shown in Table 13.

Therefore, in the supplementary planning document, there were certain responses to the general design guidance criteria to reflect UNESCO'S operational guidelines of the OUV of its WHS, such as:

> 'Applicants for development will need to undertake further analysis and assessment … that the design of their development has responded to the characteristics and OUV of the locality in which it is situated in terms of its materials, layout, mass, relationship to the street, architectural detail, and height' (Liverpool City Council, 2009, p. 40).

Table 12 Issues raised by tourism in conservation and cultural management (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996)

| | | Conservation issues | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Uniform Concern | Integrity | Honesty |
| Cultural Issues | Cultural selectivity | Distortions of conservation value; bias for periods and areas | The decline of undervalued areas | |
| | Commercialisation | Economic vs Cultural values | Distortion character; appropriateness of re-use; a value of form vs value of the structure | Challenge of enhancement |
| | Reproduction | | | Authenticity; the importance of the tourist experience |

However, this is not complying with what was stated in the nomination document or the management plan document about the description of the character areas' characteristics and physical elements that contributed to the formation of the WHS and its OUV such as (materials, layout, mass relationship). The projects that took permission and were implemented within the WHS especially the waterfront area are discussed in Chapter 6. Although stating in the same document that different projects that occurred on the waterfront were powerful demonstrations of the success of regeneration initiatives along the waterfront such as Mann Island development as totally new buildings, Leeds Liverpool canal, king's dock. Those projects correspond to the SRF document but not with SPD and correspond to the creation of culture as an imaginative reconstruction of the heritage for tourism products and urban regeneration. Therefore, the question of how the success of such projects is measured is? Is it from an urban regeneration perspective or heritage management? Even the documents related to the nomination of the WHS or the management plan document were not that clear regarding what constituted those characters and how?

Adding to this the views to, from, and within Liverpool's WHS is an important aspect of its visual character and directly contribute to its OUV. Again, the selection of the historic elements of the built environment and its balance with new development was clear:

> 'The aim is to create a cohesive and exciting waterfront of both historic and contemporary buildings which sot harmoniously together … Some development which intrudes into their views of them could be accommodated provided that it does not wholly obstruct key views, but developers will need to demonstrate their proposals will not compromise their fundamental contribution to the quality and interest of the skyline' (Liverpool City Council, 2009, p. 54).

The previous statement gives the flexibility for development and its nature, which accommodates the idea adopted by HE that heritage conservation is about managing, not preventing change. As discussed in Table 13, commercial values (economic benefits) distort the culture through selection, interpretation, and bias. What is chosen from the past is expected to be profitable and what is added to the present is to cope with modernity and retain Liverpool's image as a global city no matter the qualities or intrinsic values of the built environment and how it could add to the present not to be seen as an obstruction. Choosing from the past and adding to the present effectively create a new culture whose values are based on their ability to be interesting rather than to be accurate. Using 'not wholly obstruct' is subjective and then the question of how to decide such a thing. LCC based on what? Economic benefits. This trade-off was the reason that Liverpool's WHS was listed in danger due to the pressures of development threatening its integrity by giving Liverpool's water permission to be the only case in the UK on the danger list.

This explains the flexibility that was needed by Liverpool city council to assess development based on a case-by-case proposal to identify the economic benefits and its culture.

While tall buildings' existence within the boundaries of the WHS and its buffer zone is one of the critical issues that was identified by the WH Committee during its inscription in 2004, which stated that:

> 'Recommends the authorities pay particular attention to monitoring the processes of change in the World Heritage areas and their surroundings in order not to adversely impact the property. This concerns especially changes in use and new construction.
> Requests the State Party, in applying its planning procedures rigorously, assure that:
> The height of any new construction in the World Heritage property did not exceed that of structures in the immediate surroundings,
> The character of any new construction respects the qualities of the historic area,
> New construction at the Pier Head should not dominate but complement the historic Pier Head buildings' (Liverpool City Council, 2009, p. 56).

Failure to follow the recommendation and requests could ultimately result in the site being removed from the UNESCO WH list, which was stating clear guidelines for any development occurring within the WHS and its buffer zone. However, the document stated there will be an exception to this general presumption at the system of the historic docks and quaysides where there is little predetermined development. Besides the justification that during the inscription, there was a cluster of tall buildings already within its business area (Buffer zone of the WHS) which strengthens the legibility of the city by signposting the location where most business exchange occurs. However, the legibility term used here is tricky as the WHS skyline and the cluster of the three graces are enough to indicate the location of the business district just close to the WHS. While signposting again for who? Does a city need identification of the location of a business district with tall buildings?

> 'Ensuring development physically and visually related to the existing commercial core of the city. The existing cluster of tall buildings and other existing buildings is the starting point for considering additional tall buildings and so the visual, practical and economic impact upon them must be fully considered' (Liverpool City Council, 2009, p. 58).

There is a bias in the planning policy to achieve economic benefits which could have a spatial consequence on Liverpool's WHS, which leads to a compromise in the townscape's integrity as a cultural heritage to achieve its perceived image mentioned earlier. Again, this is the nature of WHS covering most parts of the city centre where economic development is centralised. However, the real danger is the clear expression of relative value by the state, which inevitably helps to form public attitudes about which townscapes are worthwhile and which are unimportant in accepting alteration or transformation of its townscape.

However, it was soon evident that monetary measurements never account for the totality of either benefits or costs of heritage decisions. There are intangible benefits of preserving heritage and costs in its loss that cannot be assigned a monetary or quantitative value. That WHS has shaped and developed the city is due to its intangible values, which are defined by the values that society attributes to it that were neglected during the whole process.

> 'The city must embrace the Heritage Site to get its citizens on board and to move away from that image of it being the domain of old cravat-wearing historians. It should be something that every scouser loves; you ask the average person what makes Liverpool special and most would just shrug their shoulders if you asked them about the WHS' (Schouten, 2019).

Therefore, heritage development management, in this case, can be defined as 'the way that those responsible choose to use it or exploit it, or conserve it'. While the fact the responsibility

includes all of them together (people who are using it, people who are exploiting it and people who are conserving it) is going to be discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. Thus, as more people handle it, authorities can seldom make management choices solely on their own. New interested groups come with opinions about the values of their heritage and how it is to be conserved and managed – opinions that do not always coincide with the views of experts which is going to be discussed in Chapter 6 how different perceptions of heritage and its values resulted in different projects that were sometimes useful and others were considered as a threat for the WHS. Sometimes, the values of different groups are incompatible and can cause serious conflicts which drove Liverpool's UNESCO WHS listed in danger and to be the only one in the whole of the UK. In this changing environment, decisions about heritage and regeneration in Liverpool must be negotiated and coordinated, which was absent in this context. The need was a search for an approach that assures equity, avoiding those in which the values that prevail belong to the group with the most political power.

## 5.5. Conclusion

Looking across these different policy documents and the reasons behind the policy formulation process, there is a tendency to focus on the global recognition of the city and how heritage is a strong economic asset complementing this recognition. Within the current governance configurations, local and national governments bear the responsibility of protecting and managing the WHS with a focus that is limited to its economic regeneration, inserting mind the limitations and constraints of UNESCO's operational guidelines for development.

Liverpool was seeking alternative strategies that fulfil this obligation by seeking new forms of revenue from investors and new uses to ensure the aspiration of a global city is achieved. One of the main issues that were highlighted was the parallel policy initiatives and documents that were standing-alone documents focusing on regeneration, such as SRF documents or heritage conservation and management, such as SPD and WHS management documents. It goes back to the perception of heritage as an isolated island for development that does not comply with its surrounding context.

This perception draws attention to heritage conservation studies and how to find the right balance between development/change and heritage conservation. In Chapter 3, the differences between the UK heritage conservation approach and UNESCO were clear, especially in their guidance and principles for heritage. The operational guidelines of

UNESCO were not fully articulated in the UK national policies for heritage conservation. It was reflected in this Chapter this gap and how the power dynamics as well between different actors played a significant role in the policy formulation. The next Chapter will discuss the details of the decision-making process regarding permitting certain types of developments regardless of UNESCO's recommendation to revisit such schemes.

Strategies and policies promoting the exploitation of heritage as a commodity may create opportunities for action for the city's development, combining it with discourses over power gains associated with economic opportunities. Within the context of severe deterioration, pre-existing negative image perception, and broader political, social, and economic dynamics give no room to achieve the right balance for development and conservation. Development and change will dominate any discourses for the city's transformation. While attempting to augment, complement, and expand the government's service delivery, Liverpool's initiatives are consistent with the dominant neoliberal logic that supports urban regeneration functioning.

Liverpool is a representation of different WHS that have been listed in danger or removed from the WHL, which is an ongoing problem, as discussed in Chapter 1. It is used to establish a better insight into such contradictions with a more detailed technical scope that will be discussed in the next Chapter. Studies of WHS have already identified radical approaches and power divisions within UNESCO that have created bigger issues. For example, States Parties are becoming more national in their objectives for site listing and UNESCO branding, while also becoming more international in their heritage talks, which are supported by capitalist interests. Extremely statist arrangements and agreements by certain governments, acquired long before the WH committee meets each year, undermine the illusion and performance of it worldwide. Sovereignty is used in these covert arrangements to access global wealth and separate those economic imperatives from political life (Brown, Liuzza, & Meskell, 2019). It explains the UK's approach to nationalism significance in their discourses for heritage conservation that contradicts UNESCO's claims of universalism transcending the national boundaries of State Parties.

These contradictions raise questions about international heritage conservation. Would UNESCO choose to create a transparent and responsive approach that acknowledges such differences? To what extent is the flexibility of UNESCO's heritage conservation approach in accommodating such changes? This differentiation may also create an opportunity to reposition one's political and economic subjectivity. The motivations for nomination may not

reflect the assumptions or expectations underpinning these schemes and broader policies. A Marxian interpretation could argue this arrangement is merely another instance of exploitation. However, other dynamics appear to be at play. In the following Chapter, a deeper investigation into the expectations and perspectives of different actors will be discussed.

# 6. CHAPTER SIX: HERITAGE INTERPRETATION

## 6.1. Introduction

In the previous Chapter, the focus was on the policy formulation of Liverpool's urban regeneration/heritage conservation and how England's approach to heritage conservation is a heritage-led regeneration which copes with the city's need for development. This Chapter presents the foundation for unpacking the juxtaposition of the policy's formulation discussed in Chapter 5 and its operational level, where different approaches (UNESCO WHS and European Capital of Culture ECOC) were adopted to interpret the policy's vision of Liverpool as a 'global city'. It gives not only the firm basis for a critique of much existing research in heritage but also the momentum to move it to a different level and provide additional perspectives.

This Chapter is a reflection on the heritage controversy in Britain in the past and how it was an embedded ideology regarding the heritage conservation approach. This controversial disagreement about how to approach the past and how not to approach it was at the heart of it, leading to a critical reevaluation of what 'History', the method, the discipline, and its delivery were or should be. Hewison (1987) highlighted the influx of new heritage sites across the nation, from open-air museums like Blists Hill Victorian Town in Ironbridge and Beamish in the northeast of England, as well as those places which mixed education and entertainment like the Jorvik Viking Centre in York, Shropshire, to those that drew on the use of live interpretation, like Wigan Pier. It was claimed these locations and the growing presence of 'heritage' were signs of a sluggish psychology in the nation, a 'backward glance' (Wright, 1998) and a longing for bygone eras in place of modern cultural production or commercial and industrial production, of 'real industry' (Hewison, 1987, p. 9). This was partly attributed to the Conservative government's frequently incongruous promotion of both 'enterprise' and 'tradition', a Thatcherite rhetoric that prioritised free market capitalism and entrepreneurialism in a language of 'regressive modernisation' while simultaneously advocating a 'return to Victorian values' (Hall, 1988, p. 85). This controversy contributed to a different understanding of heritage and its contribution to national income than other heritage institutions or organisations internationally. This has caused technical and professional differences which posed significant challenges to effective heritage conservation in Liverpool. This issue in Liverpool was further compounded by competing for political, economic, and personal interests, which can unofficially inform governmental

choices for flagship projects and the governance tools. Party politics, community reputation, and opportunities for personal gain (economic or otherwise) may influence local and national government actors' perspectives and actions, and, therefore, inform how persuasion and negotiations are played out.

In heritage conservation, there is a need for a critical perspective on the power that takes questions of agency and tools, creating soft powers negotiations (Nakano & Zhu, 2022; Henderson, 2022; Harvey, 2016; Winter, 2014). Heritage Conservation practitioners have their own potential for influencing and negotiating the power they have. In a typical negotiation, each party makes a compromise to reach a mutually agreeable solution. Both sides must leave some of their desired outcomes for a negotiation to be successful. This Chapter builds upon the argument of the importance of negotiating the interpretation of heritage's significance and representation and how this impacts the State Parties' capability, to consider how these dynamics are reflected within and through the tools of heritage governance. To understand and situate heritage conservation management initiatives, it is important to question how those acting on behalf of the State Parties and the different stakeholder view their own, and others, obligations, and imperatives. This Chapter examines the stakeholders' positions and experiences in establishing and running projects and initiatives claiming its context-sensitivity while achieving the city's aspired transformation. However, such initiatives stem from multiple interrelated framings of heritage, culture and national versus international through the practical and political nature of these initiatives, which are also subject to the State Parties' capability.

This Chapter examines how local and national governments' logic is framed and challenged in pursuing establishing and maintaining change within the heritage conservation approach. By interrogating state actors' perceptions and actions, it is possible to move beyond a singular understanding of the local and national government (State Parties), while also identifying connections between policymakers and others within the complexity of this broader heritage conservation assemblage. Unpacking the government's logic and limitations contributes towards a politicised understanding of heritage functioning and representations, which is important in heritage conservation and management. The government's political, financial, and material agency plays a vital role in determining the form and disposition of heritage conservation and management's services and programmes. Therefore, the government's authority cannot be dismissed, particularly where policymakers seek to reformulate service provision and popular understandings of responsibility.

This Chapter focuses on the main projects that occurred on the waterfront such as Liverpool waters, Pier Head village, the Fourth grace project and museum of Liverpool, and Mann Island, which included different actors with different interests from private to public investments. In addition, the different initiatives of nominating Liverpool's WHS and ECOC'08 and the urban regeneration approach occurring within the WHS and its buffer zone are discussed. The decision-making was done through these narratives. The promotion of global city image by the government and different actors may be understood regarding two main processes. First, nominating and getting the status of WHS established new standards for cooperation and involvement across institutions, industries, and actors without sufficiently defining how accountability and responsibility should be shared among various levels of government and society. Second, problems with governmental capacity and relying on the idea of an 'enabling state' encourage the outsourcing of risks and accountability which reflected the different interpretations of heritage that legitimised the processes and approaches used for heritage-led regeneration as the alternative heritage conservation approach.

## 6.2. Conflicts in Heritage Values' Perception

As discussed in Chapter 5, the main driver for Liverpool's development is to retain its image as a 'Global city' and adverse its perceived negative image, as shown in Figure 15. In the background, there is a realisation of the potential assets of Liverpool with its history and position. Plus, the government's capacity to achieve this image while struggling with maintaining the heritage functionality within the city's development. The functionality and image go back to the identity of its 'maritime mercantile history'. When the chairman of English Heritage (HE now) said:

Liverpool was a world city well before the concept of world cities had been invented. It is difficult to overestimate Liverpool's importance for the United Kingdom's economy during the nation's extraordinary economic growth in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Liverpool City Council, 2004).
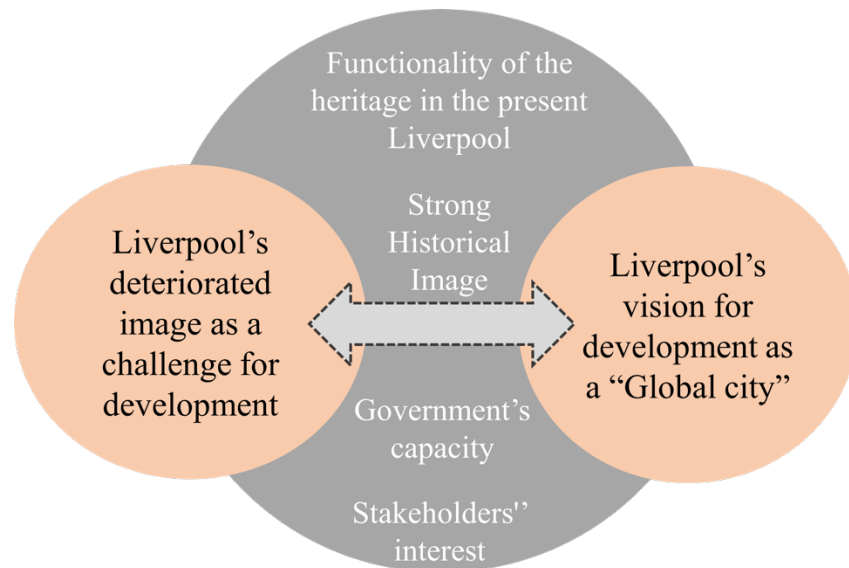
Figure 14 the pressure for the perceived image of Liverpool against the vision for development (Researcher, 2022)

This statement is to reconstruct the image of Liverpool through its history, which was used as a pivotal anchor for its development, as shown in Figure 15. This is by signifying its importance through a representation of the attributed economic and cultural values. However, the articulation of the heritage importance to the city could vary according to the different stakeholders and elements that contribute to this importance.

To integrate heritage into the city's development efficiently, it is important to determine why this heritage asset is valuable and what embodies and represents those values. As Pendlebury (2002) suggested, both heritage and urban redevelopment are intrinsically connected, though simple assumptions about their connections may reveal the different aspirations of various stakeholders, which are discussed in the next Section. How LCC and HE developed the nomination document for UNESCO to get the maritime mercantile city of Liverpool to be inscribed on the WHS list. Why it was important for Liverpool to get such recognition?

### 6.2.1. The Motivation for the Nomination

The motivation for nomination is one of the key elements in revealing the conflict and tensions that occurred between LCC and UNESCO, which justifies why Liverpool WHS was listed as endangered. Therefore, the nomination process is unpacked to clarify LCC's standing point from the WHS and the desperate situation the city is in and the challenge in finding this balance and how this influenced the interpretation of the OUV and its articulation in the city's development.

The process itself was divided into two phases: the first was the preparation of the document, which needed the experts' and academics' advice to ensure the nomination dossier met UNESCO's requirements. The second phase is after the inscription on the WH List and the need to manage and articulate the WHS in the city's development resulted in a replacement of the WHS steering committee members with more developers than academics to have the same spoken language for the city's development. This will be done through a detailed explanation of why the replacement occurred.

### 6.2.2. Bidding for Nomination

The nomination dossiers submitted to UNESCO should provide all the information to demonstrate the property is true of OUV, which lies at the heart of the document (Meskell, 2015). Therefore, the document should present a detailed explanation of what constituted these values (assets, practices, traditions). The basis of a long-term conservation and management plan is shaped according to the identified values in this document. This document is considered the voice of the state party and how they are interpreting the OUV (Askew, 2010; Di Giovine, 2009; Labadi, 2007).

Accordingly, LCC with HE has chosen the steering committee members based on their knowledge and understanding of the significance of the heritage to Liverpool. Thus, it was about understanding and demonstrating the heritage as a world-leading example according to the urban design manager at LCC:

> 'At that time, it was about understanding what Liverpool is about. So, there were quite a few academic historians on the Steering group… to ask the question of what we know about Liverpool. What are the OUV, how we could describe them, and what are they? So, working with the Steering group and the academics, the museums and ICOMOS UK were invited to the Steering group' (AK, 2018).

How to frame Liverpool WHS to serve as symbols of common human interest as required by UNESCO; examining Liverpool's heritage against these criteria of supremacy and uniqueness emphasised through the concept of OUV. Therefore, the choice of wording in the document was around **Liverpool's tradition of innovative development** that was represented in pioneering dock technology, port management, building construction methods and transport Systems, **exceptional testimony** to the development of maritime mercantile culture, an **outstanding example** of a port city which represents the early development of global trading, and cultural connections throughout the British Empire (Liverpool City Council, 2004).

The universal values here are related to being a pioneer and leader city in innovative development, especially in dock technology. It was difficult to achieve such a system. It is more about the ability of the city and its capacity to take unprecedented action and predict the benefits and interests which lie beneath this big achievement. The representation of such a unique dock technology during this time is remaining now as the tangible heritage attached to such a significance. Besides its influence globally for trading and cultural connection signifying the power of the British Empire. As argued by the former heritage manager at the city council:

> 'We did the Three Graces, it didn't just happen because someone wanted a nice building, it happened for a reason. It happened to be authentication. Look at us we are Liverpool those are the kind of buildings we can have on our waterfront (are you impressed?!) it is not about making it cold, and empty and how to make it architecturally nice' (AK, 2018).

According to the previous statement, there is a duality in the characteristics and values attributed to the WHS. The first part which has the consensus among different stakeholders is the 'architectural style and construction system' that indicates aesthetic value. The second is the signifier of what was mentioned earlier about the symbol of power and control and the distinction and greatness of Liverpool's achievements.

The challenge will be on choosing the 'core values' of Liverpool's UNESCO WHS that inform its OUV, which help in guiding the development and management plans of the WHS and in return the city. This is going to be discussed in the next Section on the choice of projects and the different agendas for development. As Blandford (2006) argued, in practice, distilling OUV has become increasingly difficult due to issues related to equating global and local value, representativeness, associative cultural values, and varying degrees of value in different parts of the site all influence what is, ultimately, a subjective judgement. The balance between the global and local is how to get the locality of Liverpool's identity and culture to that new form of nodes on a newly ordered heritage landscape that exists above and beyond the world's traditional boundaries.

The relevant importance of WHS values has been a challenge in the UK planning system, as discussed in Section 3.4.3.1. Though the statements of significance in the early UK management plans identified a mix of values contributing to the OUV (Pendlebury, et al., 2020; Rodwell, 2017; Blandford, 2007), it was clear in different concerns raised by the joint missions by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre and its advisory body the ICOMOS on the WHS in the UK such as Bath (in 2008), Edinburgh (also 2008), Liverpool (2006 and

November 2011), and London (the Tower and the Palace of Westminster, also 2006 and 2011).

Liverpool's WHS governance had wider issues that must be tackled, which extended beyond cultural issues, as discussed in Chapter 5 and shown in Figure 11. The city council is engaged in a complex interaction between frequently divergent local interests (represented in the steering committee), national government, and agencies (HE) and international conservation bodies. This added the dimension of different perspectives on the same thing according to the stakeholders' backgrounds or interests.

However, this document was prepared for the inscription's purpose of global recognition and with developing and managing the WHS; the conflict started between LCC and the steering committee members. The identification of priorities was different based on the members of the steering committee and opposed to LCC's vision for development. Therefore, some members were replaced with more developers and investors, which is going to be discussed in the next section.

### 6.2.3. After the Inscription

There is a fact that has always been neglected in the management of development of UNESCO WHS, which is that those sites are part of cities where, alongside conservation objectives, there is an in-built assumption of dynamism, redevelopment, and change. Pendlebury argued (2009) there is a contention the management of urban WHS presents additional layers of complexity. A critical part of this is the economic role a WHS might play. Alongside the economic exploitation of heritage assets, different modes of economic development and regeneration are perceived by most stakeholders to be at least equally valid. This is when Liverpool's WHS coordinator at LCC argued

> 'There is also part of the city different sort of grains, the mediaeval grain underneath … So that's why we thought about the various framework to different parts of the city to play on those unique distinctive characters' (KV, 2018).

This accorded with the fact mentioned before about the pressure Liverpool was facing for development and how to evaluate and integrate this cultural value as an economic value to fit in within its contemporary political and ideological aims for development. This undermines the real value of the heritage that lies beyond economic values solely. The result was a conflict in shaping the narrative and the chosen values of the WHS for development among the stakeholders and, ultimately, the replacement of some members to meet the

current aspirations of the LCC. The replacement was done for the academic members whose areas of expertise and interest did not match the ongoing development of the city. Therefore, the academic members were replaced with more investors to support the city's aspired urban transformation. This replacement emphasises Bourdieu's (1977) argument for the support of a particular state's structure and its related political and economic ideology is reinforced through the creation of place identity by the dominant ideologies. This limits the possibility of integrating the heritage on different levels within the city's development to be fixed on its significance and contribution to creating a stimulating environment for the community.

This is when the narration of Liverpool's WHS saw conflict, as the WHS coordinator at LCC said:

> 'How do we still show that we think about heritage assets, our OUV and the attributes and the values and how those inform the way the city is developed for the future? What we have to do is not just wrap the city in a single aspect and close it down, it is not that kind of a city anyway. Part of it is OUV and part of it was built with that spirit of innovation and adaptability. Being able to change swiftly to stare head in its global trading' (AK, 2018).

The dilemma referred to in the previous statement is about Liverpool's OUV identified in the nomination dossier:

- Liverpool was a major centre, generating innovative technologies and methods in dock construction and port management in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
- Liverpool is an exceptional testimony to the development of maritime mercantile culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (slave trading and immigration).
- Liverpool is an outstanding example of a world mercantile port city that represents cultural connections throughout the British Empire.

The key question here is the functionality of its heritage according to the OUV: how the historic environment, which no longer performs the set of functions for which it was conceived, can be integrated into the development of the city now, according to its present requirements and situation. The historic docks within the city, inadaptable to modern requirements, passed out of commercial use from the 1970s onwards (Rodwell, 2008). Today, apart from cruise liners and passenger and leisure craft, none of the landing stages are operational. Empty and abandoned sites, commercial and civic buildings, religious buildings of all faiths and denominations, shops, and public houses abound across the city.

These comprise the selection from the historic environment (as the interpretation and representation of the current resources) to fit in within Liverpool's development and respond to the present demands.

The choice of LCC to articulate the heritage in the city's development was based mainly on those two concepts mentioned in the previous statement: 'innovation and adaptability. This event was affirmed by different actors, arguing:

> 'Liverpool WHS is different from any other WHS as it was more about innovation and technology' (AK, 2018; SP, 2018; TZ, 2018).

Still, the question will be asked if 'it is about technology and innovation in which way? As technology could be achieved on different levels; it is about reusing the existing built environment to be more responsive to technology and innovation. Again how? Or it is about the addition to the fragmented parts of the city complementing the concept of innovation in terms of (building construction)'. Is it going to change the historically built environment? So, how the choice is going to be done regarding keeping or alteration? The second question is going to be 'the innovation and technology'; how it is going to achieve the image of the global city. With the justification used that Liverpool is different, the aspiration for development was different.

This is when conflicts predominate among stakeholders about how much a site's OUV has been compromised, which is difficult to arbitrate, specifically in the UK context (Pendlebury, et al., 2009). This has implications for different scenarios of future urban development which do not accord with UNESCO's definition of OUV and its implication for development. This is when the heritage officer of the LCC argued that:

> 'Liverpool is governed by commerciality, purposefulness, pragmatism, edginess and radicalism. All those things that made Liverpool; Liverpool. You can't just take impacts on the physical and say that's what is important without taking into account the psychology of Liverpool's place' (AK, 2018).
> 'Our cultural heritage … not just the tangible evidence… it is the intangible… that greatness that a port city like Liverpool would have been about' (KV, 2018).

The statement highlights how LCC and the different stakeholders shaped the OUV of their site according to their interpretation of the complex significance of their WHS. It was built around how Liverpool transformed and evolved through time, from being a great port to a deteriorated place, and fought back to retain its image gradually. This stems from the concept of the extrinsic qualities of the WH values externally imposed from cultural and historic meaning, which attracts a value status that depends on the dominant frameworks of time and

place. As Bourdieu (1984) demonstrated, individuals have varying experiences and levels of appreciation of both art and heritage according to their academic, personal, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Accordingly, LCC's understanding of OUV is not static; it is evolving, depending on the different people who hold them, their frame of mind, their culture, and their different backgrounds. Thus, the values are considered the product of the dynamics of a system, as Smith (1988) argued. Because values are in our minds and not inherent to objects, site valuation is an extrinsic process. This is when the LCC highlighted their position:

> 'It is also making UNESCO aware of where we are coming from and understanding what we need to do and how swiftly we need to turn around as well in terms of what we are allowed to do through the planning process in terms of timing. The way we have to process the application, and the way we have to move according to UK planning law. The problem is the translation of the OUV into a practical way and it is about balance. It is a lot easier to do when you have a site like Stonehenge which automatically positions itself and the storyline is easier to promote itself' (KV, 2018).

The argument here is the complexity of the process of 'translating the OUV into practice' taking into consideration the complex array of agencies involved in this process. Thus, the contributions of the actors (LCC, HE, etc.) depend on their background, their understanding of heritage, their interest in involvement and the context which is taking form and which accordingly shapes and reshapes their local identity to match the national framework and policy. As in the UK planning, there is no specific legislative provision or additional statutory controls over the WHS as discussed in Section 3.4.2. The British government has taken a flexible view of development and conservation in line with economic priorities (Pendlebury, et al., 2009). Therefore, it is about how this complexity emerges through the relational negotiation of specific forms of expert practice, as they intersect with one another in and through specific material contexts to achieve the balance between development and heritage conservation. This understanding contradicts UNESCO, which suggests OUV is an intrinsic quality. This will be discussed in the next section.

### 6.2.4. UNESCO's Inscription on the WH List

UNESCO's WHS orientation is to highlight the outstanding achievements of cultures to make them world property, attempting to wrest them away from the national frameworks of cultural and natural conservation. Following this logic, human beings, regardless of their differences in socioeconomic status, geographic origin, or cultural frame of reference, should share the same values concerning specific, extraordinary places and identically appreciate them. These special sites are, thus, assumed to possess objective intrinsic values that do not change over

time and can be disconnected from various peoples' interests in the present (Laenen, 2008; Lafrenz Samuels, 2008).

With this notion of intrinsic qualities, as discussed in Section 3.3.2, the core of the value will be in the material fabric of the object, which bears the origin of the monuments and their continuity through time. How do those qualities hold a universal consensus? In WH terms, the theme that defined Liverpool again was simple: 'the supreme example of a commercial port developed at the time of Britain's greatest global influence' from the eighteenth through to the early twentieth centuries. This was underscored by reference to the seminal position Liverpool held in the development of dock and warehouse design and construction, and the surviving urban landscape that bore witness to the city's historical role and significance. The question will be: what are the elements and attributes that constitute Liverpool's OUV and could be used as the storyline for Liverpool's development? How does this transcend the local boundaries of Liverpool and go beyond its national identity to achieve the agreed universal consensus? Liverpool's OUV is based on its local and national identity of emphasising the British global influence, which might not be a good way to achieve a global consensus.

These challenges highlight the gap in the literature regarding what tools and instruments are used to formalise the OUV into practice. The fact is those documents of nomination or management plans are only prepared to be added to the WH List and gain the status of a WHS. This was highlighted by the WHS coordinator at LCC:

> 'The OUV is something that has been capsulated in a document and there was very useful future development, but I think a lot of this is to do with speaking fluent UNESCO which not many people do. It is a very difficult thing to do, they have a language that is not always easily understood by people working on the ground and we have an OUV, but it is quite a mouthful so when you have OUV you have really to think what does that mean? And then you have got attributes and then you have got integrity and authenticity. So, there is a whole language around the world heritage status that isn't always easy for anyone (all of us) to navigate' (KV, 2018).

The statement indicates the absence of a common language spoken between UNESCO and LCC, as the state party is responsible for the management and development of Liverpool's WHS. Even with the nomination dossier and stating the OUV, still, the challenge is to identify a suitable framework to highlight and articulate the OUV and maintain the city's development. This ambiguity limits the decision-making process to UNESCO's experts to identify the intrinsic qualities of the sites which have true significance. This identification helps UNESCO to avoid a proliferation of meanings in the WH List and limits the conflict of interest among individuals (locals and investors). UNESCO is using the knowledge and

understanding of the OUV to manipulate the system of heritage conservation for the sake of achieving balance on the WH List, as discussed in Section 3.3.1. This is when it was difficult for LCC to speak the same language as UNESCO regarding choosing the right developments to fit within its WHS.

> 'I think the heart of the problem of UNESCO is that WHS come in various shapes and sizes. If you are dealing with the site in the desert Palmyra or if you are dealing with Stonehenge or the Pyramids of Giza, however, in that case, you are dealing with a remnant of dead culture and it's not like is it still as functional as it used to be' (SP, 2018).

The complexity argued above is how to narrate the story of a remnant of dead culture (the past) taking into consideration Liverpool's current situation, which is not only about the WHS. This means the past mobilises the present to become a standpoint, a performance, a metaphor, and an ironic juxtaposition, as UNESCO is aiming at the development and the present requirements. However, one could ask, to whom were these sites iconic and representative of 'the best'? If the decision is made by experts, how can the universality be achieved, if the spoken language of the OUV is not understood by all, either the public or the State Parties involved in the process? When the discussion is more about a remnant of dead culture and how it could constitute the OUV and define its attributes, since people cannot relate to its current value or position in the present. This means technical expertise, as discussed in Section 2.5.2, is the key role in controlling and manipulating other roles discussed earlier. The diplomatic and the institutional role, even if they appear more powerful or controlling, yet they still must use technical language for justification of every step or action being done. Thus, there has been a counter-argument by Benhabib (2006) who acknowledged the need for interpreting these universal notions into one's own culture and reference framework to have meaning, which is dubbed 'reiterative universalism'. This leads to a wide range of understandings, interpretations, representations, and answers to a universal framework that may be seen as fitting into the worldview of individuals. Meaning is never fixed: it can change and be adapted to different situations.

> 'The word does not exist in a neutral or impersonal language ... rather, it exists in other people's mouths, serving other people's intentions; it is from these that one must take the word and make it one's own' (Bakhtin, 1981).

Every existing notion with global significance may be subverted and transcoded to suit new meanings (Benhabib, 2002; Meskell, 2015). Under these conditions, it cannot be assumed the universalist framework of the WHC is going to be understood identically by all those responsible for implementing it. We should focus on unravelling the different ways in which

this framework has been understood and interpreted over the years, within specific cultural contexts. In reusing a concept or framework, the original meaning is never reproduced identically. In the words of Benhabib, 'every iteration transform meaning, adds to it, enriches it in ever-so-subtle ways' (Benhabib & Post, 2006, p. 47). This notion of reiterative universalism, thus, makes it possible to reassess the WH system and its implementation by analysing how it has been understood, reinterpreted, and associated with new meanings.

In the next section, the focus is on unpacking the technical language of heritage values by HE and comparing it with OUV spoken by LCC and HE to show the differences in interpreting a technical language that is claimed to be universal by UNESCO. These differences affirm the importance of UNESCO adopting the notion of reiterative universalism as discussed earlier.

### 6.2.5. Liverpool's Heritage Values and Its Interpretation:

Presently, there is a dilemma about heritage values which are dynamic and perceived through different lenses, because 'It is us in society within the human culture who makes things signify. Meanings, will always change, from one culture or period to another' (Hall, 1997, p. 71). Stovel (2007), discussed the attention should be focused on the various attributes that convey the values of a site. This entails the identification of historical, forgotten, and current heritage values and their attributes, to the inherent dynamic process of values. This comprises tangible and intangible values.

On the national level, the spoken language of heritage values differs from UNESCO's as discussed in Section 3.4.3.1. Therefore, Liverpool's heritage value lies within the '**Historic value**' which is focusing on how the past is connected through a place to the present through a distribution of landscape that reflects a societal organisation. The focus available for LCC, given all the circumstances of the city's development, is on the physical evidence of the historically built environment of Liverpool, which demonstrates a highly efficient dock system. This is through making connections with and providing insights into, past communities and their maritime mercantile history as a shared experience of the place through its tangible values (Historic England, 2008).
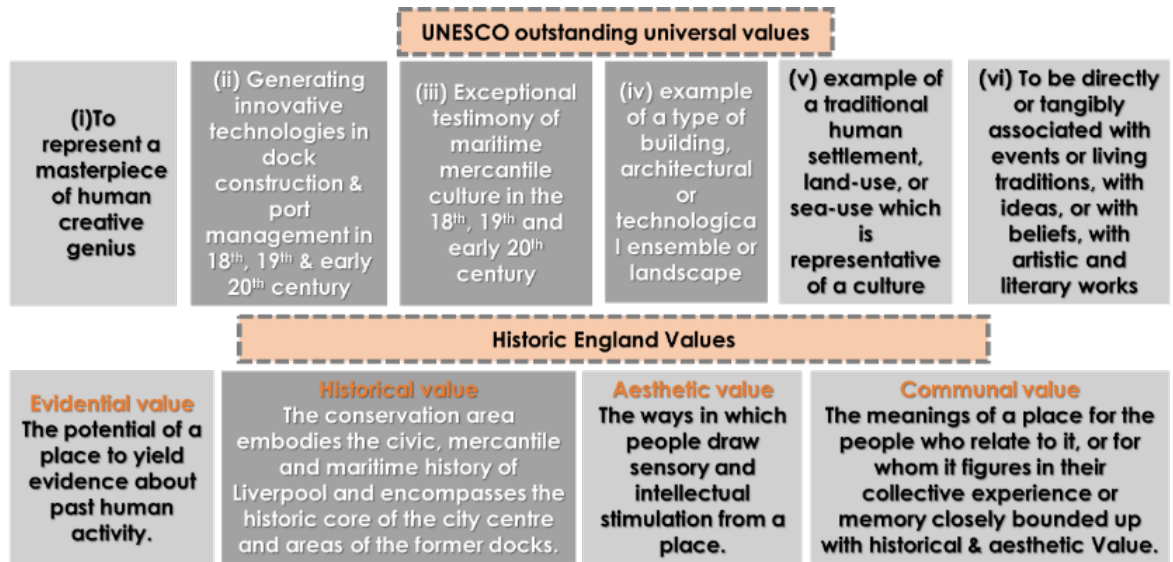
Figure 15 UNESCO OUV of Liverpool's heritage site versus HE values (Researcher, 2022)

On the global level, UNESCO WHS OUV is represented in dark grey in Figure 18 which includes the tangible (innovative technological dock construction and management represented in the full dock system) and intangible values (maritime mercantile culture during eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century, which does not exist anymore as a function).

The consequences are reusing the tangible to restructure its position within modern society and its requirements. Thus, the market discovered the economic potential latent in recycling historic buildings, and historic landscapes. It sought to do so on its terms, as discussed in Section 2.3.2.2. As Ashworth (1997) described, conservation developed two paradigms: one based around the traditional conservation value of protection and maintaining the authenticity and integrity of their existence and the other an explicit commodification of the use of the past as a saleable product. Going back to its challenges and what it aimed to achieve, the LCC used the heritage as a latent economic commodity to be exploited (Pendlebury, et al., 2020). This does not mean the OUV is not achievable with the explicit commodification aim. However, the uses of the heritage will likely be further limited, simplified, and steer how, and how much, cultural values are mobilised. The regional spatial strategy stated the importance of the historic environment to support the economic growth of the region exploiting the regeneration potential of such areas as discussed in the below statement:

> 'Plans, strategies, proposals, and schemes should seek to deliver improved economic growth and quality of life, through sustainable tourism activity in the Northwest. Focusing on opportunities related to … Liverpool WHS' (Liverpool City Council, 2009, p. 16).

This draws the light on heritage values as a 'Capital Solutions' according to the priorities which are set. As HE (English Heritage previously) Chief Executive states in the introduction,

> 'English Heritage believes that conservation is about managing not preventing change. No one must choose between conservation and modernity' (Historic England, 2008).

So, the question is whose values are they? Is it the local community that articulates their identities? Is it developers for more economic investments? The local or national government? So, the issue is regarding how to acknowledge the different value arrays within a heritage site WHS. When we go back to the claims and notions discussed earlier in the literature, heritage conservation is an expert-specific field that cannot be left for nonexperts to decide the significance of the heritage (what needs and what does not must be protected). It contradicts the reality occurring within Liverpool WHS. Even among experts, there is no consensus with heritage values. Also, it contradicts UNESCO's claims that WHS has universal values recognised and acknowledged by all people similarly. Even though with a full detailed statement of its OUV as shown in Figure 16, interpreting its integrations within the city's development was different, as discussed in the below statement.

> 'I think people pay too much attention to the waterfront and obviously, it has got the three graces and other parts of the public realm, which are really quite impressive and that's what people don't understand and recognise about Liverpool. But the important thing about WHS, when we go through the description of 2004 it was for Liverpool maritime mercantile city and it is far beyond the waterfront. I think the city itself hasn't realised the opportunity that was there if it took on the full boundaries of that. I think also with lots of the opposition resentment to that, as people think, Oh, it's just the waterfront. I think it's just the Pier Head and stuff, whereas it could be big, could be doing far, far more. So as much as I really appreciate it, some think it's a wonderful attribute for Liverpool to have. I think it's extremely unfortunate that it stands almost as all of the WHS stands for which is completely wrong' (TZ, 2018).

## 6.2.6. Between UNESCO's Intrinsic Qualities and States Parties Extrinsic Qualities:

Despite UNESCO's approach to the OUV, there are yet key issues that remain unanswered, impeding the State Parties' full understanding and implementation of this notion. As UNESCO understands the significance of properties are intrinsic qualities, which typically implies they have an inherent value that lives in the physical structures or their landscape, features that do not change over time and can thus also be seen as equal by all mankind, irrespective of their background or geographical location. Considering values as intrinsic in this way also implies, they are separated from their dynamic history, their broader social and

cultural surroundings, and the fluctuating importance of various people to them. The concept of detachment was difficult to achieve in Liverpool, due to the city's negative image of its abandoned areas, which was difficult for LCC to ignore. The abandoned areas, especially the waterfront during the time of the inscription, lost their value among locals, as they were not functioning anymore. However, the status of a UNESCO WHS would help in changing the situation, showing the city's capabilities in retaining its image with such a global status, as shown in Figure 15. It will attract more investments to the city and help in its progress. This excludes the possibility of drawing a comprehensive statement of significance that would consider wider sociocultural values and considerations: in particular, the value of the property attributed by residents. The narrow understanding of the intrinsic qualities within its unchanging fabric and history limits the potential of the property's usability in the city, as mentioned by the chair of the steering committee when he stated it was a case of the 'remnant of a dead culture'. This limitation makes it difficult to integrate within the city's development to overcome its challenges and explains why the convention is not yet used to its full potential as a post-nationalist tool for social cohesion, cultural diversity, and sustainable development.

Instead, State Parties utilised the Convention as a nationalist tool that helps materialise the nation and build a common identity and memory of its people, which was evident by the LCC. Liverpool's WHS illustrates how it is difficult to go beyond nationalistic ideas for the city's development. It has a complex situation of ownership and the funding resources needed to maintain and manage such a big site that expands to cover most of the city centre and the waterfront are enormous. However, the content of the nomination dossiers of Liverpool is not neutral and is more into its nationalism. It is not enough guidance for investors and developers to be involved in their development vision, due to the superiority of experts' voices in the management process. However, the lack of clear guidelines on how to translate the OUV into practice has resulted in countries invoking and materialising these ideas in a manner contrary to the intentions of UNESCO and of the WH convention itself. Thus, the assumption that post-nationalism, which leads to peace and social cohesion, could be achieved by a mere implementation of the Convention is misleading. Liverpool has been left in a kind of vacuum, to implement these concepts as they see fit, which is the case for many WHS. Even though Labadi (2017) claims the conservation principles of the WH Convention are more of a Westernised idea, still Liverpool is evidence of a struggle on how the Westernised ideas are not fitting within the understanding and the requirements of modern Western societies. This scenario can certainly explain in part the high number of WHS that

currently suffer from major threats, including overdevelopment or a lack of proper management systems.

However, this was not the only factor that created tension in Liverpool's WHS other factors such as the political shift in governance mode in Britain, impacted how the heritage informed the city's development with a dual agenda between cultural and economic drivers which are discussed in details in the next section.

## 6.3. Different Agendas for Development

The search for a new world identity for the 'global city' of Liverpool, in substitution for that which the city has lost as discussed in Chapter 5, was the heart of the debate that led to the WHS being listed as endangered in 2012. This substitution created a dilemma on how to set the priority for the city's development since the deterioration was on different aspects and levels, as shown in Figure 11. On the other side, LCC has been left in a kind of vacuum to interpret the OUV as they see fit, due to the lack of guidance on the framework to be used for articulating the OUV. Initially, parallel partnerships and paths were followed for cultural promotion and economic development. These partnerships were thought to operate in harmony, but the ambition to recover the status, of a 'global city' in economic rather than cultural terms, formed a seriously negative starting point that dominated the political agenda and underscored the primordial potential for conflict. Heritage was used in Liverpool to attract inward investment with this global recognition by UNESCO when the former councillor of Liverpool stated:

> 'The status can only improve the fortunes of the city……To ensure that Liverpool's historic environment plays a central role in the city's future growth' (Liverpool City Council, 2004, p. 5).

The previous statement indicates the perception of the heritage significance for Liverpool and its priority through development-versus-heritage. Thus, it was a risk that the LCC will take to regain its lost image. They are epitomised by the mayor of Liverpool's description of the UNESCO status as a 'plaque on the wall' (Bartlett, 2012), one that is dispensable if it interferes with economic development objectives for the city. Still, WH status was used as a catalyst to promote tourism, economic development, and urban regeneration, without the full exploitation of the WH status itself. This explains the replacement of steering committee members in the previous section and how it affected the selection of heritage to fit within Liverpool's development.

An effect of this situation is the use of heritage in urban policy as a cultural resource in purely functional terms that prioritises the question 'what can the cultural bring to the economy?', rather than allowing the delivery of social and cultural developments and recognising their intrinsic value for urban regeneration, which is going to be discussed in the next section.

### 6.3.1. Cultural Policy and Its Impact on Liverpool's WHS

With the neo-liberal modes of governance in the UK, replacing cultural policy to foster community development and social engagement by emphasising the cultural policy was a potential tool for the urban economy and regeneration (Hesmondhalgh, et al., 2015). Culture was used to tackle the challenges of contemporary cities, especially the shift from Fordism to stable, massive employment patterns and other types of production (Rizzo & Thorsby, 2006). Here, cities were seen to have become competitive in their attempts to respond to the reconfiguration of national and global modes of economic and social production (Brenner, 2004).

This was the case with Liverpool when the leader of Liverpool Council Mike Storey explicitly asserted the significance of the ECOC status obtained in 2008 in contributing to the economic development of the city which is going to be discussed in the next Section: 'ECOC'08 is not about culture but regeneration' (Connolly, 2013). As a result, a selection process occurred to choose from the heritage that could fit within the shift in the government approach on how to deal with post-industrial cities with their severe economic situation. Therefore, the result was a collection of approaches: the UNESCO designation as a 'global recognition', the ECOC'08 a catalyst for more investments in the city, which both viewed heritage as an economic asset, a commodity with market value and a valuable producer of marketable city spaces.

The next five sections are helping to break down the complexity of culture as a concept and how this complexity underpinned LCC's aims for the city's transformation. The mismatching of the maritime mercantile heritage with other layers of culture and history created an ambiguity of whether WHS means this or that. Or the issue or the concern is more about Liverpool as a city with its different layers of heritage, and it is not about WHS anymore.

### 6.3.2. European Capital of Culture 2008

The role of culture as an intangible value has been expanded with the Liverpool approach to be used as a cultural capital. LCC utilised a broader cultural meaning, but little attempt was

made to focus on a specific definition. It highlights the vast range of forms culture may take: voice, creativity, visual life, heritage and museums, sport, food, rural areas, gardens and parks, performance, landscape and environment enjoyment, and the expression of religion.

The Liverpool bid focuses on how culture is interwoven in the texture of daily life and plays a part in performing several important social activities: culture records how Liverpool learns from the past, innovates and commemorates, deals with disaster and success, treats citizens and visitors, informs, educates and organises (Griffiths, 2006). Culture allows Liverpool residents to express affiliations and identities. The offer aimed to celebrate and reconnect Liverpool with its historic worldwide commerce and transportation connections (ERM Economics, 2002).

> 'What about the recognition that Liverpool is governed by commerciality, purposefulness, pragmatism, edginess, and radicalism? All those things that made Liverpool, Liverpool' (AK, 2018).

Using words in the previous statement is a more generic understanding of Liverpool as a city nowadays, with all its layer of heritage and culture. It does not reflect specifically on maritime mercantile history. The other point is there is a huge difference between tangible and intangible heritage when we discuss heritage conservation and management. The points mentioned are generic in the sense they can apply to any city developing, progressing, and adapting to new challenges every day. In addition, the discussion of intangible heritage and how it can be appropriated is another factor that should be clear to stakeholders on how they are using those elements to fit in the present with its new requirements and lifestyle. It does not be fitting within the new context the same way it was. The perception of culture as a more inclusive approach was dominating the strategy adopted by LCC to include heritage conservation and economic growth. This was emphasised when the head of a visitor economy in Liverpool city region local enterprise partnerships mentioned

> 'Local heritage and sense of music, for argument's sake, the Beatles is quite a significant driver for us, as you know. So, there's sort of the WH accreditation that we have is almost sat the door for the quality we offer that we have an intangible built heritage in the city. So, we tend to frame a lot of the positioning of the city on its cultural heritage offer. But also, it is a bit about the kind of contemporary culture as well' (ZY, 2018).

The previous statement highlights the importance of the WH status and how it contributed to enhancing the city's image with such global recognition. This status created plenty of opportunities; however, it is not enough for the city to retain all its different aspects of deterioration. This is to act as the gateway for further development strategies, international

recognition, and, therefore, inward investments. This potential was more recognised with the successful regeneration of Albert's Dock which shifted the perception 'image' of the city from a failing port city to a city branded with vibrant culture and heritage. As Grindrod (2020) argued that

> 'Due to the success of the restoration of Albert Dock, the brand of Liverpool is very strong now, it embraces both modernities as in the example of TATE Modern and heritage exemplified in Albert Dock'.

Evans further argued that:

> 'The shift of image was quite significant for the efforts of marketing and rebranding the city and attracting tourists in the following decades' (Fageir, et al., 2020).

Liverpool's approach was explicitly distanced from a traditional (exclusive or elitist) view of culture, like artworks and artistic expression undertaken by specialist cultural producers and received by passive audiences who have learned the codes necessary for their interpretation or enjoyment. There are, clearly, several benefits that a city's authority can gain from displaying the conceptual terrain in this expansive or inclusive way. Drawing attention to the rootedness and relevance of culture in daily life makes it easier to extend the base of popular support beyond the usual audiences for cultural events. It signals the potential connections with other (not 'cultural') policy goals and programmes, which are discussed in more detail in the next Section.

### 6.3.2.1. Culture Promotes Image

The Liverpool ECOC plan is the most potent representation of the city's transition (Jones & Wilks-Heeg, 2004). Liverpool's branding was vital to the ECOC's aim to improve the city's image. Daramola-Martin (2009) has indicated that ECOC 08, along with physical regeneration, has altered the city's image and reputation in Europe and offers a path out of the cycle of failed projects, under-investment, and economic decline. The Mersey Partnership's (2003) summary captures this vision:

> 'Priorities have been identified that build upon the city's heritage, international brand, and world-class cultural assets'.

As a result, marketing, and branding play an increasingly important part in Liverpool's recent change, in reaction to the global intercity competition and challenges outdated urban stereotypes. Liverpool's marketing focuses heavily on establishing a brand that represents the city's various, yet complementary, strengths. The heritage mentioned in the previous

statement is not only the maritime mercantile history but is more general words to ensure the city's negative image is altered. This indicates how the priorities of the city's development are set.

> 'The question is do we overtly use WH in marketing? Not really. But what we do is we put up a lot of the images, when we sell the city on the waterfront images. So, it comes to the things like the Albert Dock and the Three Graces, the iconic images that we use for the city, but also as well as things like Beatles' (Liverpool Vision, 2012).

The previous statement here highlights that even with such a global recognition of the UNESCO WHS, it was not fully exploited. A commonly mistaken perception by the different decision-makers of Liverpool's maritime history is the waterfront. However, it is more than just the waterfront, as discussed in Section 6.2.5. The loose understanding of the WH status contribution to the bigger image of the city was there, downgrading the concept of heritage to the iconic buildings (Three Graces) as the main image of Liverpool's waterfront and the contribution of the Albert's Dock regeneration in drawing an increasing number of tourists. Those two main elements of heritage are recognised internationally and tell the story of the existence of potential assets for more development and investments. This is, again, in line with the ambiguous interpretation of the OUV of UNESCO and how it could help the city in its transformation rather than being seen as an obstacle to development.

However, the heritage use was limited to its tangible aspects to be used in marketing and branding, neglecting the fact that such heritage with its intangible aspects can contribute more to the city's development as cultural rhetoric, which provides access to the history of the city and its wider cultural context. The schemas of culture are not, in themselves, determining, but are tools used by people to position themselves within the wider global network and to persuade and convince others. As discussed by the chair of Engage Liverpool with the significance of the status in its international branding of the city, the

> 'Liverpool brand with its waterfront and WHS is very strong internationally today, it is a very distinct element about Liverpool, and we got to play with our international brand which can make a phenomenal difference' (MF, 2018).

The ECOC 08 was largely seen as a successful example of the city's image transformation. Concerning Liverpool city, in 2007 and 2008, locals (18% and 27%) thought that outsiders' image of the city had positively changed (Impacts 08, 2010). A considerable increase of 45% in 2018 was found in respondents who thought that individuals from outside the city had a good perspective of the city (Institute of Cultural Capital, 2018). Furthermore,

following the ECOC, external perceptions of the city continued to improve. Opinions on the direct impact of the ECOC on Liverpool's image were positive, stating that 'the ECOC gave people outside the city a more positive impression of Liverpool' (Liu, 2019). The ECOC'08 impact had concrete results that were tangible for the decision-makers to evaluate its contribution to the city's image transformation, which was something missing with WH status. Though it contributed to the whole process, yet statistics and evaluation were not evidential as the ECOC'08.

### 6.3.2.2. Culture Strengthens Identity

To address the failure of local people to be self-confident following the decline of Liverpool and its unfavourable perception, LCC encouraged the ECOC strategy, which has not been limited to heritage only but also to culture, which is not confined to the history of maritime trade.

> 'You can't just take impacts on the physical and say that's what is important without taking into account the psychology of Liverpool's place'. (AK, 2018)
> 'There's still an important story to be told because that was the reason why those spaces were built in the first place, to the point where they were bombed in the war … So, there's this huge legacy there. But it's the way the repair is repurposed, but also the way that we don't forget that hidden heritage story. That's the kind of shouldn't be lost. This is part of the way the city is treated first' (ZY, 2018).

The previous statements acknowledge the complexity and significance of Liverpool's culture and history, which cannot be ignored in the development process. As discussed in the former statement, the psychology of the city and its values is more about showing off the city's capacity for development, which is argued as part of the city's DNA. Foucault's (1980) arguments on the power of discourse are instructive here. For choosing to represent certain features of a place's cultural heritage, others are immediately excluded. By highlighting distinctive attributes, images are taken out of context and thus become standardised, though Liverpool's meaning and identity are more than just tangible values. The city's culture, known for its local younger generations, is not the maritime mercantile history due to not being integrated within the contemporary context of the city. This has left LCC in a dilemma of how this could help adverse the city's negative image and attract more investment and showing how it could be added to the global economy network without addressing the different cultural layers it has. Thus, the faith could be returned in the city either from their local or even investors on how Liverpool could mean more than a certain history.

### 6.3.2.3. Culture and physical transformation:

Because Liverpool got ECOC status in 2008, the city celebrated its 800th birthday in 2007. These two significant milestones provided a brief and concentrated time frame that galvanised relevant actors into making critical decisions to get significant regeneration projects underway on time. Again, culture and values emerged as crucial motivators of change, fostering increased self-confidence in the city's capacity to adjust and transform.

> 'The substantial investment you see on the waterfront is because Liverpool was named ECOC in 2008' (ZY, 2018).

Before that, the ECOC's role in providing a strong incentive for projects already underway and significant financing from the European and UK governments was highlighted. Notable characteristics of the decade to 2010 included a revived trust among the business sector in the city centre, which focused on the city centre but was not exclusive. The latest large city retail development to launch is most aptly characterised by its return to private sector developer involvement.

Figure 16 Major Developments occurred because of the ECOC 08 (Researcher, 2022)

The city's retail district was given an enormous boost when the new Liverpool One project was built inside the traditional street layout. This shopping district has been well welcomed and patronised. The project has been praised as a 'benchmark' for city-centre mixed-use development, focused mainly on retail, like this one (Sykes, et al., 2013). The Arena and Convention Centre on Kings dock was the largest single investment and the largest EU investment nationwide, receiving about £50 million from Objective One towards its £160 million cost. Figure 18 shows a bird's-eye view of the Mann Island office and residential project, on the waterfront to the north of the UNESCO World Heritage Site in the city's heart. Other individual initiatives, such as investment in new residential and recreational accommodations in old warehouses and commercial buildings, helped remodel the city centre throughout the decade. However, the developers' most frequent argument was their choices

were based on Liverpool's better business circumstances regarding the ECOC's contribution to the city's overall sound image.

### 6.3.2.4. Culture and Events

After the ECOC in 2008, three major strands of cultural events continued to exist and were directly influenced by the ECOC year (Free open street carnival events, Four corners project, and theme year programme). It will not be discussed here; though its contribution and effect on Liverpool will be mentioned to get a sense of understanding of the depth of the ECOC on Liverpool's development.

Most of the carnival events that occurred changed the vibes of the city. Liverpool streets were transformed into a spectacular outdoor theatre whether 'La Princesse' in 2008 with 50-foot-long mechanical spiders travelling around the city that allowed audiences to follow as shown in Figure 20 or the Giant festival as shown in Figure 21 that was held three times in 2012, 2014 and 2018.



Figure 17 Left Giant festivals 2014 (Wirral Globe, 2014)

Figure 18 Right La Princesse festival 2008 (The Guardian, 2008)

To commemorate the 100th anniversary of the sinking of the Titanic, the theme for 2012 was 'Sea Odyssey'. the investigation concluded that 800,000 individuals participated in the event, resulting in an estimated $32 million in economic effect (Liverpool City Council, 2014). The centenary celebration of WWI was named 'Memories of August 1914', celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the conflict. Over a million people came together for this gathering, and it was Liverpool's most-attended free event of 2014 (Liverpool City

Region, 2018). 'Liverpool's Dream', the last Chapter of the gigantic trilogy, which ran from 2018 to 2019, celebrated the 10th anniversary of the 2008 ECOC. £60 million in income was generated, and 1.3 million people were attracted to the city due to the Merseyside Culture Festival. In addition, one of the 2019 Eventex Awards went to Liverpool. It was the first time in Eventex history that a city won three awards, including Event Destination, Best UK Event, and the Grand Prix People's Choice Event (Culture Liverpool, 2019). Besides, the event plan for 2015-2020 is solid for Liverpool. To guarantee there is a range of different event programmes throughout the year so that more people come, and the destination's image improves, the aim is to have yearly programming for events.

Again, here the use of culture in a wider broader aspect has helped the recognition of Liverpool nationally and internationally. However, the use of the heritage status or its mercantile history was not well evident in the city's development. Those different aspects of the impact of ECOC enhanced the city's image, attracting more inward investments, bringing the community together and regaining confidence and the city and its potential without fitting the heritage context with its status as a strategy plan for Liverpool to be integrated within this process.

### 6.3.2.5. Culture and Economy

There is little question of a connection between culture, the economy, and employment. The estimate for ECOC'08 was 11.1 million visitors to Liverpool, which generated a £547 million spending stream. The year after welcomed 15 million people and spent 800 million pounds. Some industry observers hope that a more positive image of the city will continue to draw tourists to provide further optimism. However, this must be considered with other kinds of growth. It is difficult to say whether the cultural new products are adequate to draw in new investment or if a consumption-based economy will continue to maintain itself in the long run.

There have also been several noteworthy ECOC endeavours that have been completed over the years:

- For instance, ECOC has launched the UK's first Urban Regeneration Company (called Liverpool Vision) to oversee Liverpool's revitalisation activity in the city centre.
- Plans for a 'Fourth Grace' on the waterfront (later called off) have been proposed.

- They have displayed to redo all three docks: Kings Dock, Pier Head, and Prince's Dock, which will be covered in the next Sections.

This recent spate of regeneration projects is a radical change, like the regeneration strategy in Liverpool, which has increasingly adopted a policy of helping corporate development in the city centre rather than targeting social disadvantage in inner-city neighbourhoods and outlying estates.

These ideas included (but were not exclusively): main development drivers and the contested values, finding the right balance between public/private investments and integrating heritage/culture in the policy. The following discussion explored their position and perspective of what was the main reason for the development and how this coalited with the policy articulation.

### 6.3.3. Cultural Policy vs Heritage Designation

The mixing of definitions between culture and heritage was dominating the stakeholders' discourses for development. Using culture as a more general concept that covers the tangible and intangible heritage, while the use of heritage was specific to the WHS. This mismatching of words is critical regarding identifying the next steps for development or management and the level of the technical approach to be used. Besides the direct and immediate positive results of ECOC'08 enforced the perception of heritage as a barrier to development and its contribution is limited. The below statement elaborates on the depth of the situation of WHS contribution to the city.

> 'If you walk to Liverpool Museum there is nothing about the WHS you can try it today and you can also try on the Liverpool Central Library as well and see what kind of responses you get there. Of course, the response that I got when I got there was 'UH… what's that?!' and the maritime museum. Because people were not interested. It's not even taken to the heart of the city' (SP, 2018).

Though Liverpool had the SPD for the WHS and management plan; they were in silos as discussed in Chapter 5. Different strategies and approaches were done in parallel without coordination between approaches to reach the solid ground for Liverpool's development strategy. New Labour, emphasising cultural policy throughout the years, places more focus on using it as an economic tool in a framework of 'creative industry' and a framework of social exclusion underpinned by policies designed to assist individuals experiencing social exclusion. The benefits of this strategy enabled LCC to move away from the cultural policy, which was a long-term answer, and toward the cultural policy as an urgent remedy for the

poor national and international image. New Labour-style 'creative hub' promotion of Liverpool, the hallmark of which was a 'creative' industry union with the high-tech industry to create a new industry sector, the creative industry. Immediate effects of the ECOC'08 were seen by Liverpool Culture Company chairman Bryan Gray, who stated

> '2008 will be remembered as the year when Liverpool restated its claim to be a global city of international significance' (Impacts 08, 2010).

The Liverpool Culture Company concluded that ECOC'08 reveals £800 million economic impact, a worldwide media value of £200 million, and an increase in the number of tourists to the city (Institute of Cultural Capital, 2018). 'Culture and the creative industry have seen positive developments recently, with the city's prospects making its strength and the power to push the local economy up in Liverpool felt' (Culture Liverpool, 2019). In addition, reports stated that Glasgow has provided a blueprint for other cities that have discovered that using culture as a motivator for so many areas of good development has earned them the moniker of the 'Liverpool model' (Impacts 08, 2010).

### 6.3.4. Discrepancies in the Use and Consumption of Heritage

As a reminder from Chapter 5, at the time of inscription, the chairman of English Heritage (HE) stated that:

> 'Liverpool deserves world heritage status as it has been a world city for 200 years'

LCC's planning manager pledged that:

> 'The site will continue to allow developments 'in harmony' with the existing urban fabric'.

The English Heritage (HE) regional manager anticipated that:

> 'The designation will act as a catalyst for 'new and imaginative uses' for the city's historic buildings' (Wainscoat, 2004).

The previous statements first indicate how the image of Liverpool as a world or global city is part of its DNA or identity. Second, the WH status does not mean an obstacle for development, while third, the dilemma between old and new and how both could be integrated with harmony. Even though those three points were concerned with whether to be avoided or emphasised during development, it was challenging to achieve them without conflict—the head of urban design and heritage at LCC during that time mentioned.

'So, the regeneration framework … needed to re-establish in the psychology of the city the importance of the river. how this city as a place does repurpose itself on a regular basis' (AK, 2018).

The technicality of how to translate the OUV into practical terms was:

- The importance of the river in the formation and the development of the city.
- How was the city continuously evolving and developing as part of its psychology?

Though his argument was not validated as any city in its development process, it evolves, changes, and develops to respond to the surrounding context, which is not something unique to Liverpool. This perception of the city ignored an important fact: the identity and culture of the city as a port city. Yes, the river is an essential part. However, it is the nature of any other city developed around a river or a sea. There was no use or integration of the OUV stated in the nomination dossier. The city's development was based on an urban regeneration approach to reconnect the city with the river and fill gaps in the city's urban fabric.

'So, there is a kind of sense of fragmentation in certain parts of the city which became a priority for the council to regenerate the whole together' (KV, 2018; DZ, 2018).
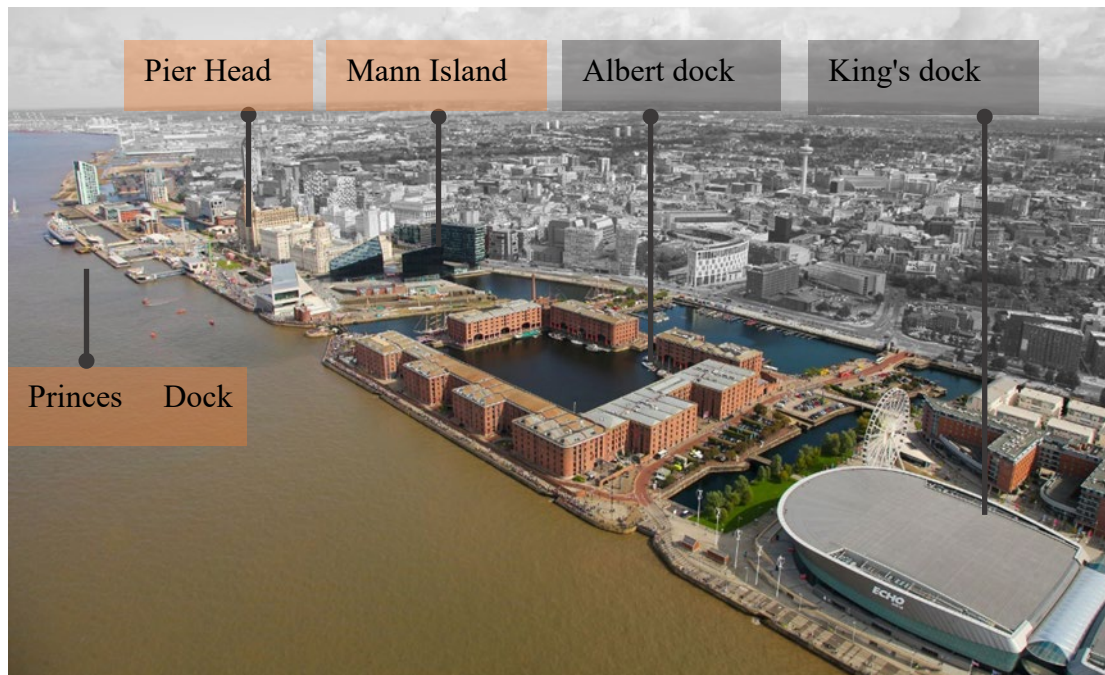


Figure 19 Major development schemes on the waterfront area (Royal Albert Dock Liverpool, 2018) updated by the researcher

The difference between the local planning policies (SRF, SPD, WHS management plan) and the projects implemented in the WHS boundaries and its buffer zone was due to several reasons, which will be explained in the next Section. Figure 22 highlights the main projects in orange on the waterfront and UNESCO's WHS boundaries, where the conflict started between UNESCO, LCC and HE. Princes' Dock (Liverpool waters project) was the main reason Liverpool WHS was listed in danger. The fourth grace on the Pier Head was a controversial project which was dropped due to several reasons that will be discussed later.

### 6.3.4.1. UNESCO's Material Intervention and Global Transformation

With this set of theoretical orientations in mind, we might return to consider the question of how the WH status transforms the heritage as a global capital. What is the work that heritage does in the world? It was already discussed how WH was dealt with from a distance and seen as an isolated process that was difficult to be integrated within the system and the governmental capacities and affordances of the various socio-technical assemblages as mentioned by the interviewee, a UNESCO consultant:

> 'We have another problem of economic development notions. There is a perception that development is one thing and conservation is another thing, so they are like fighting objects. So, we have conceptual problems, planning systems in name no plan (it reacts). The conceptions of conservation and development are not working toward one goal' (WX, 2018).

Although the semiotic transformation of destroyed and obsolete objects, places, and practises in a process by which they have a 'second life' is a significant result of the heritage, particularly WH (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1983; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, et al., 2006). This semiotics change was behind Liverpool's nomination for the WH status (Section 6.2.2.), to assist the city in establishing itself as a global city. There was a tendency in the literature to regard heritage as something that pre-exists and, therefore, passively integrated into rural and urban landscapes (Hall, 2011). However, a decision was made to conserve and incorporate into a new development what previously existed as 'ruin', to make it 'heritage', which transforms the material world in precise ways (Shanks, 2013).

With the deteriorated situation of Liverpool, the use of heritage and its transformation was the ultimate situation that could help the city thrive. However, with the governmentalisation concept as discussed by Foucault (1991) and the complexity of the situation with different actors participating, there deviated from the purpose of using their heritage with its cultural

expression within the city's development to be more achieving the economic development of the city as discussed in Table 14.

Table 13 Liverpool: timeline of the conflict between cultural promotion and economic development in Liverpool- Maritime Mercantile world Heritage Site (Gaillard & Rodwell, 2015)

| Year | Development |
|------|-------------|
| 1994 | Merseyside granted Objective 1 status under the European Union regional funding policy. |
| 1999 | Britain's first Urban Regeneration Company, Liverpool Vision, was established: and focused on economic development.<br>Liverpool twinned with Shanghai, historically China's foremost mercantile trading port whose historic urban landscape echoes Liverpool's.<br>Liverpool placed on the UK's Tentative List to UNESCO. |
| 2003 | Nomination to UNESCO of Liverpool – Maritime Mercantile City. |
| 2004 | March: advisory report and appraisal of ICOMOS; notice of risks to site and buffer zone development projects; 'urban landscape' has been removed from the planned State Party language to justify OUV.<br>The language of the decision suggested close monitoring of changing processes impacting the area and its surroundings and specifically focused on the proposed 'fourth grace' on Pier Head. July: WHC (28th meeting): Liverpool — Maritime Mercantile City included on the UNESCO WH List |
| 2005 | WH and Contemporary Architecture – Historic Urban Landscape Management UNESCO Vienna Memorandum. Premeditated as a key statement in the preamble of a comprehensive approach linking contemporary art, sustainable urban development and landscape integrity based on existing historical patterns, building stock, and context, Article 21 compromises this by stating 'urban planning, contemporary architecture and preservation of the HUL should prevent all pseudo-forms. No variation of the word harmonious' is found in the memorandum and Article 21 has shown its use in conflictual modern interventions worldwide. |
| 2006 | July: The WHC (30th session): raised serious concerns on the prevailing scale and intrusion of the Pier Head's alternative projects – the Liverpool Waterfront Museum and three Mann Island buildings – and urged the State Party to establish clear strategies for design briefs and the city, skyline, and riverfront<br>October: first reactive UNESCO-ICOMOS Liverpool surveillance mission WHS: postponed to assessments by HE of the complement of the historical Pier Head Group, called the planning system for management of the city's urban regeneration as exceptional by high-quality architectural design and materialisation of museum projects, and concluded the overall state of conservation of the WHS was good and the site's OUV was not under threat. |
| 2007 | February: The State Party reacted to the 2006 Mission Report affirming the actions and guidelines to enhance the site's protection and presented Liverpool as a case study for preparing its proposed UNESCO Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation. |

| | |
|---|---|
| | April: flagship completion of £22 million for St George's Hall renovations.<br>July: WHC (31st sessions): requested the establishment of a tighter control scheme involving building height limitation and townscape adherences and an increase in public information on the site's OUVs and management. |
| 2008 | The first phase of the £1 billion Liverpool One was opened, and it was hailed as Europe's largest retail-run regeneration facility. In the city, major stores moved from historic buildings to Liverpool One in the established centre of the city.<br>July: WHC (32nd session) reiterated a request for the States Party to design a strategic plan, including building buildings, for the entire townscape, skyline, and riverfront |
| 2009 | June: WHC (33rd Session): expected to primarily respond to past Board decisions through the forthcoming SPD.<br>The WHS SPD was accepted by the LCC in October. With numerous honours from the British planning community, this paper highlighted the potential for structures close to the WHS immediately and in the buffer zone that would expect the waters of Liverpool. |
| 2010 | July: WHC (34th session): the revision and enlarged declaration on the integrity of the site was adopted. Although the 'urban landscape' has not been integrated, the statement states that 'the influence on the establishment of the property is a basic aspect of the new development on the obsolete dockland. Future buildings inside and around the WH property, including the buffer zone, should comply with and transmit the OUV. |
| 2011 | July: WHC (35th Session): complained about the proposed development and potential impact of Liverpool Waters on the OUV site, noted its disputes at HE commissioned impact assessments and requested a further reactive monitoring mission from the State Party.<br>November: UNESCO HUL Recommendation.<br>November: UNESCO-ICOMOS second reactive monitoring mission at the Liverpool WHS: focusing on Liverpool Waters, this mission found the proposal would irrevocably harm WH's property if implemented because its architectural and town-planning coherence would have seriously deteriorated. |
| 2012 | March: LCC gave Liverpool Waters outline planning approval.<br>WHC (36th session): Liverpool - Maritime Mercantile City, which has been reiterated at successive WH sessions, has been included in a UNESCO list of WH at risk. |
| 2013 | March: The Local Government and State Secretary of the Community approved the decision of the LCC to give Liverpool Waters planning permission |

The deviation does not mean abandoning or demolishing the heritage assets; however, it meant setting the priorities for development was purely economic due to several reasons. Even reusing the historically built environment does not mean the full integration of the heritage and its value in Liverpool's development. It was clear in Chapter 6 of the different interpretations of the OUV of Liverpool's WHS and how it was reflected in the choices of

the projects that occurred within its boundaries. There were inconsistencies in interpreting the advisory body reports that were placed before the 2004 UNESCO session which may have contributed to the conflicts that subsequently arose between the various stakeholders involved in the decision-making processes at the local, national, and international levels for Liverpool, over the planning proposal for Liverpool Waters (effectively a new city) on land substantially within the World Heritage Site and its buffer zone as discussed in Table 16. LCC and Peel Holdings agreed on a common vision for Liverpool Waters in 2009, which suggested 'the concept will profit upon and maintain the unique history of the site' (LCC, 2012, p. 19). Locals considered the Liverpool Waters project to be a crucial step towards regaining Liverpool's previous image as a 'Global city'. It is a 30-year project with a £5.5 billion redevelopment scheme which involves numerous components and 2 million square metres of floor space for living, working, and playing (Peel Holdings Land and Property (UK) Limited, 2016). These components will include 9000 residential apartments, hotels, convention centres, a football stadium, shipping terminals, and more.

Table 14 Criteria for the inscription of Liverpool WHS and its respective perceptions by the State Parties, the world heritage committee, and the advisory body

| Different perspectives | Criteria |
| --- | --- |
| Texts justifying the OUV following cultural criteria as out by the Operational Guidelines at the 28th session of the WHC in Suzhou (China, 2004).# | 'Criterion (ii): Liverpool was a major centre generating innovative technologies and methods in dock construction and port management in the 18th and 19th centuries. It thus contributed to the building up of the international mercantile systems throughout the British Commonwealth. Criterion (iii): The city and the port of Liverpool are an exceptional testimony to the development of maritime mercantile culture in the 18th and 19th centuries, contributing to the building up of the British Empire. It was a centre for the slave trade, until its abolition in 1807, and for emigration from northern Europe to America. Criterion (iv): Liverpool is an outstanding example of a world mercantile port city, which represents the early development of global trading and cultural connections throughout the British Empire. |
| Perceptions of the site by the State Party in the nomination dossier | Global maritime mercantile importance; surviving extent of complementary components of the architectural and industrial heritage; coherent urban landscape. |
| Perceptions of the site by the WHC and the advisory body (ICOMOS) | World port city; pioneering developments in dock technology and related systems; range and quantity of significant buildings |

| | |
|---|---|
| statement of authenticity and integrity in the nomination dossiers | Urban landscape as a testimony to the historical role and importance of the city and manifestation of the site's tangible authenticity. |
| statement of authenticity and integrity in the ICOMOS evaluation | Focused on the state of conservation of the historic docks and buildings, including their architectural features and minor detailing. |

The inconsistencies in interpreting the advisory bodies report and the conflicts as discussed in Table 14, 15 that arose between different stakeholders go back to the interrelated concepts of the commodification of culture (Marx, 1867; Adorno, 2020); a Foucauldian analysis of modern government, known as a 'governmentality approach' (Foucault, 1991; Lemke, 2012; Miller & Rose, 2008). These theoretical concepts are supplemented by previous studies on UNESCO and its Convention (Garber, 2006; Singh, 2011; Singh, 2007).

Liverpool waters project and the heritage impact assessment (HIA) that was done to evaluate the project's impact on the heritage-built environment is a good example of these concepts and the neutrality and objectivity of this technical-rational model of impact assessment have been widely questioned (Kørnøv & Thissen, 2012; Weston, 2010; Fischer, 2016).

> 'The project of Liverpool Waters is exceptional because three separate HIAs have been conducted: Peel Holdings, the developer and owner of the project; EH (now called HE), the main organisation that protects WHS in the United Kingdom, and LCC, the responsible political body that was discussed by the heritage officer during the WHS nomination.
> It was agreed that we would undertake comprehensive HIA. There were three of them one was undertaken by HE (previously EH), and one would be undertaken by LCC and Peel holdings then see the results of them. So, I effectively undertook the comprehensive HIA on the behalf of LCC. Initially, there was no guidance on how to do it, ICOMOS produced some guidance in 2010 which was far from the methodology that was agreed upon. I found there was a harmful effect to the heritage assets but it fell in the low level of harm in my mind and many benefits to the heritage assets' (DZ, 2018).

The above statement shows why the inconsistent results of HIA led to placing a list of endangered products by the Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City WHS without an agreed method. Only in 2011 did the ICOMOS issue it is Cultural WH Property HIA Guideline (ICOMOS, 2011). HIAs were commissioned by Peel Holdings (July-September) and LCC (July-August). HE was not satisfied with these HIAs and chose, between December 2010 and February 2011, to commission their own HIA. The lack of an unambiguous scope of practise for HIA and the few experienced HIA practitioners meant the technique and strategy for these evaluations had to be created as they progressed.

They agreed to adopt the British Department of Transport's design guide for roads and bridges (DMRB) to begin with (Highway Agency, 1997). In 2011, it was decided that all three HIAs would be revised when the ICOMOS standards were released. The three HIAs yielded conflicting results about the impact of the Liverpool Waters project, despite consensus on the approach to be followed. The impacts performed by the HIA for Peel Holdings (Liverpool Waters, 2011) and LCC (2012) were positive, but for HE, the impact was negative. Even though, there was the West Tower building within the buffer zone of the WHS, which exceeded the height of the three graces, was accepted with no concerns about the WHS coherence. However, its location was on the strand and not directly on the waterfront like the rest of the previously mentioned projects. In 2012, the LCC awarded Liverpool Waters the 'outline planning permission' based on the two HIAs, which found the project would be helpful (i.e., approval in principle of overall development, although individual buildings would still require their approval). However, UNESCO strongly rejected the idea based on the third HIA (Bond, 2012)

> 'It comprises a massive redevelopment of the historic docklands north of the city centre, extending it significantly and altering the skyline and profile of the World Heritage site' (UNESCO, 2012).

This rejection led Liverpool WHS to be added to the endangered list in 2012. The points, referred to in HE's HIA, were disputed by the LCC (Parveen, 2016). For several years, Liverpool has been on the edge of losing its designation as WHS due to this dispute. The negotiating mechanism between the various stakeholders took a different course, with the system changing dramatically from 2007 until it was approved by the LCC and submitted to the planning committee in 2011 for final approval because HE objected to the proposal, which means they had to refer to the State Secretary (the central government).

> The planning committee said yes, we want to approve it while the secretary of state said this is a local matter and it is down to you to approve. Based on the city council did approve it. Within the committee the officers make recommendations and the members take the decision many colleagues said it should be refused and there were no objections or concerns by the members. The WHS has considered this and obviously, that was fully recognised in the report that went to the committee including the HIA (DZ, 2018).

Centralisation and condensation in the commercial and administrative spheres help interpret cultural expressions and commodities. The main factor in the LCC- UNESCO discussions was this commodity transformation. The physical intervention of UNESCO is the highest and most important part of negotiating for the global transformation that has been accorded

this status. The global transformation Liverpool seeks has flattened the significance of the heritage to be more complicated than its economic importance and how these arrays of meanings could help better in the city's development. Gray (2007) emphasised this by saying the commercialisation of cultural products is a consequence of commodification and exploitation of public policies, which are indications of European initiatives, for example, to integrate culture with national innovation and marketing strategies (Kangas 1999, p.172). Tzanelli (2008) complies with this by writing that in highly mediated communications societies, cultural industries are signing industries par excellence which also marks the public sphere and thus are key elements in public cultural policy discussed in the following Section on interpreting the regulations to integrate heritage into the city's regeneration.

### 6.3.4.2. Vision for Development

Liverpool's vision as a 'Global city' dominated the city's development (Chapter 5). With this vision, it got WH status in 2004 and ECOC in 2008. However, those different initiatives were running in parallel as a hoe to adverse its negative image. Thus, some projects on the waterfront were designed and approved according to such efforts.

The fourth Grace project was an example of the need to grasp international attention, shape the city's new image, and exploit the tourism economy. The Bilbao effect (Marshall, 2001) was the aspiration of this project to strengthen the city's bid for ECOC'08. An international design competition was announced in 2002 with a brief for the fourth grace project.

> 'Fourth grace will express Liverpool's twenty-first Century aspirations as powerfully as three graces articulate the civic and mercantile ambitions of a former age' (Liverpool City Council, 2002).

Its location is shown in Figure 26 on Pier Head Waterfront between the existing three graces and the Albert Dock. This project got massive responses from the media and press, stating that it is a big futuristic step the city would embrace. The projects that were shortlisted were controversial in a way as discussed by the chair of Engage Liverpool:

> 'it was never going to compete with the three graces it was not even there to complement them. It was designed to be utterly, totally different' (MF, 2018).

This was affirmed by the head of urban design and heritage at LCC

> 'There is something about creative tension in the city that I think is worth exploring' (AK, 2018).
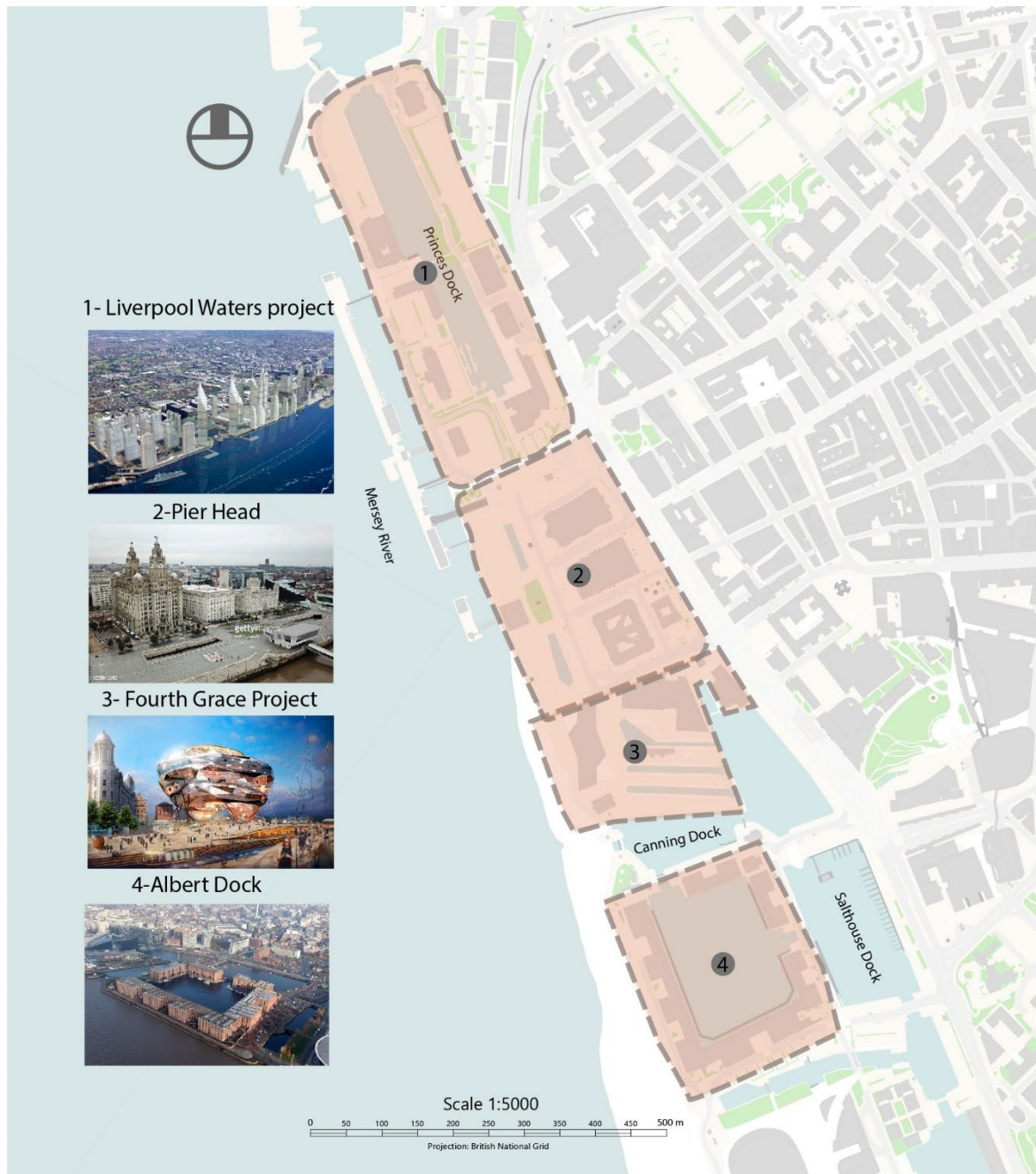
Figure 20 Different developments on the waterfront (Researcher, 2022)

The perception of this project was a key gateway to the future (Figure 23) and how Liverpool would like to represent itself. Responding to the three graces when they were first designed and constructed, they were criticised for this bold move.

Figure 21 The four shortlisted projects for the Fourth grace project (Skyscraper news, 2008)

When the city applied for WH status in 2004, UNESCO has shown concerns with the fourth grace project. It got the approval to be inscribed on the WH list, as shown in the below statement.

'It is understood that new construction is planned in the central part of the nominated port area, i.e. the Pier Head, which has the potential to adversely impact its integrity. Considering the sensitivity of this area' (UNESCO, 2003).

While Liverpool waters' vision was to 'transform the city's fortune and to be the UK's largest-ever regeneration project' (Jones, 2015). Though the project is in the buffer zone of the WHS on the north side of Pier Head (Figure 24). It is an urban regeneration approach with a claim of attracting inward investments to the city and increasing job opportunities. As was mentioned by the head of urban design and heritage at LCC,

'North Liverpool, in particular, is one of the poorest areas in the UK. So, there is an economic and social imperative through regeneration as much as cleaning up the WHS' (AK, 2018).

According to Marshall (2001), the waterfront development of post-industrial cities represented a challenge and an opportunity for development at the same time. The challenge of 'the abandonment of an old port' seems to have a negative impact regarding attracting

capital to the city while opening a priceless opportunity to create a new image of which is skyscrapers as discussed by the WHS coordinator at LCC (Figure 25).

'We were looking at best practice approaches for the development of the waterfront such as Shanghai' (KV, 2018)



Figure 22 Liverpool waters project proposal (Peel Holdings Land and Property (UK) Limited, 2016)

However, the UNESCO-ICOMOS monitoring mission expressed their concerns about the proposed development, which might harm Liverpool's WHS townscape coherence (Section 7.3.1). Liverpool WHS was listed as endangered due to this project.

While Pier Head's (Figure 24) vision, including the Mann Island project (Figure 26) and the Liverpool Museum (Figure 27) replacing the fourth grace project, was acting as a symbol and contributor to the town's recovery and the promotion of tourism in Liverpool. This development was approved by UNESCO and was respecting the WHS townscape coherence.
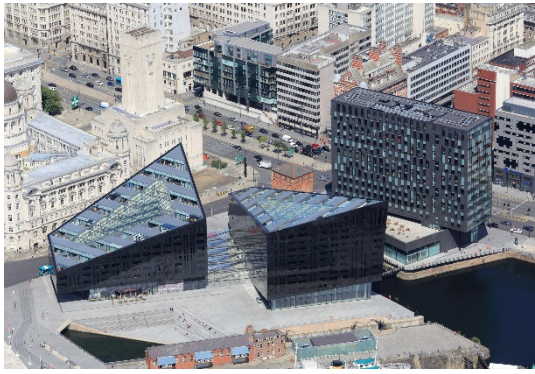
Figure 23 Left Mann Island Project (Sumner, 2013), Figure 24 Right Liverpool (Liverpool one, 2011)

### 6.3.4.3. Technical Approach

This Section focuses on the technical aspect of the decision-making process in Liverpool's WHS, either as an urban regeneration approach or WHS management. How the negotiation was done regarding the approval of the projects or their implementation.

There were several physical problems the city needed projects that fill in the gap in the city's urban fabric (Chapter 5), projects to connect the city with the waterfront and projects to enliven the waterfront with several activities. Therefore, the choices of the projects discussed here are based on creating a destination, some reason for people to use the waterfront, as discussed by all interviewees:

> 'There is a kind of sense of fragmentation in certain parts of the city which became a priority for the council to start to regenerate the whole together. As part of that regeneration programme that probably dates back to 2000' (XQ, 2018; LY, 2018; KV, 2018).

The choice of 'the cloud' as the fourth grace project (figure 28) was the least favoured by the public, however, it was perceived differently by LCC, as discussed below:

> 'Will Alsop was appointed because we found there was a much more interesting design for the city while the rest were quite pedestrian, quite bland and quite respectful in some ways it is a good way in other ways it is not' (AK, 2018).

The project was good material for the media's debate over the influence of the design of 'the Cloud' on the city's waterfront were encouraged. Alsop was built out of three main buildings (Figure 29): the Hill, a display and theatre; the Cloud, the primary building; and the Living with its 19-floor apartment building adjacent to the Cloud. The overall concept of the landscape and urban development was to integrate the whole area as one coherent space

Figure 25 The Cloud, the winning project for the fourth grace proposal (Liverpool Echo, 2004)

The debate was about the design and whether it is going to shift the focus and attention from the three graces or not. Whether the waterfront needs another iconic building is debated by members of the steering committee.

While others argued the scale of the building was not exceeding the scale of the three graces and the city needed a new orientation for development, as debated by the head of urban design and heritage, with other practitioners. As Sudjic (2002) argued in the Guardian:

> 'In any more culturally confident period, Alsop's custard pie thrown in the city's face would have been taken as satire, or outrage. However, in the febrile climate of post-Bilbao civic boosterism, the project has been warmly embraced by exactly the people you would most expect to be outraged'.

However, as a WHS, there is the OUV that should be respected and reflected in the development, as discussed in Section 6.2.5. Liverpool WHS is about innovation and technology, and this is how the cloud project responded to such an understanding. Using iconic architecture will enhance 'the global city image' as discussed by many scholars (Sklair, 2010; Sklair, 2006; Harvey, 1989b; Beriatos & Gospodini, 2004) there is a link between globalisation and iconic architecture. This link is significantly pushed by the idea of the transnational capitalist class' (Sklair, 2010). It was reflected in the construction of the three graces which represented the city's wealth and power.

However, the challenge facing LCC to construct the cloud was financial; this is when it had to be modified and add a tower in the cloud's background 'apartments and offices'. This tower

was growing in scale and volume to dominate the waterfront to serve the cloud financially (Figure 29).



Figure 26 the modified proposal of the cloud (Shetty, 2018)

In the end, LCC decided to drop the whole project due to its financial costs and feasibility, not due to the OUV and how this new proposal, as shown in Figure 29, could harm the three graces at the focal point of the waterfront. Therefore, two new projects were proposed to substitute the fourth grace, 'Mann Island and 'Liverpool Museum' (Figures 26 and 27).

The project's main aim was to reanimate the waterfront with a mixed-use development that could connect the waterfront all together and with the city centre at the same time (Broadway Malyan, 2016). The proposal for the west side of the site asked for a new Liverpool living museum meant to examine the city's social history. The historical aspect of the site was an essential element; the report stressed the new building should be a symbol and contribute to the rehabilitation of Liverpool and strengthen the role of tourism.

While Mann Island's design philosophy was to treat this place as a part of the footpath between the Albert Dock and the three Graces along the waterfront, transforming the building and the public area around it into a meeting space with a building structure that opened views, not preventing them from being visible (Broadway Malyan, 2016).

The heritage officer argued at LCC, the project has a sensitive location between unique character areas 'Pier Head' and 'Albert Dock'. Thus, the project concept was to be contrasting in design and materials. This contrast goes with UNESCO's Vienna memorandum, which states that new development shall avoid all forms of 'Pseudo historicism'.

While others argued, the master plan came forward, considering key views from and to Pier Head (three grace) as stated in the SPD (Chapter 5). The concept of the three graces design

was viewed from the river as the key gate to the city and to be seen from the south (Albert dock) as they were docklands and were not public (Figure 30).
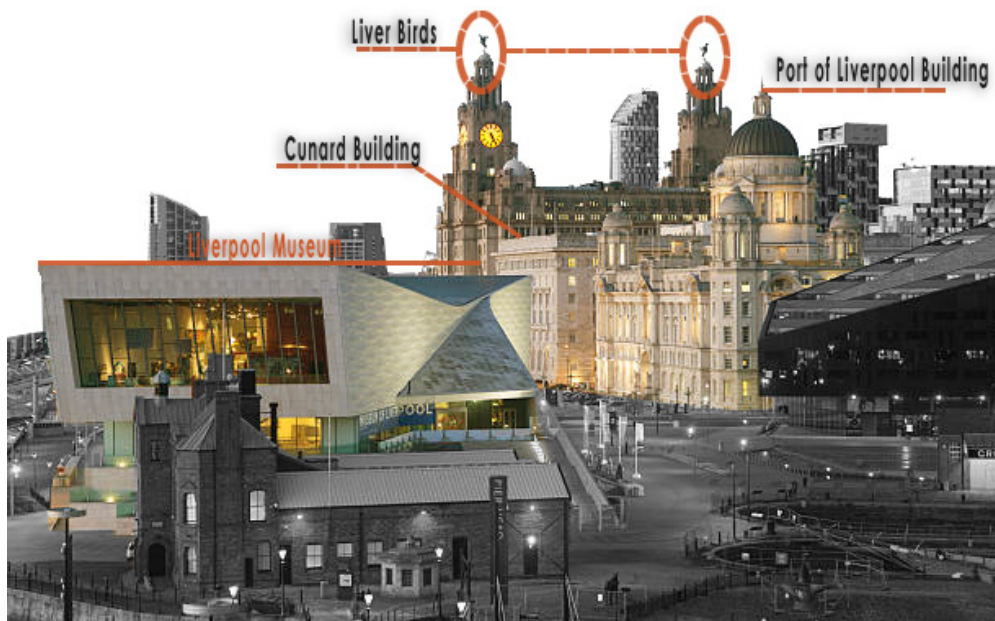


Figure 27 Views from Albert dock to Pier Head and Mann Island project (Researcher, 2022)

The brief plan of the Mann Island project respected a sequence of views regarding the three graces (Figure 31), which are vital to WHS's visual ambience, and its character (Bayley, 2010). Cabe (2006) indicates the layout and shape of the two residential buildings are incredibly compelling, linked to a sequence of views towards the Three Graces and inflecting to accommodate these panoramas. It is highly regarded as the method of responding to the historical setting by striking a stark contrast and contending with it.

The poor visual connection between the site and the city was an urban design challenge. With the Strand as a motorway separating the site from the city centre, the goal was to overcome this barrier by designing a pedestrian node that would physically and aesthetically link the city to the site and the city core.

Three black structures (Figure 36), three public areas, and a new canal basin are part of the concept. The project is a mixed-use development that includes residential, retail, and office space. The project intended to complement and improve current and future attractions on Liverpool's historic waterfront, and it will serve as a key location between the Three Graces and the Albert Dock, with new structures reflecting this transition in their geometry (Building Design, 2007).
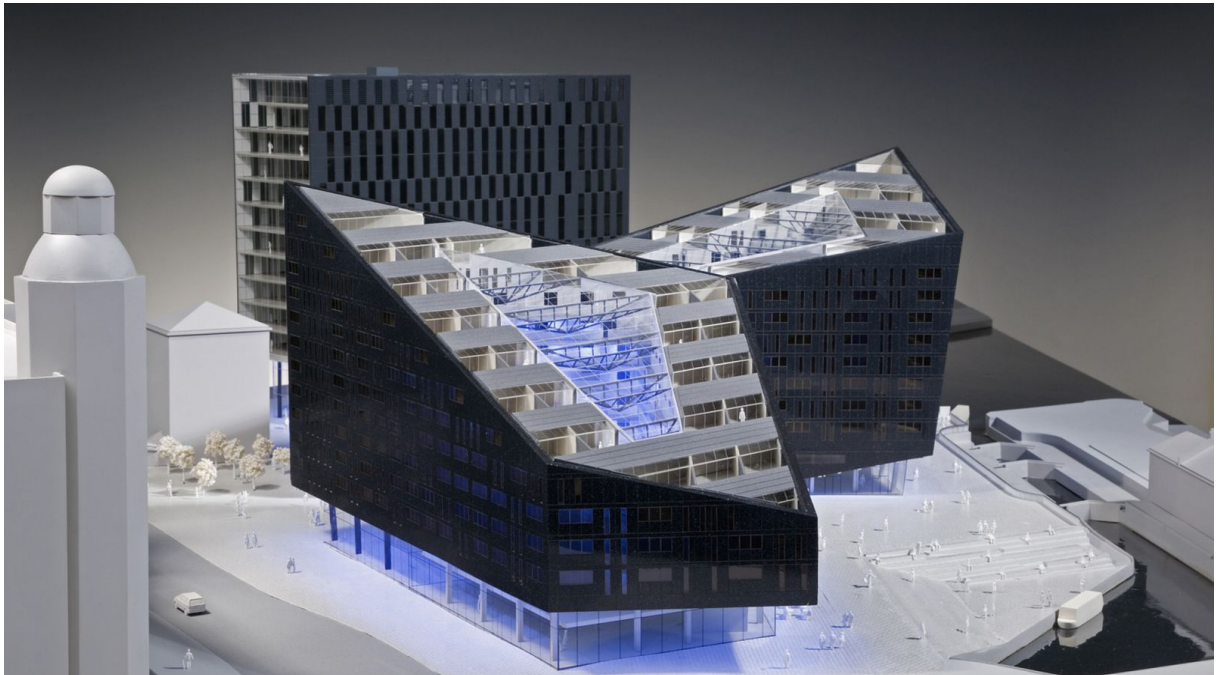
Figure 28 Mann Island Project shows the three masses and their relationship with the surrounding context (Broadway Malyan, 2016)

The project created a series of transition spaces between the city centre and the historic waterfront, the first public area collects pedestrians from the improved pedestrian crossing from the east point and opens vistas towards the Albert Dock (Figure 32). In the second transitional public space, a covered and glazed public space (figure 33) is between the two residential buildings and connects the outer public space on the Strand with the inner protected one facing the canal basin. Another function of this public area is that it serves as a vestibule to the next and a venue for Around the canal basin, which is well-defined by the two residential complexes.



Left Figure 29, Middle Figure 30 Right Figure 31 transition spaces of Mann Island (Researcher, 2018)

Lastly, it is the third public area, which provides spaces for food and outdoor recreation (Figure 34). The geometrical form of the buildings was reflecting the industrial heritage

(Figure 35) in the area and not to dominate the coherence of the waterfront, as stated by the heritage and urban design officer at LCC:

> 'Mann Island should be like docks rather than commercial buildings, they should be seen as industrial buildings. So, the idea of just geometrical objects, industrial objects. You are not going to do another Liver building or Cunard building. It is not going to happen it is wrong. It must be contemporary, but you need to say something about the context, so we found approaching it from a completely different view. This is an industrial area and there should say something about the industry and shipping. It comes from the strong geometry of the shape and the materiality, and these were designed to be seen from the south as floating industrial objects so that's why the ground floors and first floor in glass so at night when the lights are on you will feel the big heaviness of the building above them. It looks that heavy as if it is floating. It's only on this light caution. The black because when you look at Liverpool water it is not blue, green, or brown, it is black' (AK, 2018).



Figure 32 The view of the Mann Island project from Alberts docks and the floating effect of the buildings on the water (Broadway Malyan, 2016)

With the Strand's main street commercial structure, CABE (2006) is highly concerned with its shape, materials, and impact on its immediate surroundings. It was highly praised that Mann Island was being developed despite some disagreement over the location of the structures:

> 'Mann Island is an excellent example of this. Some people criticise it, but I believe they are a brilliant and creative answer for that particular area'. As a result of this, The Mann Island fits well into the setting, they do not feel like they are restricting the area or damaging the shoreline, and they add considerably to the identity and image of the region' (KV, 2018).

According to a member of the steering committee,

'It is important to mix modernity with heritage in architecture the architecture of Mann Island some love it, and others hate it, and that is something subjective, my view is they are fine regarding mass and shape' (XQ, 2018).

Mann Island has been criticised for blocking views of the three graces, although some argue the three black structures have beautifully framed the vista of The Three Graces.

'It is clear that the architect went above and beyond the brief by cutting off some of the vertical limitations and revealing perspectives that would not be there if it was motivated only by economic pressure' (TZ, 2018).

Liverpool Vision, LCC and NWDA adopted the Museum of Liverpool project (Figure 36) as a substitution for the fourth grace project to design a new master plan. According to the proposal, the Museum was built to study the city's historical significance and serve as a symbol and catalyst for the regeneration and improving the city's tourism industry.



Figure 33 Museum of Liverpool (National Museums Liverpool, 2011)

3XN designed a building structure that would open rather than impede the vistas (Figure 37) to avoid obstructing the vistas. The result is a visually appealing and environmentally friendly project (Frearson, 2011) as the city needed a structure that would be a social gathering place, daring, and practical. These ideas meant the building needed to be adaptable, and dynamic (Bayley, 2010)
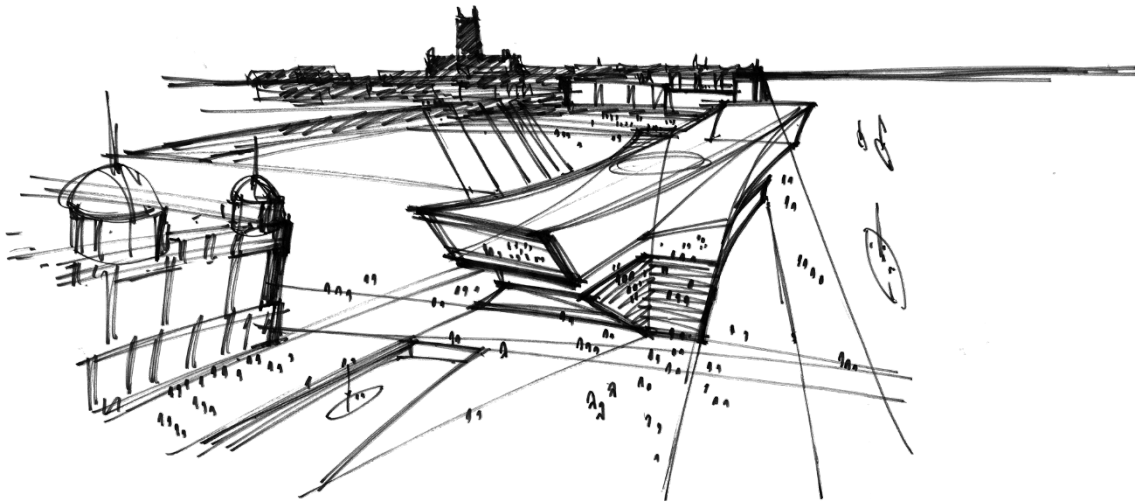
Figure 34 Museum of Liverpool design concept as a gathering point for visitors (3XN, 2011)

The project's concept was a remembrance of the trading ships that previously dominated the Liverpool waterfront. At the same time, the façade's relief pattern (Figure 38) creates a new interpretation of the historical architectural details of the three Graces (3XN, 2011).
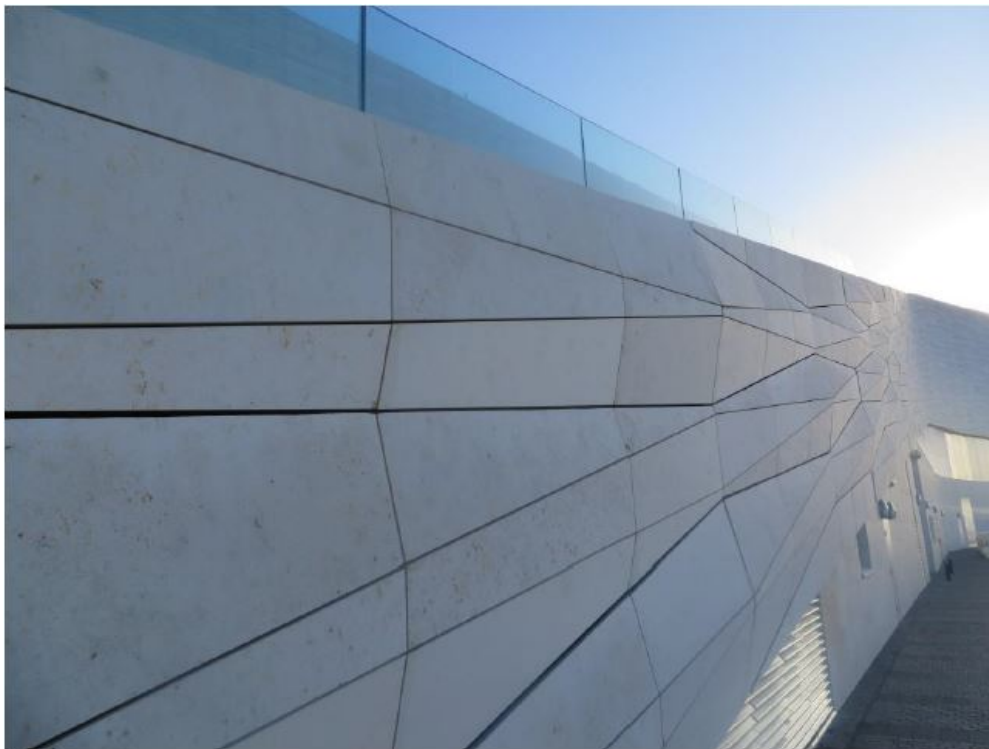


Figure 35 Museum of Liverpool's exterior cladding as an interpretation of the three graces' historical aesthetics (Researcher, 2018)

In addition, the building's urban design and public spaces add to the dynamic urban environment and serve as a meeting place for both locals and visitors. The building offers

external outdoor steps with a river view (Figure 39), the three graces and the Albert Dock, which add to the dynamic urban environment and serve as (3XN, 2011):

> 'The museum is a dynamic low-rise structure that engages in respectful interaction with the harbour promenade's higher historic structures' (Frearson, 2011).
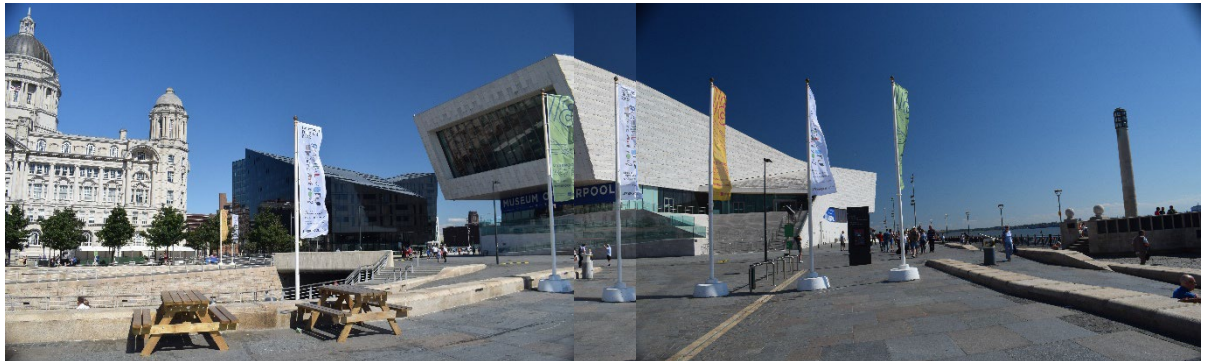


Figure 36 Museum of Liverpool outdoor steps and gathering points (Researcher, 2022)

Regarding magnitude, the Museum's design was highly demanding. Britain's most prominent national Museum has been constructed for more than a century at the Museum of London (Sykes, et al., 2013). Being within the WHS boundary in a highly visible historic neighbourhood meant the Museum's construction would be criticised. However, the 3XN (2011) director noted that

> 'the project is one of the largest and most important initiatives in the 25-years history of the 3XN. Therefore, when it came to designing this Museum, it was crucial to listen to city residents, learn about their past, as well as comprehend what might be done with this historical place'.

Content analysis showed a slightly different approach to the Museum of Liverpool than its predecessor, which was never completed; focused on the aesthetics and the architecture. However, the news studies showed three main concerns: the cultural aspect of this project, the Museum's architecture, besides its location within the WHS boundary, which was of comparatively lesser importance. There is little doubt the Museum has enhanced discussions about the city's culture, arguing what should be shown there. With Liverpool's rich history, Gameiro (2021) argued

> 'the Museum's goal is ambitious: to commemorate everything from Liverpool's prehistoric past to its days as a British Empire port'.

For him, it is now the city's contradictory nature that is splitting people's opinions. Several people have referred to the Museum to reflect a cultural tourist economy, the city has embraced, particularly since winning the ECOC'08. After WWII and losing Liverpool's port, Balakrishnan (2008) reports that cultural tourism is helping Liverpool refurbish its facilities

and alter its previous stereotypical image. The cultural economy has given Liverpool a sense of direction.

The media's interest in this project was less significant than the other projects due to the modesty of this structure. Although Liverpool lastly had a new waterfront landmark, the Museum has largely been well received by the media, with Gameiro (2021) describing it as **'the astonishing new arrival on the city's waterfront'.** However, the Museum of Liverpool's window (Figure 40) has been named the **'first UK's Best Window with a View'** (Liverpool Echo, 2016).



Figure 37 Museum of Liverpool Window view (Liverpool Echo, 2016)

Apart from the Museum's exhibits and interior galleries, some articles were highly critical of the Museum's design and integration with the surrounding historical setting. For example, Moore (2011) argued that

> 'the main issue is not how the museum's contents are presented, nor is its design, but rather the composition, or lack of combination with the surrounding context between historical buildings already there or other new structures rising around it'.

While others argued that

> 'the Museum of Liverpool and Mann Island Development are both angular slightly differently, with the white one being slightly more angular than the black one, and both are set against the classical lines of the Port of Liverpool, I believe they complement each other' (XQ, 2018).
> The Museum of Liverpool and Mann Island are contextualised designs as they have logic and are obvious about why they look the way they do (AK, 2018).
> 'The reaction to the contemporary building on Waterfront is a personal thing, but I do not think the new museum does not fit nicely with its setting' (WT, 2018).

The Museum of Liverpool building had a significant impact on the waterfront's image regarding the number of visitors and the tone of news articles on the project indicated its influence on public perception. As a result, what many scholars refer to as 'cultural renewal' may be seen in the Museum of Liverpool. According to the news stories, there were many areas of worry, but the cultural aspect of the project was the most important.

The Pier Head public area is considered the key landmark of the city, with its three graces, at the heart of WHS and Liverpool's waterfront. The area is the largest and most significant city space. In Liverpool's SRF (2012), improving Pier Head's public realm (Chapter 5) was one of the top goals. LCC selected the extension of the Leeds- Liverpool Canal into the city centre, together with a new ferry terminal and a new cruise liner facility (Figure 41), to be an important public realm to maximise the benefits and create an attractive and lively city centre environment (AECOM, 2010).

According to Place Northwest (2010), the Pier Head Canal Link project was jointly administered by LCC and British Waterways. It was commissioned by the LCC and the British Waterways to have AECOM produce the master plan. For this reason, local authority planning, EH, CABE and a local review panel were involved from the beginning of the design process (Place North West, 2010). A vital part of the problem was reintegrating the site's historic buildings and memorials to a modern design and connecting it with the new Museum of Liverpool and the Mann Island project (AECOM, 2010). The urban design and heritage officer at LCC justified the importance of the canal and how the design was integrating Liverpool's heritage.

> 'It is a kind of celebration of Liverpool heritage as well the canal has always been there. Liverpool has always been part of the canal network and Liverpool has this history of innovation and new technologies' (AK, 2018).
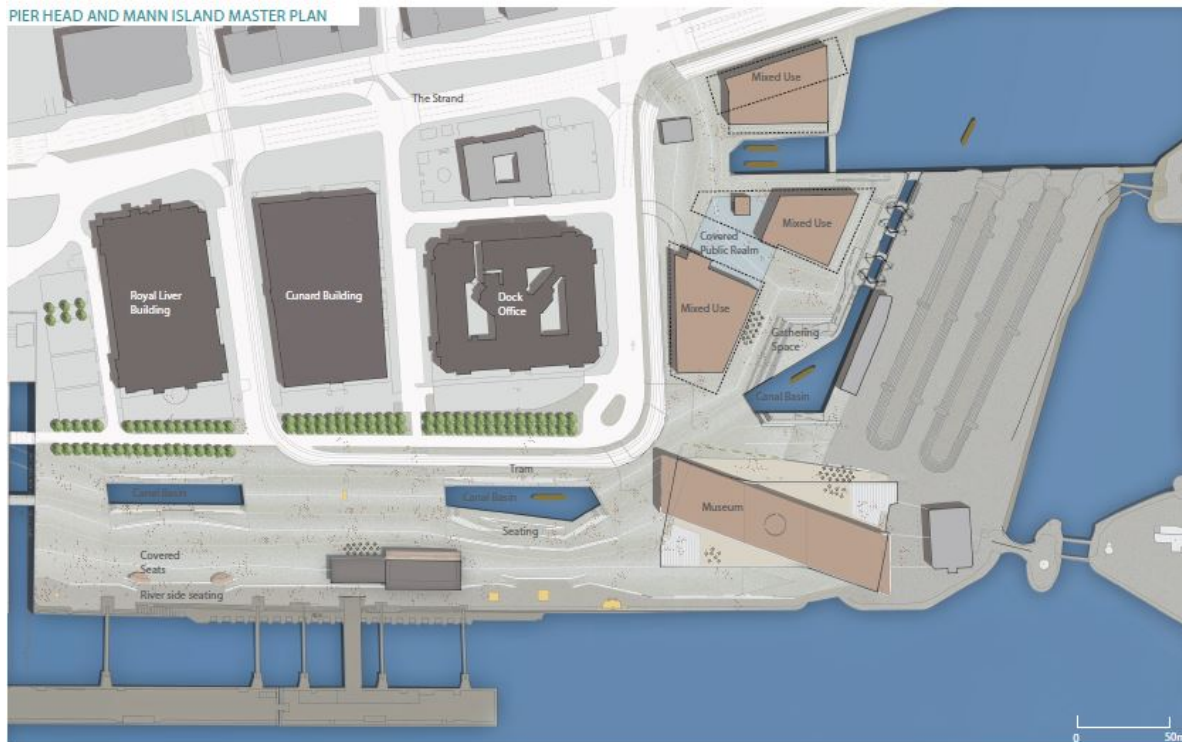
Figure 38 Pier Head and Mann Island Master plan (AECOM, 2010)

'LCC with British waterways were looking to improve tourist traffic and use of the docks, but they lacked connectivity for certain vessels. So, they could come in on the Mersey River, but it does not suit certain vessels and historically there was always this ambition to have a link from the Leeds Liverpool canal into Liverpool docks and there was a connection through a series of docks. we're going back hundreds of years, but over time it became disconnected. And so basically, they were returning this connection' (XQ, 2018).

Therefore, the project was jointly supervised by LCC and British Waterways to coherently provide a complex pattern of uses in a historical setting. According to Place Northwest (2010), to overcome the disparity in levels between the area level and the canal's surface water level, the designer treated the entire space as a gently folded surface (Figure 41). The result was like amphitheatres sinking into the ground around the canal, turning the waterway into a kind of stage and enabling access to the water's level (Figure 42). As the lead architect of the project (2010) mentioned:

'Pier Head's crease lines are long, but they alter their appearance as they go across the space. Natural stones echo the façade of the three graces to accentuate the folds' (XQ, 2018).

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Figure 39 the integration of the public realm around the canal with the rest of the Pier Head public realm development (Researcher, 2018)

In such a desolate area, the project has given it a new life. With its boats and water reflections, the canal provided a vibrant scene. Numerous people worldwide have come to the area as a tourist destination, taking pictures to remember their trip. As the head of Engage Liverpool mentioned:

> 'The Mersey ferry terminal was rebuilt was much more controversial, especially when it won the Carbuncle Cup (Figure 43) for the ugliest building in the country in 2009. In addition to functioning as a terminal connecting both sides of the river, it contains a café, restaurant, and the Beatles Story' (MF, 2018).



Figure 40 Mersey ferry terminal Carbuncle cup winner (Researcher, 2018)

As part of this massive public realm improvement, the WHS coordinator has highlighted the importance the pier head waterfront may play (KV, 2018). Much work is needed to fill in the gaps surrounding building sites, connect the various waterfront areas, and get more activity going, she added.

> Regarding tourists' economics, image, and brand, the waterfront is essential to us' (KV, 2018).

Liverpool's marketing and branding currently include the picture of the pier head waterfront. However, according to the chair of the steering committee:

> 'It has been transformed into a great development with quality public areas. As a result, the city and its waterfront are more connected than they were before, plus narrowing the gap between the two to some extent' (IW, 2018).

There is an interesting history of the materials that were used for paving. There were some rounding off-key blocks around the dock walls and gates. So, the paving concept used those hints and reflected those in the contemporary solution for Pier Head, the change of level, the edge treatment to those, where it sorts of tapers into nothing. That all stemmed from details that were already on the walls around Albert's dock. So, there is a sort of physical reference as well to ensure the whole thing was a sort of well-integrated into this language.

> 'Plus, the colours were quite important, so, the three graces have this sort of light colour so when the suns on them, it's kind of golden colour. So, what was done there on the canal walls (Figure 44) and the seating rules was the reflection of this colour, so they're always sort of a similar blend' (LY, 2018).



Figure 41, Figure 42 Materials of paving and the canal walls reflecting the historical setting of Pier Head and Albert dock (Researcher, 2018)

The relationship was something historic and new (XQ, 2018). They reflect the building colour and then the paving colour is something that's sort of, is more related to around Albert

dock (Figure 45) and just brings it and having a continuity through the waterfront. Due to the vast public space, the waterfront has become a venue to host significant public events, such as the concluding event of the ECOC'08, which attracted about 35 thousand people for entertainment and fireworks.

The technical approach used complies with the SRF (Chapter 5) as discussed earlier in this Section to fill in the gap 'refilling the empty pockets within the WHS'. Projects to connect the city with the waterfront either through key views from the main paths leading to the waterfront or within the waterfront itself. Simultaneously, the continuous emphasis on pedestrian walks on the waterfront connecting the docks or through major pedestrian crossings were highlighted.

The SPD document (Chapter 5) concerning the guidance specific to the character areas of the WHS, showed that all the previously mentioned projects were already developed or in progress while formulating the document. The document followed what was already happening. As mentioned in Chapter 2, OUV entails an extremely problematic and unclear interpretation in its global heritage conservation approach. As discussed in Chapter 3, the WHS are managed in the UK's planning system through planning policies and decision-making about individual proposals, which is integrating the WHS recommendations from management plans with limited guidance on how to be developed for complex heritage sites. Although the government guidance has made the existence of a site a crucial material consideration in planning decisions. The British government has taken a flexible view of development and conservation in line with economic priorities.

### 6.3.4.4. The Managerial Approach

The complexity of the WHS negotiating multi-scalar conservation conflict was clear, as discussed earlier in the previous Sections. As stated in Chapter 5, various stakeholders with different interests and backgrounds were involved. The shift in the WHS development agenda after getting the status towards the urban regeneration approach and even replacing some of the steering committees from academics to investors have created a conflict in setting the priority for development and getting approval which is going to be discussed in this Section. As stated by the WHS coordinator at LCC:

> 'So, our job is to get tougher because we have to persuade all of those parts into the concept of marketing themselves within the WHS storyline but what has been interesting is the Stanley docks and the Titanic warehouses have for example embraced the WH in its development of their site they used it to market themselves.

It was a part of telling their story. They were clever in identifying and making them unique (it has been a part of their distinctiveness) and they have used it as a part of their promotion. The problem is the translation of the OUV into a practical way and it is about balance' (KV, 2018).

The previously mentioned quote highlighted one of the ongoing revitalisation and regeneration projects, which is the iconic Stanley Dock in Liverpool with amenity-rich, mixed-use spaces that maintain the elegance of the historic architecture. The Stanley dock project is directly within the WHS boundaries. It was considered a heritage-sensitive regeneration project that respected the townscape coherence of the WHS. This magnificent Grade II-listed building, which was the biggest brick building in the world when it was built in 1901 (Liverpool City Council, 2004), is now being transformed into duplex loft-style apartments with dual aspect views overlooking Liverpool's UNESCO WHS and a central courtyard. Liverpool's WHS was a place of disputes over the management of the site due to several factors discussed in Sections 6.2.1, 2 and 3. At the time of the nomination, it was clear the LCC, and developers expected and desired substantial development for the city's development. It was UNESCO's concern about the impact of this development that led to 'unprecedented requirements' being put on a policy framework that should meet the site's demands. In 2004, the LCC issued a draught tall buildings policy for public comment (Short, 2012). The draught policy recommended three clusters of tall structures, all within the site itself or the buffer zone (Rodwell, 2008). This strategy was widely criticised for its inconsistency (Short, 2007), which led to its swift demise. Besides the development projects which were planned to occur within the WHS boundaries which derived UNESCO raise concerns.

The monitoring mission to Liverpool in 2006 noted with great concern the new museum of Liverpool did not comply with the recommendation of the WHS Management Plan as it was dominant rather than recessive; and also noted the three additional buildings are being planned on the waterfront, one of which could be intrusive in architectural terms (the commercial block). The mission requested the LCC to insert place strategic plans for future development that displayed clear strategies for the overall townscape and the skyline, and the waterfront (UNESCO & ICOMOS, 2006).

> 'The site's protected areas with related structures and individual buildings were not under imminent danger of significant modification or degradation, nor would any of the development proposals obstruct views to them in any significant way; However, when taking into account building density, urban pattern and historic character of the Pier Head, potential threats to the functional and visual integrity of the site may exist. With the development of guidelines for the application of the

condition of integrity to cultural sites still in process, the potential impacts of contemporary design proposals on historic areas such as the Pier Head will remain difficult to assess' (UNESCO & ICOMOS, 2006).

In response, the LCC has committed itself to introducing a stricter planning control based on a comprehensive analysis of the townscape characteristics, urban pattern, density, and sense of place. This has resulted in the WHS SPD.

In October of the same year, an invitation from the UK government and as a response to the request from the WH Committee to further assess the impacts of the contemporary design proposals on the WHS, a joint reactive mission from the UNESCO and ICOMOS reviewed the state of conservation of the WHS in Liverpool (UNESCO & ICOMOS, 2006). Specific attention was placed on the impact of Mann Island and the New Museum of Liverpool on the OUV of the WHS. This has revealed a significant difference of opinions due to the lack of a common architectural language to assess the new contemporary design proposals. The report shows regarding the three graces, the new developments complement the historic environment of the site, due to its high-quality architectural design and materiality based on the LCC and its partners, including EH (UNESCO & ICOMOS, 2006).

The Mission did not totally agree with the LCC and its partners, the report concluded that despite the design of the new developments on the Pier Head does not exceed the heights of the three graces, however, the whole design with its inclined roofs, sliding forms, the huge scale and asymmetry, deviates from the existing urban pattern and historic character of the area. The report reasoned the absence of specific architectural design guidelines referred to the highly sensitive area of the Pier Head. The report also refers to the complexity of this issue due to the room for interpretation of the existing cultural-historic value and the OUV, with corresponding intense debate, including those in the WH Committee, on the appropriateness of architectural designs (UNESCO & ICOMOS, 2006).

WHS has both positive and negative sides; positive regarding influencing the quality of the design to be to the highest standards; negative regarding that it advocates for a strict planning control, which can diminish developers' creativity.

> 'In Liverpool, a strict planning control can work against the innovation of the city which is the essence of the WHS itself' (KV, 2018).

According to De Frantz (2005), these cultural flagship projects combine competing images of economic regeneration and socio-cultural cohesion within a shared urban symbol of civic pride, yet, Evans (2005) indicated that measuring the outcomes of such flagship cultural

regeneration projects is problematic and difficult to quantify. However, the Museum of Liverpool can be seen as the shift of the city's rationale from achieving global significance through a strong image of an architectural masterpiece to a more explicit cultural approach where the architecture becomes merely the container for that content 'the culture'. The first approach proved to controversial, risky, and ambitious, while the latter is more welcomed, yet less aspiring.

Liverpool waters project was the most controversial project due to the use of distinctive skyscrapers towering over 50 stories (Figure 46), self-sufficient structures powered by wind turbines included in the architecture of the buildings, a new promenade, and new bridges were all part of the initial concept, presented in 2007. Initial plans were for a 60-storey skyscraper to serve as a focal point.



Figure 43 Liverpool Waters project the initial proposal (LBN, 2015)

As a result, the WHS and its buffer zone are surrounded. Nearly 42% of the project's area is within the WHS. For Peel, the project relies on the site's location and Liverpool's unique identities to establish character areas and create an economically and environmentally viable waterfront, considerably strengthening the city's strong identity (Peel Holdings, 2011). Although the project has not been publicised, there have been many worries regarding its

impact on the WHS. However, according to agreed standards, the LCC will work with Peel to conserve, improve, and convey the OUV of the WHS.

Liverpool Waters has attracted media interest due to both its lofty ambition and its challenge to parts of historic protection. In 2007, The Guardian stated that Liverpool Waters represented the most significant investment in northwest England for over 100 years (Carter, 2007). There would be a monorail connecting the city's centre with its airport.

> 'The city has a history of not delivering major waterfront structures, such as Will Alsop's Cloud, but developer Peel Holdings' concept is more magnificent than any previous designs proposed' (Carter, 2007).

Three years after introducing the Liverpool Waters project in 2007, a revised scheme was presented in 2010 for planning clearance. During the consultation process, Peel agreed to remove a handful of skyscrapers and limit the height of structures on the Mersey waterfront to 15 stories (Liverpool Daily Post, 2011). A 60-hectare site was developed in the revised scheme, starting from the north of Liverpool's Pier Head waterfront, and extending to Bramley Moore Dock in the north, besides a cruise ship and several public areas. According to the revised plan, there will be 195m-tall structures in two groups and most medium-rise units along the Mersey River frontage (Figure 47).
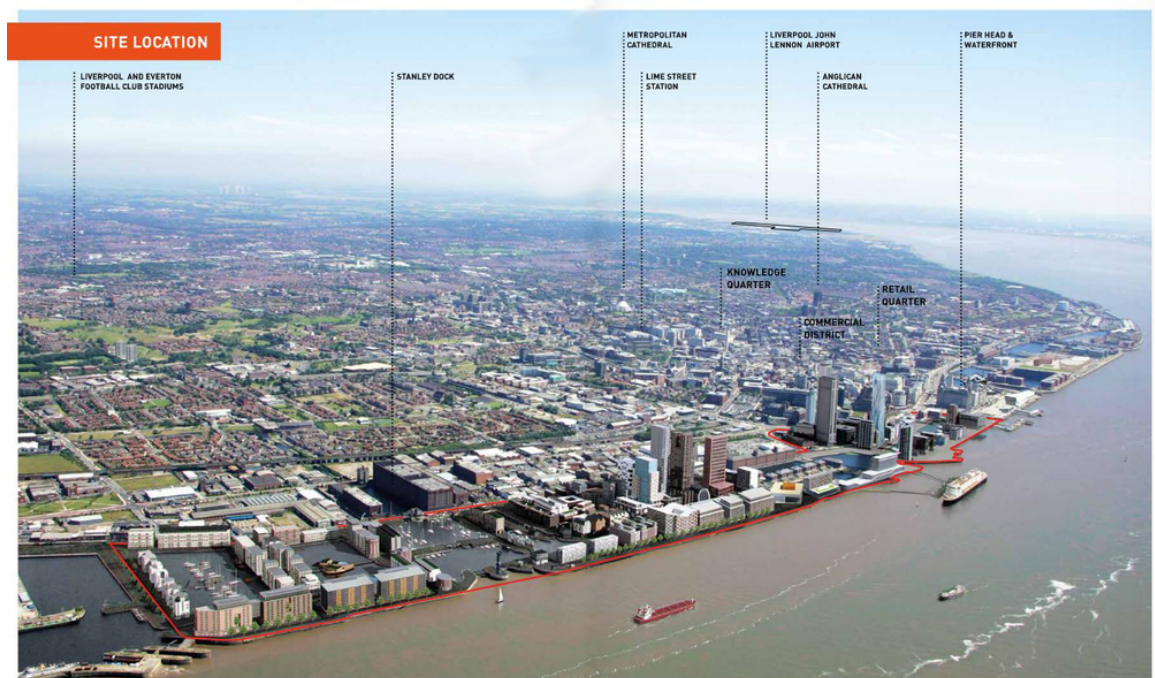


Figure 44 Liverpool Waters revised scheme (Stanley Dock, 2016).

After drastically reducing the scale of the development, the director of investment at Peel holdings stated:

' Peel is not willing to make any further modifications' (Peel Holdings, 2011).

Other people's responses show that Peel's compromises have not yet met critics' expectations. Liverpool Waters Scheme, which EH has endorsed in principle, has been criticised by EH because 'the information in the planning application does not allow the development's impact on historic structures to be correctly assessed' (Liverpool Daily Post, 2011). As a result, EH has said they are prepared to engage closely with Peel and LCC to resolve this.

'The present Liverpool Waters planning application does not properly explain the essence of what is being asked for in the material supplied and does not offer the confidence that a high-quality scheme will emerge' (The Business Desk, 2012).

Peel first worked with EH and CABE to develop a compromise approach to address their worries about history and design. Slowly, Peel lost patience with the pressure from heritage organisations and began refusing to give in to them. This is because Peel has a long way to precede EH will support the project, and since the new construction would not negatively impact Liverpool's WHS (Carter, 2012).

According to Bartlett (2011c) in the Liverpool Daily Post, if the proposal receives planning approval and EH files a complaint, the scheme will be sent to the Communities Secretary for an expensive and protracted public enquiry. Also, EH contracted out the services of a third-party organisation to determine whether Liverpool Waters will have an impact on the WHS (Bond, 2011, p.3). The assessment covered: One is the impact on 33 WHS-identified heritage assets, both direct and indirect. The other is the impact on 15 strategic heritage assets within the wider WHS and its buffer zone. The third is the impact on 31 Central Docks-identified heritage assets, both direct and indirect, and the fourth is the impact on six WHS character areas.

'Innovation' is an intangible quality of Liverpool's OUV that has constantly been regarded as being extremely important to WHS; However, despite some positive benefits, such as preserving individual cultural objects through restoration and reuse, the proposal will negatively impact Liverpool Maritime Mercantile WHS and its OUV, according to the report's conclusions. Due to the application, OUV will be adversely affected including its integrity and authenticity' (Bond, 2011, p.5).

Because of the report's recommendations, EH indicated a formal protest Liverpool Waters. This indicated that 'we are not in a position to evaluate the balance between heritage, which we know about, and economic growth, which we know less about' the EH's Northwest area leader (Bartlett,2012b). 'The proposals would cause severe harm to the WHS OUV', EH said in its formal objection. 'The secondary cluster of tall buildings surrounding the Clarence Dock will overpower the historic horizontal character of the docklands', EH said in its opposition to the project. According to Bartlett (2012) in Liverpool Echo, EH claimed the proposal would 'detract from the historical importance of the Three Graces' and 'would damage the setting of the Stanley Dock warehouses by concealing significant construction on the docks'. Therefore, it was a significant worry for EH, disturbing the townscape coherence of the three graces, as well as the overall integrity of the Liverpool Waters effect on the WHS, which was also a significant issue for UNESCO to indicate in 2011. It has warned the city that it might revoke the WHS classification (Bartlett, 2011a). Bartlett (2011b) stated the decision on the WHS to be added to the endangered list was delayed till the visit of UNESCO inspectors to evaluate the Liverpool waters scheme. As a result, UNESCO sent a reactive monitoring mission to Liverpool to examine the city's WHS.

Because of UNESCO's warning, Liverpool's officials are more concerned.

> 'It is a great shame that UNSECO is taking that view, there are many places across the world where sensitive modern development sites sit alongside historic sites'. Said Chris Grayling (Bartlett, 2011b).

The deputy leader of the Liberal Democrat opposition in the LCC stated that:

> 'Losing our WH status would be a real tragedy' and that 'the Peel development is a hugely optimistic proposal set to last for many years and with an unproven market, while the UNSECO is bringing tourism and therefore, jobs' (Bartlett, 2011a).

As a result, the WHS is more important than skyscrapers to Liverpool's future development. A city-wide debate over what is suitable may be seen in these two remarks from two prominent Liverpool citizens. He argues the city should maintain its individuality and value the WHS over Peel's plans. Expectations of a UNESCO inspection team arriving in Liverpool were making headlines. Participants included representatives from various government departments and community organisations. The consensus was that Liverpool needed both the WHS status and the Liverpool Waters project, and the city needed to urge UNESCO and Peel to propose a compromise. CBI director Damian Waters stated,

> 'Of all the WHS in the UK that reflect Britain's business and commercial heritage, Liverpool is one of the most important'. This landmark is located amid Liverpool's business area and is fundamentally different from other tourist attractions such as Stonehenge or Durham Cathedral in that respect. Liverpool businesses are proud of their heritage. They would not support anything that would undermine the city's magnificent architecture, which is, after all, one of the city's greatest assets and selling points. However, UNESCO must understand that Liverpool has formidable economic challenges' (Thorp, 2019a) .

The Mayor of Liverpool Joe Anderson delivered a statement that was quite supportive of the proposal.

> 'WHS's OUV can be preserved while also reflecting the requirements of a growing city, we feel. No one has any access to it right now, and it seems absurd that this is tolerated. It is a fantastic project by Peel Holdings, which preserves its legacy and brings it back into use for the public to enjoy. The city is ready to battle for both may be deduced from these feelings' (Thorp, 2019b).

The UNESCO monitoring mission visited Liverpool in November 2011 to determine whether Liverpool should lose its WHS designation. Unexpectedly, Bartlett (2011a) noted the monitoring mission report did not say what would happen if no modifications were made. The study called for the LCC, EH, and Peel Holdings to settle on the Liverpool Waters proposal. However, the report of the monitoring expedition was harsh on Liverpool Waters. This would cause irreversible harm to the three graces' architectural style and townscape coherence, as well as a significant loss of historical authenticity and cultural importance, according to the research (UNESCO, 2011, p.4). A thorough HIA, commissioned by EH, was also endorsed by the mission, which voiced severe concern about detrimental impacts on the OUV of Liverpool's WHS. According to the mission based on Peel Holdings HIA

> 'the visual and physical impacts on heritage assets are negligible, alongside the positive socio-economic impacts generated by the scheme regarding revenue and employment generation' (UNESCO, 2011, p.4).

Monitoring missions by UNESCO in 2011 was highly critical of the proposed project's impact on the city's skyline. By adding two towering buildings three times taller than those in the city's historic core, it argues, the city's profile would be shifted to the north, with the three graces relegated to second fiddle, and so losing a pivotal reference to the city's illustrious history.

Aside from that, they criticised the project's architecture as it would split and isolate distinct dock Sections instead of integrating them. It would also change the interaction between the

different components of the World Heritage site, compromising its integrity to a significant degree.

On the other hand, UNESCO disagrees with the Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City WHS SPD, which was adopted in October 2009 by LCC. The suggestion that two secondary clusters of high-rise buildings could be built in the buffer zone, away from the significant cluster of the Central Business District, which is in a way like Peebles, is cited as an example. UNESCO (2011) considered this idea to conflict with the 2006 mission recommendations. As a result, LCC and UNESCO's relationship has deteriorated (DZ, 2018).

In the media coverage of the UNESCO monitoring mission, there was a persistent worry that what UNESCO offered to the city as worldwide recognition, on one hand, may be taken away on the other. As the Liverpool Echo (2014) noted,

> 'Do not Punish the City of Liverpool, UNESCO, we also do not want to miss out on an intriguing and ambitious project that promises to revitalise and rebuild the impoverished northern docklands - bringing new hope, new possibilities, and new employment… You can rely on us to continue integrating the old with the modern while maintaining the status you gave us'.

According to suggestions made by the WH Centre/ICOMOS monitoring mission to Liverpool in 2006, the LCC and EH produced the WHS SPD. There are specific guidelines for the development, regeneration, and protection of the WHS in the SPD, as well as a forward-looking vision to the future. This declaration reflects the city's worry and anguish over losing the WHS award. During this time, several possibilities of what would happen were explored in the media, revealing the two groups' contrasting viewpoints. Liverpool's Mayor was quoted saying that he wanted both the Liverpool Waters project and the WHS award.

Bartlett (2012) describes this process in further detail. To satisfy EH and UNESCO, the LCC could try to put limitations on the project, and predicted, if a compromise cannot be found, which is increasingly likely. If they do not get their way, Peel has vowed to walk away from the past. Although Liverpool cannot reject the proposals to generate 20,000 jobs and revitalise the docklands, Bartlett (2012) argued the project's future is unknown, the city's WHS is in danger, and a public inquiry is likely. Because of EH's and UNESCO's goals and the scale of the retail elements outside the city centre, the planning proposal will be sent to the community secretary to see if he requests a public inquiry considering the threat to the WHS designation.

A planning application for Liverpool Waters was accepted in February 2012, which has significant consequences for the WHS designation. After that decision, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee placed Liverpool on the list of WHS in Danger, with the potential of the property being removed from the list if this present initiative is executed (UNESCO, 2012). Liverpool Echo (2012) asserted:

> 'We cannot overlook its potential windfall for our economic fortune, despite acknowledging the threat presented by heritage authorities Liverpool Waters is the city's plan to revitalise the north docklands'.

According to this article, the plans for Liverpool Waters reflect the SRF's goal and vision (Chapter 5). As the scale and diversity of waterfront offerings and the related economy of Liverpool Waters may be a game-changer for the city in the same way that Hamburg, Chicago, Toronto, or Barcelona have been.

Eric Pickles, Communities Secretary, said in March 2013 that he would not call for a public investigation into Peel's Liverpool Waters proposal due to EH's objection. As for Liverpool Waters, he stated the city's councillors would be the ones to make the final choice.

Liverpool Waters' effect on the WHS was also a significant issue for UNESCO in 2011. It has warned the city that it might revoke the WHS classification (Bartlett, 2011a). He stated Liverpool has delayed deciding on Liverpool Waters until after the visit of UNESCO inspectors. As a result, UNESCO sent a reactive monitoring mission to Liverpool to examine the city's WHS. He said the city had established its campaign group to prevent UNESCO from withdrawing.

Although EH had always believed it was possible to develop a scheme that would have created jobs and economic growth while enhancing, rather than harming, Liverpool's outstanding heritage. Bartlett (2011b) reported, 'we are disappointed that Peel failed to take this opportunity'. Although the project's legal difficulties have been overcome, nothing has happened on the ground. Lindsay Ashworth, the Peel development director, said, 'we are in a recession, and we need a stronger market situation to get things moving again' (Bartlett, 2011b)

## 6.4. Conclusion

Heritage conservation of WHS acts as a point where varying understandings of heritage, heritage governance and conservation planning intersect and challenge one another. If we

look at the different interpretations of heritage among different actors and various levels, we find an initial willingness to integrate a universal understanding of heritage which became entrenched through the power discourses. The issue is the unconscious and conscious behaviour of those who have the autonomy and leverage over others and who have the legitimised justification of why adopting certain views is more beneficiary. The process, we are discussing develops, over time, to be shaped in this way. Even with the same process occurring, the actors themselves are changing, adding more complexity to the process. Sometimes, they are even replaced to get people who are on board with such an approach and understanding.

The programme adopted for development changes and shifts gradually. Whether they were preferentially selected, this claim illustrates the tension of heritage conservation approach on different levels. As discussed in Chapter 5, the SRF, LPD and SPD are distinct in their emphasis on collective responsibility the city shares to achieve the aspiration for Liverpool to be a 'Global city' whether by urban regeneration approach or heritage conservation approach. However, this was not reflected. The heritage conservation approach related to UNESCO's operational guidelines, was not contributing to altering the negative image of the city, as expected. It was an obstacle to development which was echoed in some projects that threaten the townscape coherence of heritage. LCC pursued these schemes as a way of normalising development in one direction (urban regeneration approach). However, that is only one side of the story. From UNESCO's side, the development is threatening the OUV of the heritage and local and national governments are in favour of that to maximise the economic gains of the city/country. The vagueness of what OUV entails left room for confusion and misconception of some of the main elements of the WHS. This misconception let UNESCO authorise the nomination of Liverpool as a WHS even though some of those projects were already submitted with the management planning documents for the WHS. When outlining their initial motivations for joining WHL, many participants are initially attracted to this status as they provide automatic global recognition due to the attention given to such organisations, which may lead to subsequent opportunities for the city's development. Thus, the power dynamics here played a significant role in setting the priorities for WHS conservation/management and development.

The power dynamics here even was twined with the technical approach and language used in heritage conservation. Recalling the discussion in Chapter 2 with the subjectivity of heritage, even though it is claimed to be objective, the technicalities of heritage conservation

are responding to a high level of technical expertise and depth of knowledge regarding each site's character. Yet this imperative is about more than simply creating a dynamic and evolving city for future development or therefore contributing to livelihoods. The ways these initiatives portray value and culture also responded to the broader political imaginaries of the neoliberal 'enabling cities' and entrepreneurial forms of socio-economic development. Therefore, the need to find the base for a common technical language among different actors is crucial in heritage conservation regardless of the implementation level.

# 7. CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION

## 7.1. Introduction

The ongoing problem of heritage sites that have been removed or added to the endangered list of WHS is a story that never cannot strike us with some crucial facts. Success stories of heritage conservation and management, the continuously revealed facts about State Parties gaining more power or say than others and the difficulties facing management of WHS appear to be left as a memory without solid actions. The news of removing Liverpool's WHS is a recognition of this ongoing process. Despite the negotiations and efforts by Liverpool, they were perceived as meaningless or little from UNESCO's perspective.

This Chapter restates the main goals and significant results of this thesis to understand, how the global heritage conservation approach is localised to inform Liverpool's urban transformation and regeneration. Besides analysing the different backgrounds and the historical transformation of different organisations and institutions (LCC, UK as a State Party and UNESCO) in heritage conservation practice.

Specifically, the research findings are analysed from two accounts: 1) the political-economic power of global heritage, and 2) the breakdown of their process to localise the heritage conservation approach. Chapters 2 and 3 indicated the difference in heritage conservation approaches between the global, national, and local levels. In the first account, the global level is structured around global institutional order, or their network, which comprises strong and culturally empowered and legitimated actors who act through its network of influence and operate as a constitutive and directive environment for states, business enterprises, groups, and individuals. While the national level operated within national regulations and framework which guides the development of the country and accordingly informs the local level developments. This does not mean sharing the same rationale in integrating the global heritage conservation and management plans as intended. This difference is informed by Rose's (1996) concept of 'Global Governmentality' to unpack institutional historical transformation and ideologies within their practices (tools and instruments) as the unit of analysis rather than mapping practice which conforms to rationalities. Therefore, the forms of cultural capital were used to elaborate on the different ideologies of the stakeholders and how they shaped the interpretation of global heritage conservation on the local level.

The Second account is the use of technical and managerial approaches to serve as a soft power of negotiations by considering the commitments and disputes around accountability across various levels of heritage conservation efforts. The expectations regarding State Parties' responsibilities for heritage conservation constitute a form of unrealistic and diminishing role in heritage governance. In the end, this thesis advocates for a more comprehensive examination of the connection between the technical approach of heritage conservation and decisions made for management and development via a critical analysis of how various players are connected to these schemes/processes.

## 7.2. The Conflict Between Global, National and Local

With the growing pressure of the socio-economic benefits of heritage, transnational discourses evolve with their own set of practices and thus the heritage is supported, promoted, and developed by a network of powerful institutions. The word powerful here is related to the sufficient knowledge, area of expertise and resources they must control and manage heritage. This understanding goes with the governmentality concept by Foucault (1991). This concept is to be located well beyond the traditional domains of political institutions and encompasses many ways of shaping people's behaviour by applying specialised bodies of knowledge. This shows that 'heritage' constitutes an unusual field of government. This unusual field of government has its ideas and practices; focusing on how the heritage could be used as an objectified state to acquire cultural capital through possessing them. Imposing regulations and principles to shape heritage management and conservation in a way to reflect its cultural capital.

However, there are tensions imposed by powerful organisations such as UNESCO, which is represented via the symbolic weight of its significance as a global recognition representing the institutionalised state of cultural capital form. Even though the concept of global heritage reflects the WH status as a universal entity transcending the national boundaries, it reinforces the power of the nation-state. Therefore, the dilemma between globalisation versus nationalism is one of the main core issues represented in Liverpool's WHS.

Being a WHS is challenging due to the different stakeholders involved in heritage conservation and management, with all their different ideologies and interests. In the literature review (Chapter 2,3) the different goals and principles of heritage conservation between global (UNESCO), national (UK- HE) and local (LCC) were obvious due to several reasons such as:

The main aim of UNESCO is to safeguard heritage with universal values for all mankind (Chapter 2). HE approaches are shifted towards a 'heritage-led' regeneration approach to ensure that heritage is used as a catalyst for city development. While LCC falls into the dilemma of achieving the balance to integrate the WHS within its operational guidelines and the national conservation policies which have different core values in its local development plan. In Chapter 5, Liverpool used Sassen's (1994) concept of the global city to reassert the importance of 'place' in the economy of globe-straddling firms and forces. Reframing its history and cultural heritage as a selling point to be addressed within the global economic network. With Liverpool's acute situation, the need for global recognition such as UNESCO was needed to position itself as a global city. The outsized economic and general importance of these cities, partially de-linked from their surroundings and more dependent on global trends and currents, also supporting the emergence of 'global cities' results in the nation's decline as a spatial unit. This decline matches UNESCO's goal, as mentioned earlier, regarding transcending the national borders of the heritage to be a universal value.

However, implementing the WHC was complicated and there was no clear consensus on its interpretation by the State Parties (Section 3.5). The perception of global heritage conservation by LCC is an obstacle to development due to the complexity of its implementation and how it is going to be localised informing the city's development. As a result, Liverpool used a heritage-led regeneration approach in formulating its local development plans following the national conservation policy (Chapter 5) and giving permission to selected projects to serve this approach. The limited guidance on how the WHC is localised; led Liverpool to treat the WH status as an isolated island using its technicality as guidance for development without reflecting its intangible values (Figure 48).

Due to this tension of being an agent for change or an obstacle to development, Figure 48 represents conservation planning was suffering from two axes of pressure. The first axis is the lack of cultural awareness to recognise heritage values, which cannot achieve the balance between market-driven forces and the regulatory system.

**Failure of balance between market driven forces and regulatory systems**

**conservation objectives** exist in **competition** with other **elite interests**

**City**

Heritage site

**values** are driven by **economic benefits** represented in the **material reality** of the historic environment.

**Lack of political will and cultural awareness of the decision makers to recognise cultural values**

Figure 45 represents the conflict between the desired economic benefit for Liverpool and the conservation objectives of the heritage site (Researcher, 2022)

As stated in Section 5.2.2 and Liverpool's desperate situation for development, the aspiration for development used two techniques: the choice of controversial projects and best practices as discussed in Section 5.3.2. of similar port cities but not necessarily WHS. The former discussed the use of controversial projects (Chapter 6) such as the Fourth grace as an example of the need to grasp international attention and shape the city's new image. It was a political decision as stated by the steering committee of the WHS taken as a part of ECOC'08 bidding to ensure the positive impact it could add to the city's transformation. Although there were concerns from UNESCO's side about this project and how it will threaten the coherence of the WHS, the council was moving forward with this project. It was evident when the 'cloud' was selected due to being the most controversial project among the public, which was not reflecting the WH values. Though it was defended as being a representation of what Liverpool is about the controversy and that when the three graces were built; they represented the same controversy. This controversy, as discussed by Yaneva (2016); its importance is a methodological tool that gains insight into key processes, which usually remain invisible. The more controversial it gets the more attention will be drawn towards Liverpool and its capacity to alter the negative image perceived through announcing explicitly that this is the aspiration for development. However, the project was dropped due to the limited financial resources within the city council to support such a project, which automatically responded to UNESCO's concerns without even acknowledging it.

The latter is the use of the best practices approach, which was mentioned in the SRF document (Chapter 5): the waterfront ambitions for development following Medienhafen, Dusseldorf and Southbank, Melbourne, to focus on two main aspects (Liverpool Vision, 2012):

- The use of large new iconic forms of architecture 'enabling the city to be an experiment'.
- The comprehensive regeneration and development programme to change the industrial face of Liverpool creating a new place.

Using best practice examples to learn from was not based on being a WHS as well neglecting a crucial fact that affects the design guidelines for development within Liverpool's waterfront based on the WHC and its operational guidelines. It was evident when the Liverpool waters project (Chapter 6) was given the outline of planning approval. The original scheme was developed around iconic skyscrapers with over 50 storeys, self-sufficient powered by wind turbines incorporated into the design of the buildings. Besides being developed around the concept of 'Shanghai Tower' as a centrepiece of a 60-storey height. Therefore, Liverpool was listed on the WH endangered list due to this original scheme, which was highlighted in the monitoring mission in 2011.

> 'Regarding visual perception, the redevelopment scheme will fragment and isolate the different dock areas, instead of integrating them into one continuous historic urban landscape… the development scheme does not reflect, nor evolve from the fragile and subtle yet significant heritage structures present in the dock areas. Instead, it treats the inscribed site and its buffer zones differently (regarding building height) …It also considers the introduction of a cluster of high-rise buildings, with towers three times the height of the Three Graces, would destroy the more or less symmetrical city profile which is expressed as a three-tiered urban structure including the waterfront, the massing and height of the Three Graces' (UNESCO, 2012).

The choice of the best practice examples was not helpful to inform and shape the WHS development and management, yet it was used as a selling or branding image for development attracting inward investment stating that Liverpool is moving forward towards this direction to be a 'world-class waterfront' (Chapter 5). However, it created a conflict in understanding or translating the global heritage conservation approach on the local level. This translation was challenging due to the different technicalities interpreted and perceived differently by the different stakeholders, which are discussed in the next Section.

## 7.3. Lines of Interpretation (Technical approach)

The heritage in this Section is analysed as a representational cultural process in which it is performed and practised within a rigid set of principles and guidelines. However, it is conceptualised as something subjective and always in the process of 'making' through the different interpretations of those principles and guidelines.

The subjectivity of heritage in the process of 'making' here is divided into two approaches: 'meaning-making', which is also seen in Gee's (2004) notion of 'discourse', and a process of 'knowledge/power' interaction. Foucault's discourse brings about the world as we know it. Such information is equated with reality itself, which creates power. To know something means we are in the discourse's regime that builds this thing. We then restrict or regulate our methods of being and doing by that knowledge and speech. Knowledge and the discourse that produces it exercise power upon us. It was clear in Chapter 6 that different interpretations and projects selection reflected those two approaches.

The meaning-making approach (discourse) in which heritage is not an objective entity waiting to be discovered or identified; rather, it is understood through values to understand its significance to the world and its surrounding context. This notion is adopted by UNESCO via the identification of OUV with other criteria to be added to the WH list and by HE, as well as represented on the different values of heritage, as shown in Figure 11. The focus is on interpreting the OUV of Liverpool's WHS and how it is translated into the physical attributes and characteristics to apply UNESCO's operational guidelines for development to identify the differences and consensus of the technical aspects of heritage conservation between the different actors and how the different ideologies influenced the interpretation of those values.

After summarising each age, the preceding Section showed the intricacy of waterfront regeneration and summarised the major aspects of each period. As part of the regeneration process, various urban concerns were highlighted, and they were investigated both in their broader and local contexts. Under the following subheadings, this part tries to bring the research back to the forefront by focusing on the significant concerns.

### 7.3.1. Values Interpretation

Despite many formal reflections on OUV performed by the WH community of experts (Chapter 2), some critical questions remain unresolved, preventing State Parties from fully

comprehending and implementing this concept. When properties are added to the WH list, they are considered to have intrinsic values rooted in the physical fabric of their structures or landscapes. These values are believed to be timeless and appreciated by all people, regardless of their background or geographic location. Treating them this way removes them from their history, the larger social and cultural milieu that influences them, and the fluctuating or contradictory importance that various persons might attribute to them. However, it is challenging for State Parties to protect their heritage, which is viewed as intrinsic as their motivation to add WHS to the list goes back to a different understanding of boosting nationalism, which is going to be discussed later.

This concept of intrinsic values, as Labadi (2017) discussed could indicate the committee's fear of losing the veneer of objectivity the WHC claims to have. However, recognising extrinsic values creates a metaphorical floodgate, since many values might be found and offered for a particular location. As seen in official papers linked to the Convention and in their actual execution, this institutional concern may also explain the difficulties of incorporating broader societal challenges into the criteria of OUV.

Strangely enough, recent sessions of the WH Committee, such as those held in Brazil in 2010 and Paris in 2011, have shown that this mask of neutrality is progressively being chipped away. For example, these two sessions saw several nomination dossiers referred or deferred because OUV was not reflected in the site's fabric or property. Also, in 2011, ICOMOS recommended that historic Bridgetown, Barbados, be included in the WH List. The Committee, however, opted to overrule ICOMOS and inscribe nominated sites on the list based on more intangible merits. These changes are not necessarily seamless; experts who attended these meetings have cautioned that this inclination to overrule advisory body recommendations and list sites on fewer 'objective' criteria will damage the legitimacy of the WH Committee's list in the long run. They argue the WH criteria would be construed from a personal perspective. This perspective might lead to any property being inscribed on the list, regardless of the OUV.

The convention was interpreted by State Parties nationally, neglecting any contemporary societal issues. It was reflected in Liverpool and how it used WH status promoting for a positive image of Liverpool's potential for development. The content of its nomination dossier was not neutral, transcending the national boundaries. It contains the seeds to fuel controversies and conflicts. Liverpool used this superlative approach to substantiate assertions of superiority and primacy which was needed to attract inward investment

(Chapter 5). These claims emphasise the distinctions between different cultures instead of promoting concepts of a shared and similar past and legacy across nations adopted by UNESCO and its WH status. For example, the tourism increases these nationalist projections of heritage frequently attempt to promote was reflected in Liverpool's regeneration approach (Chapter 6). However, an uncontrolled increase; affects the WHS negatively if they are not maintained correctly or if alteration thresholds and regulated access are not established. This assumption that merely implementing the convention automatically results in post-nationalism and peace, sustainable development, and social cohesion, may account for the convention's absence of recommendations on some essential principles that should have driven its implementation (Chapter 2).

Accordingly, States Parties applied these notions as they see fit, which frequently leads to nations invoking and materialising these concepts in ways that contradict UNESCO's and the WHC's goals. This absence of standards leads to the devaluation and meaninglessness of these crucial ideas, which aid in the value-led identification, conservation, and management of WHS. This situation accounts for many WHS now threatened by severe risks, such as overdevelopment or a lack of adequate management mechanisms.

Thus, LCC's perception of OUV lies in their extrinsic qualities was the core difference between UNESCO and LCC in interpreting and implementing the WHC. WH status was used as a catalyst to promote tourism, economic development, and urban regeneration; without the full exploitation of the WH status itself (Chapter 6).

### 7.3.2. Historic Environment with Contemporary and Iconic Architecture

Any development with a WHS context attempts to include contemporary and, to a lesser extent, iconic architecture (Singh, 2011). There may be some disagreement on the significance of modern and iconic architecture in a historical setting. However, the Modern architecture shown by Pier Head Waterfront's regeneration projects highlights historical concerns regarding the New Museum of Liverpool and Mann Island Development inclusion (Chapter 7). However, the buildings in question were not contentious due to their designs, but due to the historical environment in which they were placed. Thus, UNESCO's approach suggests that modern architecture must be contextualised within its surroundings to ensure the new pieces of architecture will add to the environment, respect the dominant heritage buildings representing its history and result in a coherent whole. This perception by LCC

portrayed the global heritage conservation as a constraint for development and kills creativity within the city and does not reflect the OUV of Liverpool's WHS from this lens.

However, it contradicts the aspired image of the city's development as a 'Global City' which led to choosing examples representing a World-class waterfront in the SRF document (Chapter 5). This was the reason to choose controversial projects on the waterfront such as the fourth grace, which was dropped for financial issues.

Yet the WH status played an important role in how to portray Liverpool and alter its negative image, which led to a compromisation to choose a contemporary architecture that reflects modern Liverpool and strives for a better future. 6.5.1.2. and 6.5.1.3 examine the new Museum of Liverpool and Mann Island Development and the reason for their designs, which might serve as an example of how to deal with contextual integration difficulties. However, the design concepts of those two projects integrated the WHC in its development as an attempt to respect the local within the global perspective.

With iconic architecture, it is more complicated. Some scholars perceive the relationship between famous structures and urban planning as incongruous (Section 5.3.1.). More precisely there is a special synergy about waterfront projects which turns large tracts of highly visible public land into the opportunity for a new urban iconography; such projects can revitalise the waterfront, attract investment, build local political capital, and serve as effective advertising for further investment (Chapter 5). Liverpool's use of landmarks was to increase the city's competitiveness by reproducing its image. The Fourth Grace project illustrates that iconic architecture is more than just black and white, it is a contextual issue. Thus, the success of iconic architecture, for example depends on the acceptance of the locals and acknowledging its importance within the city's development and what it represents. With heritage conservation, the quality of the historically built environment and its values represents the place's identity, focusing on local development rather than iconic architecture to alienate the city and replace its identity with no clear justification. However, the justification for choosing iconic controversial architecture with the fourth grace project was through interpreting the heritage values. Claiming that Liverpool is about innovation and technology the fourth grace project reflects such values. While from a different perspective, it could mean disrespecting the historically built environment and the history it represents. These perspectives and justifications are subjective according to the stakeholders' or users' backgrounds, as discussed in Section 7.3.1. The focus should be on the objectivity of the values to avoid bias with the global system.

The disagreement between LCC and UNESCO on the choice of the project was clear. LCC will go through implementing the project to achieve urban competitiveness and have a positive impact on the city's image for development. Ignoring the fact, the WH status was used as a driver for development due to the pre-assumption that WH status would be a barrier instead of a catalyst for development. This might go with the fact that parallel initiatives were done, such as ECOC'08 with its tangible effect on the city's development that was favoured by LCC.

Heritage conservation has been a significant concern for Liverpool's waterfront redevelopment. For example, Liverpool has gone from a rigorous preservationist strategy where heritage was viewed as a catalyst for renewal (WH status attracting investment and increasing tourism) to an approach that views heritage as part of the regeneration process, and to some extent, a barrier. Over time, the function of heritage has evolved depending on the local and global environment and the major players participating in the regeneration.

### 7.3.3. Significance of Place Marketing, Branding, and the City's Image.

Place marketing and branding have played a growing part in Liverpool's development, both as a response to the city's severe worldwide intercity competitiveness and in confronting the city's outmoded image. As a result, Liverpool's marketing strategy was heavily focused on creating a Liverpool brand to showcase the city's various, yet complementary, strengths (Liverpool Vision, 2012).

The redevelopment of the preceding decade was critical in developing and strengthening the city's brand to reposition Liverpool on the global economic network. As discussed by the head of the visitor economy at LEP.

> 'The Liverpool brand, with its waterfront and WHS, is quite powerful globally today; it is a distinct aspect of Liverpool, and we have to use our international brand, which has the potential to make a great difference' (ZY, 2018).

As part of the 'Global City' brand, Liverpool's city centre and waterfront were the city's focus for development. However, Liverpool's primary motive is political, supported by a simple approach to economic growth: an approach that prioritises large-scale projects sponsored by outside investors–speculators, regardless of their impact on the city's heritage and its people. The challenge for this economic growth was obvious in attracting inward investments. Therefore, Liverpool used its culture and heritage as drivers for the city's transformation and as a branding resource to encourage local improvements to get national and worldwide

prominence. The WHS designation has several advantages in conveying stories and identifying the city in this utilitarian-political era. Several reasons for this include the WH status has a worldwide recognised certification which is considered an institutionalised state of capital culture (Bourdieu, 1986), which sets it apart from sites without it—branding a place. It also conveys values, exclusivity, and differentiation (Labadi, 2007; Meskell, 2015). The WH designation cannot be established or manufactured just by marketing professionals since it is reviewed and granted by UNESCO; this ensures the heritage site is authentic, rather than merely an advertising and marketing tool for profit. Thus, keeping this WH designation was challenging with the need to regenerate the city. The immediate effect of the WH status was not felt as much as the ECOC'08.

The rebuilding of Liverpool's images resulted from cultural policy, more especially the ECOC'08. Events are widely acknowledged as a tool for image transformation, particularly with cities whose image was heavily influenced by their industrial background (Ferrari & Adamo, 2006; Richards & Palmer, 2010). By establishing a counterbalancing cultural image, cities may establish a worldwide reputation (Richards, 2000; Richards & Palmer, 2010). One of the most significant issues that dominated national newspapers was the shift in public opinions of Liverpool as a city and the reversal of unfavourable preconceptions, which was needed by the city to thrive.

> 'It is hard to travel around Liverpool now and argue that it has not altered beyond the wildest imaginations of even recent years when walking through an often empty town at night was as unpleasant and potentially hazardous as taking the Road to Jericho. Our ECOC'08 plan's best tactic was to have five thematic lead-up years, establishing a profile that attracted people to come and live and invest here' (Liverpool Daily Echo, 2008).

Though there were questions raised concerning the usefulness of cultural activities implemented in Liverpool and the definition of culture. The emphasis on the economical use of the events during ECOC'08 runs counter to the traditional definition of 'culture'. This discursive environment explained the formation of a local discussion aimed at combating the wrong impressions of Liverpool fostered by the national media. Throughout the programme, Liverpool was portrayed as a showcase for similar events to be held in the UK, but also as an example of best practise at the European level:

> 'The Government has accepted the proposal that one of the legacies of what is also the UK's Capital of Culture should be to build on the 2008 experience and establish a UK Cities of Culture initiative' (Daily Post, 2009).

This process was critical in defining Liverpool's new prominence on the European scene. It demonstrates the effectiveness of the city's effort to display its 'culture vitality on an international stage' (The Guardian, 2008) via a process of 'cultural revival and long-term redevelopment initiatives' (Daily Post, 2009).

Thus, this predominating issue in the newspaper discourse showed the perception of the national and international attitudes about Liverpool's shifting. Thus, Liverpool was placed within a larger and more networked European region, where information sharing about the cultural agenda was critical. It was a significant programme for Liverpool as it demonstrates not only Liverpool's position as a critical player in the European dimension within the discourse of local newspapers, but also this was being adopted on a larger scale beyond the city:

> 'We have developed highly sophisticated international networks, and delegates from the city are being invited to attend central conferences' (Daily Post, 2009).

Part of the ECOC'08 programme was the choice of the fourth grace project 'The Cloud' which was the most controversial among the shortlisted ones. This is to keep this momentum of discussions on Liverpool. On the other hand, UNESCO showed great concern about the impact of 'The Cloud project on the coherence of the WHS skyline, dominating the three graces as the main image of the city's culture and history (Chapter 6). The project was going to be implemented even if it costs losing the WH status, but it helps in the city branding to change the negative perception of the city.

## 7.4. Technical approach as a Negotiation Tool

The OUV of WHS indicates the cultural significance of the site, which accordingly informs the intervention procedures occurring within its boundaries. This intervention procedure (Chapter 2) focused on the visual qualities e.g. materials, form, texture, scale, and colour. Therefore, one of the crucial operational guidelines of the WHC is ruling out any intervention procedures and intrusion that may adversely affect this visual setting or the 'appreciation or enjoyment of the place'. These ingrained ideals of the conservation experts' 'authorised heritage discourse' (Smith, 2006) that emphasised the physical and inherent features persisted in the global heritage conservation approach.

One aspect of the global heritage conservation approach built on was Cullen's notion of serial vision to protect the visual experiences of such sites represented by the significance of key

views and vistas for the management of the WHS (Chapter 2). The SPD identified the main key views and vistas within the WHS boundaries, whether from the Mersey River or the key routes leading to the waterfront (Chapter 5). Therefore, the three graces were emphasised as the crucial element within the coherence of the WHS skyline. This was considered when the Mann Island project was designed, it respected those key views towards the three graces from Albert dock.

Besides, using the contextual design for new urban developments (Larkham, 1996) produces 'a modern architecture that is attentive to and consistent with the surroundings' (Tyler, 2000, p. 139). Vienna Declaration (2005) 'emphasises the necessity to contextualise modern architecture in the historic urban setting appropriately' by 'researching to assess the influence on cultural, visual or other qualities' (UNESCO, 2005). Mann Island's project again reflected those principles in the design using colours and form. However, the approach did not achieve its message, yet the project was criticised heavily among the locals. Same with the Pier Head development and the use of materials and introducing the canal as a representation of the Maritime Mercantile history of the city. Besides the positive impact of ECOC'08 events on the city, Pier Head public realm design emphasised this significance by creating Pier Head village. They were criticised as well for not being fully exploited regarding its intangible heritage and the wide range of opportunities the WHS can support. Thus, the ideology for the development of the waterfront was purely regenerating and revitalising the area after being abandoned for a long time. So, interpreting this symbolic language used to deliver the values of the WHS varied between different stakeholders and the locals.

Even UNESCO accepted the Mann Island project and the museum of Liverpool based on respecting the context and not threatening the three graces' dominance. However, this is subjective as the use of dark colours with this building's volumes and materials could be visually dominating the skyline of the waterfront. As well as the use of the Museum of Liverpool's contemporary design with its location, could have the same impact. Therefore, the rejection of the Cloud project due to its threats to the coherence of the historical context of the WHS was not justified enough. Modern design trends can replicate old ones using the same materials, detailing, and massing (Tyler, 2000). For example, the new urbanist notions of place identify archetypes and typologies whose various compositions shape the townscape to retain the aesthetic effect of the urban landscape, which is historical. These archetypes are subsequently converted into building codes and construction guides within the heritage conservation practice (Arefi & Triantafillou, 2005). However, historicists have criticised this

approach as it removes the aesthetic qualities that characterise each age and civilisation (Ellin, 1999; Jokilehto, 1999). Historicism has also been criticised for being a nostalgic rejection of the present by idealising the past (Lowenthal, 2002) or emphasising the visual aesthetic to satisfy the commercial heritage sector (Zukin, 1995). In response, suitable designs emerged that use entirely contemporary design elements while being sensitive to the historical composition regarding spatial arrangements, size, and scale (Tyler, 2000).

On the other hand, those design concepts reflect and respect the physical characteristics of the WHS, yet the intangible values were ignored during the process due to the lack of guidance on how they could be integrated. The need for a catalyst, not a barrier for development, was repeatedly mentioned in several documents as a justification for the use of a contemporary design approach within the WHS. However, with the 'Pier Head village' as an open theatre of public events as a continuity of the ECOC'08 effect on the city's tourism and it was criticised by experts as a disrespect of the historical concept contradicting the same claim mentioned previously.

Thus, the design was used as a tool for negotiation between LCC, UNESCO and developers. It was evident in the Liverpool waters project when first the proposal got permission from LCC; UNESCO has shown concerns about the cluster of tall buildings exceeding the height of the three graces. However, there was the West Tower within the buffer zone of the WHS, which exceeded the height of the three graces, was accepted with no concerns about the WHS coherence. This exception might go back to several reasons. For example, Liverpool's water project depends on a cluster of tall buildings as a reflection of Singapore's 'World Class' waterfront (Figure 49); so, with their number, form, scale, and architecture style, distract the focus on the three graces as Liverpool's waterfront image and WHS focal point. It is not only about tall buildings. However, there might be a counter-argument the existence of a contrast between old and modern does not threaten the WHS coherence but emphasises the significance of each era within the city's transformation. This was the same with the Mersey ferry terminal building (Figure 48) which won the carbuncle cup for being the ugliest building in the country. It was perceived as an odd item within the context of Pier Head, thus increasing the focus on the three graces.

With the global vision, significant shares of people's cultural horizons are shaped by the images and messages arising in metropolitan contexts, many of which are geographically distant. While, regarding travel destinations as a target market, cities are turned into objects of direct consumption, which was the main goal to be achieved by the Liverpool waters

project through different uses and activities. The dominant image of the city, regarding historical narrative, characteristics, buildings, and companies, was consumed in a manner influenced by the developers, and reinforced by mediated signs. Thus, practitioners were working on the symbolic refuelling of the WHS with its buffer zone as-commodity.

This leads the city's development or transformation to be torn by the opposition between stability and change, old and contemporary. Therefore, the city must remain the same in order not to lose its historic inheritance, and local identity, while economic flows must change to keep the city Thriving. As means of mediating between the two processes, the commercial creation of a city image was used to keep up economic and social transitions without sacrificing local identity as an approach to shift from industrialism to post-industrialism is a good example of how image creation may merge place-specific narratives with socioeconomic change (Harvey, 1990; Zukin, 1992).

## 7.5. Power Dynamics between Different Actors

Heritage conservation is a contentious issue in urban planning. This is partially connected to the complexity of determining which parts of the built environment should be maintained for future generations and reconciling different alternatives. It can also be challenging to define definite interpretations for heritage value and significance, as discussed earlier in the Chapter, partially because heritage has evolved from a strictly aesthetic and historical concept to social, economic, and cultural components. Changing an approach to cope with the past in planning practice reflects these developing understandings. Those challenges were evident with the power dynamics between actors regarding the decision-making process.

From the analysis (Chapter 5,6) heritage was at the centre of politics in Liverpool. Between a set of guidance of HE and operational guidelines of the WHC which define the elements of the heritage, which institutions and persons may decide over them reflected on the HIA of Liverpool waters that had different results among actors accordingly HE as the national statutory body interfered seeking UNESCO's assistance on this matter. All this entails the appropriation and re-appropriation of elements recognised as heritage and shifts them from one set of rights to another, thus generating conflicts and tensions among the different actors (LCC, UNESCO, and HE).

Heritage in all its forms has been turned into an instrument that acts in specific political arenas in which different agents are pitted against each other and attempt to defend their

positions beyond the area of heritage. It was evident in the claims between different actors' positions and misunderstanding of UNESCO and what is Liverpool about which does not follow UNESCO's criteria of the OUV. The analysis has shown how the heritage processes enable the various actors to defend their positions regarding power while transforming the territory through heritage and how UNESCO used its power to add Liverpool to the WH endangered list. Using power by HE to push for rejecting and revisiting the Liverpool waters project.

On the one hand, heritage discourses and practices are idioms of hegemony that reinforce and extend the control and power of the State and other powerful agents which was against WH concepts and goals to transcend beyond the national boundaries. However, Liverpool could not get beyond nationalism due to the several factors of deterioration the city was suffering from. Conservationists used scientific arguments as a justification for their standing points either from UNESCO or HE to exclude actors who are against those points from the decision-making, while in more general terms, they impose specific ways of perceiving Liverpool's transformation from a single angle (Heritage).

Developers or investors adopt and use heritage as an instrument of agency and resistance to defend their positions and their ability to make decisions in the space of action that is created between the hegemonic discourse on heritage and 'localised' social practices (Herzfeld 1991, 2013; Palumbo 2003). The authorities and the individual actors use heritage in their negotiations over the use of territory, the decision-making, and increasingly in the selected projects representing economic activities.

Heritage constitutes both a rhetoric of power and a field in which the struggles among the actors involved are expressed. Using their area of expertise and knowledge as a power, besides their position in the system of either being advisory or statutory, plays a crucial element in the power dynamics in Liverpool's WHS.

## 7.6. Conclusion

This Chapter discussed and summarised the key findings of the three empirical Chapters against the research objectives. The analysis of the research objectives was discussed regarding the literature and previous research studies. Also, the discussion was based on Foucault's notion of power and knowledge to inspire the formulation and implementation of a better understanding of the politics of technical decision-making in global heritage

conservation. This is through investigating how the aspiration for development and global recognition shaped and formulated Liverpool's policy documents. Besides identifying the differences and consensus on the technical aspects of heritage conservation between LCC, HE, and UNESCO helped in understanding of the power dynamics between the different stakeholders in the process of heritage conservation and how it was negotiated in Liverpool.

# 8. CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

## 8.1. Introduction

In Chapter 7, we analysed the findings of the empirical Chapters, and enumerate three original research contributions, explaining their extent in urban studies and heritage conservation and reflecting on how we can study the politics of cultural heritage.

In this Chapter, three key contributions are discussed: first, it advances the epistemological position the technical approach in heritage conservation with its politics is crucial in shaping and forming global heritage. Second, it expands on the concept of an institutionalised state of cultural capital which is crafted through the WH status to extend global heritage as a recognised certificate to assure a conventional, constant, and legally guaranteed quality. It uses global governmentality theory as a methodological approach to understanding the difference between national and global heritage conservation approach and how this minimizes the gap to find a common ground for such an approach. The research makes general contributions to applying the concept of global governmentality in heritage conservation studies. The following Sections discuss the contributions through the research findings and explain their extent based on the extensive analysis of the original empirical sources.

## 8.2. First Contribution: Globalising the Heritage

The research's first contribution is to reframe the concept of cultural heritage within the concerns of globalisation. It adds to the existing framing of strategic sites to these new types of operations, which allows reconceptualising economic globalisation processes through the political global heritage discourse. The discourses of 'multi-polarity' and 'evolution of heritage conservation' were the limitations that underpin such concerns (Chapters 2 and 3). The technical and managerial matters of heritage conservation practices offer a lens to examine the failures of globalising the local due to the multilateralism of global heritage.

Heritage conservation is highly technical in approach; yet, it is subjective relative to the 'significant' attributes of places, artefacts, and cultural practices. This understanding stems from value-led heritage conservation and management as a field (Mason, 2008; de la Torre, 2002). Such understanding constantly changed upon upholding the modernist principles of progress and development, and it could be observed in the controversial case of Liverpool's

UNESCO WHS (Chapter 6). The case of Liverpool layered with the lack of reiterative universalism concept, which emphasises the universal account and acknowledges more relative values and frames of reference to make sense (Benhabib, 2002; Benhabib & Post, 2006). This breakdown explains the employed rationale and the practices of the different heritage conservation organisations attempting to find a consensus within the processes of globalisation process (see 8.2).

The research identifies conflict in technicality along three main strands. First, interpreting the OUV differed from the research findings (Chapter 6). UNESCO's concept of OUV has been criticised by several authors (Alberts & Hazen, 2010; Pendlebury, et al., 2009; Titchen, 1996; Labadi, 2013; Smith, 2014; Smith, 2015) who concluded that it is difficult to define what is eligible for inclusion on the list and what should remain a national heritage. Second, implementing the HIA resulted in different conclusions (Chapter 6), which have been associated with the diverse meanings of OUV, arising from the different heritage management discourses. Third, integrating the operational guidelines and the convention within the UK planning system were missing (Chapter 5).

The different interpretations of the OUV (Chapter 6):

- UNESCO's perception and guidance on OUV are intrinsic qualities, which typically implies they have inherent values that reside in the physical structures or their landscape, features not changing in time and can thus also be seen as equal by all the mankind, irrespective of their background or geographical location.
- Local authorities' perception of OUV as extrinsic qualities externally imposed with cultural and historical significance, which draws a value status that depends on dominating time and place context.
- The national authority has a different value system (Figure 11) which does not integrate an OUV in its guidance on the NPPF (Chapter 5).

Implementing the HIA (Chapter 6)

There was no clear guidance on how to conduct the HIA by UNESCO. Even with two of the HIAs stating there is low harm to the WHS; UNESCO preferred to choose the HE's HIAs, which stated there is a great danger or threat to the WHS. The choice was based on HE as being the national expert body for heritage conservation in the UK. However, this difference in HIA is rooted in OUV meaning, which acts as the baseline data that is measured against

the proposed spatial development that was recorded at the time of the inscription. On the WH list, Liverpool WHS is recognised as a 'group of buildings' (ICOMOS, 2004, p. 127), however, ICOMOS identifies it as an 'urban landscape' (Gaillard & Rodwell, 2015). This variation impacted how the site was considered in analysing the impact of the project, leading to the different results of the three HIAs undertaken.

Integrating the operational guidelines and the WHC in the UK's planning policies (Chapter 5):

As the UK planning system does not have an over-arching designation for historic cities, none for the WHS and the concept of a buffer zone is neither encompassed nor understood (Chapter 5). The argument was more emphasised with the notion of that the UK planning system does not fit the needs of any historic cities, let alone port cities (Rodwell, 2014). The UK heritage conservation approach was more oriented towards economic development and regeneration policy (Chen, et al., 2020).

While the perception of UNESCO's heritage conservation as an obstacle, not a catalyst for development, has resulted in parallel planning documents treating the heritage as an isolated island without integration between different policies. Besides the miscommunication that occurred between UNESCO and LCC, which created a conflict in setting the priorities for development within WHS and its buffer zone.

While the operational guidelines and principles for managing the development within Liverpool WHS were different between UNESCO and HE:

UNESCO identified the general guidelines concerned with the physical characteristics of WHS which any development occurring within the WHS and its buffer zone should follow (Figure 12). These characteristics are more related to the tangible heritage. However, with the WH management planning document the key attributes for the Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City were a mixture of tangible and intangible. The vague guidelines on how the intangible values could be translated and included within the planning documents. The HE approaches identifies conservation areas and listed buildings more related to control over the demolition of buildings, signs and advertisements used, vegetation and control types of development. However, it gives the flexibility to trade-off between heritage significance and the long-term impact which follows the national policies for development as stated below.

'In reality, our ability to judge the long-term impact of changes on the significance of a place is limited. Interventions may not perform as expected. As perceptions of significance evolve, future generations may not consider their effect on heritage values positive. It is therefore desirable that changes, for example, those to improve energy efficiency in historic buildings, can be reversed, in order not unduly to prejudice options for the future' (Historic England, 2008).

The technical conflict mentioned above goes back to those discourses 'multi-polarity' and 'evolution of heritage conservation'. The former is about the failure of multilateralism not only because of miscommunication, and insufficient enforcement of power imbalances but also the lack of clear boundaries of different roles and responsibilities in the process. The latter and the adoption of new approaches such as HIA in 2011 with its contingent nature allows for different agendas to play a role in the outcome that is influenced by the heritage discourse of the stakeholders. Besides the development of the HUL approach, which transformed the character of the WHS from a group of buildings to an urban landscape. The technicalities of heritage conservation were used as a soft power of negotiations for the benefit of different ideologies. This soft power used the heritage as a medium of communication and means of transmission of ideas and values which constitute global networks.

The global heritage lens does not dismiss the fact the State Parties' position is crucial to its process and success to achieve the over-arching aim. Neither denies the mutually beneficial relationship found between UNESCO and the State Parties. However, it focuses on the tools and methods that have been negotiated to ensure the local is globalised to produce what is called global heritage.

## 8.3. Second Contribution: Global Heritage as an Institutionalised state of Cultural Capital

The research's second contribution is based on the 'globalisation process in Liverpool' (Chapter 5). The research expands on the use of global heritage as a tool that contributes to the production of new institutional arrangements and reconfiguring the territory of government. It draws on Swyngedouw (2004) and McCann and Ward's (2010) work on changing territorial forms of the state, and the production of new institutional arrangements for urban and regional governance, focusing on economic development and the 'new urban politics' or what is called the Reconfiguration of Scale and the Process of 'Glocalisation'.

Besides the use of Foucault's (1991) work on governmentality, which helps to understand how the exercising of power is rationalised and Thorsby's (2000) Cultural capital and The Economics of Cultural Policy.

### 8.3.1. Cultural Capital

The second set of associations is the concept of heritage as a capital asset, which requires physical and human resources to be invested for original production and construction. It deteriorates over time, except if resources are used for preservation and maintenance and leads to a flow of services over time that may enter the individual's final consumption directly or contribute to the production of other goods.

The economic values discussed here are divided into two main categories: the direct value of the heritage services to customers as a private good and the value accruing to those who benefit from the heritage as a public good. Drawing on this differentiation, the association modes of global heritage with their symbolic weight will harness the economic benefits required for the city's development, because of attracting inward investments and changing Liverpool's negative image (Chapter 5). The complexity lives in the heritage, which yields economic and cultural value. The question arises how they should be traded. This issue is known in the field of the decision-making of heritage conservation. The solution hinges on identifying the pattern of choice between the two forms of value for individuals or society.

The crucial problem is having a consensus on the cultural value among the different stakeholders to understand their significance and identify how the priorities or preference patterns will be set in the decision-making process (Chapter 7). It was the case with Liverpool the different interpretations of heritage values, the heritage-led regeneration approach by HE and the deteriorated situation of the city influenced the decision to trade, economic value against cultural value. Building on Hall's concept (2011) of the 'culture circuit', to which heritage might be included, meaning is defined by identity, generated, and transferred through social interaction in different media and by consumption. These meanings further govern our behaviour by helping to lay down rules, standards and conventions which were adopted by Liverpool with focusing on ECOC'08 (Chapter 6). ECOC'08 in Liverpool represented all the layers of cultural significance that made the city global in the past and how it could contribute to the future. This perception created a conflict in identifying the priorities for development and how heritage can be integrated. Due to the growing interest in the culture and creativity sectors as a source of innovation, growth and dynamism in

macroeconomics, the economic consequences of cultural policy have been increasingly apparent in recent years (more precisely, in the UK's modes of governance). Heritage services are part of the outputs of the cultural sector and are, thus, included in any regard for the economic basis of the development of cultural policy (Throsby, 2012).

Liverpool's WHS differs from other WHS as the functionality or the image of what Liverpool used to represent was not recognised or even identified by the locals. This is due to the city's negative image, which has been there for a long time. The nature of the site itself, with docks and warehouses (or what was called the remanent of a dead heritage), had little to offer regarding the modern city requirement, rather than the reuse of the historic built environment in a modern way for development, which does not reflect the values or the image of its significance in the past. The experimentation of policies gave little space for economic recovery and growth. As discussed in Chapter 5 during the late 1970s to the 1990s, Liverpool has not only been on the receiving end of virtually all the urban policy initiatives, but it has often operated as a kind of an experimental testbed for a significant number of them.

The association of global heritage as a cultural asset here is 'branding or franchise' (Chapter 6) due to the possible financial benefits of the listing, which perceive the heritage properties as a commodity that mobilises national and international flows. Accordingly, UNESCO's symbolic weight of heritage conservation shifted towards politics and economics. As the WH brand needs OUV sites to differentiate them from national or local heritage lists, WH status states that this eminence may be converted into external funding for site conservation and management and revenues from increased post-listing tourist visits. The brand's value is further strengthened by the rules on plaques, which the latest operational guidelines propose. This, again, stresses the value of the WH brand to the international community as a signifier of global prestige.

With the concept of cultural capital, quality assurance has become measured by the WH status for heritage tourism and a presentation of prestigious national heritage, which requires quality control to meet the quality level of the WH brand. This was reflected in the political dynamics between LCC diminishing the importance of the WH status to a 'plaque on the wall' and UNESCO threatening to remove the site from the WH List. However, negotiations were conducted to keep the site on the endangered list, on the promise to revise the contested project to comply with the quality level of the WH brand.

The significance of the local heritage is a cultural asset that can generate the aspired image for development and position Liverpool in the global economic network. However, perhaps more, the international construction of heritage and international duty has failed to overcome national imaginations, imperatives, and interventions still States Parties' most stringent obligations.

Liverpool's WHS is an example that highlights an essential notion of the appropriateness of UNESCO's heritage conservation approach and reconfigures the role of States Parties in this process.

## 8.4. Third Contribution: Global Governmentality as a Methodological Approach

Using global governmentality in heritage studies as a methodological approach to set the background and current knowledge in institutions' rationale and practices, structure hierarchy and reconfiguration of actors' network in the process of global heritage conservation (Chapters 2 and 3). As discussed in Chapter 2, heritage understanding is framed around how the multiple logics, experiences, and relations surround and are produced through, interpretations of the technicalities of heritage conservation. From Chapters 2, 3 and 5, it can be seen the rationales were different for different stakeholders.

Table 15 Rationalities within different organisations involved in the heritage conservation process (Researcher, 2022)

| Organisation/Institution | Rationale |
|---|---|
| UNESCO | Preservation and safeguarding of the cultural and natural heritage of mankind- iconic exceptional values |
| HE | UK national statutory body for protection of listed buildings and conservation areas/heritage-led regeneration approach is using heritage as a resource that should be sustained for present and future generations. |
| LCC | The governing body for Liverpool city, giving permission for development, producing local planning documents including heritage management documents- follow HE regarding protection of heritage- integrating UNESCO's operational guidelines to main the status but not obligatory |

| | |
|---|---|
| WHS steering committee | Responsible for advising on the development and management of the WHS- help in developing heritage conservation and management documents |

Here, UNESCO's status and its global recognition are used as association modes of global networks, attracting inward investments and changing the negative image perceived to reconfigure Liverpool within this network (Chapter 6). The associations discussed do not instantly reveal a grounding in the global heritage arena. However, the technical lineage of global heritage conservation capsules a momentum of technical negotiations known and acknowledged implicitly in the conservation practices without being emphasised within heritage discourses.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, State Parties used the power of sovereignty to serve their nationalism instead of accepting universal values as a concept within their systems. This power was used as a tactical response to external forces that have become internalised and institutionalised. A highly complex set of rules governs all WHS; the international regulators and local decision-makers are in continuous conflict. The national government's involvement is another component of this, exemplified by the situation in the UK where it must be involved in every step due to the intense interest and pressure from UNESCO and ICOMOS and has therefore had to mediate between competing, and often hostile, interests (Pendlebury, et al., 2009). It is difficult to manage development with an urban WHS where many factors should be considered: the scale of the WHS boundaries and buffers; many landowners and stakeholders; and disputes between them. In this environment, there will remain frictions between the different scales of governance concerning complexity and difficulty in making meaningful judgements about conservation, management, and development. Tall buildings are a compelling illustration of a design that gives rise to a wide range of interests. In the UK, this indicates local solid interests pursuing development strategy in the setting of a regulatory framework that is typically relatively weak. In Liverpool's case, it was obvious when HE HIA stated the danger and UNESCO refused to accept the other two HIA stating the slight effect on the WHS (Continuous conflict and debate). As a result, Liverpool was added to the endangered list.

Even though the focus of UNESCO was to push for policy documents (SPD) without being keen on better negotiation tools and mechanisms. There was a need for consensus on what OUV mean to the locals and how could this fits better in the wider context. However, the language was more authoritative to keep the WH status (Chapter 6). Though as mentioned in

Table 11, UNESCO's role is not obligatory to follow unless the WH status will be retained based on Foucault's approach to how 'power/knowledge' generates governmentality. This has guaranteed the prominence of some interpretations of the past, especially those 'whose identity, feeling of community, belonging and a sense of place is frequently essential for various groups'. This prominence of nationalism against universal values was important for the locality in the formation of universality. With such an acknowledgement, this would help reconfigure the territory of the government and transform the nation-state into a scalar reference against which the directionality and velocity of these movements and flows become legible. The research differentiates the State Parties' role in WHC and UNESCO's operational guidelines from the responsibility of safeguarding the heritage to reflect the universal values of the WHC to reshaping and reconfiguring the State Parties as part of the global network. In its broadest outlines, this transformation has been variously described as a 'reterritorialisation' of grids of power (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992) and as the 'unbundling' of national territoriality and the 'de-nationalising of sovereignty' (Sassen, 1999) The association modes here mean how the State Parties associate the uniqueness and potentiality of the local within the global.

Liverpool WHS offers a realist account of WHS which were added to the endangered list due to the difficulty of achieving universality without emphasising and highlighting the importance of the local context meanings and values with its constraints. This difficulty has led to the perception of heritage conservation as an obstacle to development, not a catalyst for development. This perception increased the gap between the State Parties' role and participation in the safeguarding of the WH. For example, Liverpool has been a place for experimenting with various policies and development initiatives, which added pressure on Liverpool and increased the conflict between LCC and UNESCO.

On the other hand, multi-scale negotiations are apparent when, at many levels, local and national development authorities discuss with UNESCO and ICOMOS the issues concerning the significance of the site and the best-suited way of management of the WHS. Locally, WH policy can be polarised around viewpoints regarded as a favour and antidevelopment, mobilising each side for interpretations of the meaning of the WHS. Because urban managers are required to address UNESCO problems and are reluctant to utilise WHS to limit growth, local decision-makers might take similar views.

In no way does this integration and reconfiguring imply the State Parties are devoid of political beliefs and ideologies; however, the argument contests making sweeping

assumptions that reduce the State Parties' role in safeguarding the heritage tailored to the WHC and the operational guidelines.

This association of global heritage offers a crucial insight into how researchers study heritage conservation. The nature of global heritage conservation is a reassembled hybrid based on experiences of failures (delisting or new ordering) and reflections, and subjective principles are objective; it does so through an ongoing process of modifications and evolving.

## 8.5.  Relations of Similarities and Conceptualisation:

The pressures and conflict that Liverpool has witnessed have made it a salient example for studying the politics of the technical decisions within WHS. These conflicts were due to several reasons:

- The nature of the WHS in Liverpool differs as the boundaries of the site and its buffer zone cover most of the waterfront and the commercial core of the city, which makes it challenging to manage. With a city like Liverpool managing a huge WHS, it created additional pressure on the city, taking into consideration the city's situation discussed in Figure 11. A WHS with this size needs a different managing system that applies to other WHS that do not have the same characteristics.
- Liverpool's desperate need for development meant that an extensive development was desired and anticipated by the UK authorities.
- The unusual insistent from UNESCO for the need to develop a policy framework that reflects the site's needs, with unprecedented conditions being imposed concerning the height of new construction that was going to compromise the WH significance.
- The technical communicative language was different between UNESCO, LCC and HE, which impacted setting the priorities for managing the site and identifying the critical attributes of the OUV. This difference comes back to the intangible values that constituted the OUV and the re-articulation of the heritage within the city's development nowadays.
- The different parallel initiatives that occurred at the same time between (SRF, ECOC and WH status), which made it difficult to assess the value and impact of each on the city or even prioritise the goals for development according to those initiatives.

Table 16 different initiatives that contributed to Liverpool's thriving (Researcher, 2022)

| Initiatives | Goals |
|---|---|
| SRF | Identified six key themes for development, including the waterfront and the city centre, as the arc of opportunities for the city's development to achieve the desired economic goals. |
| ECOC'08 | Focused on three key dimensions:<br>Improving the cultural infrastructure of the city<br>Promoting an inclusive approach to culture<br>Facilitating community cohesion and helping through renewal to create a premier European city |
| WH Status | Focusing on the maritime mercantile history of the city based on the OUV (identifying six character areas) with its buffer zone |

Those previous key points have resulted in identifying different key learned lessons to be transferred to similar cases:

1.  There is a need for UNESCO to develop an assessment framework of different scenarios for the nominated WHS (based on the city's current economic, political, and social situation during the nomination). The criteria for management and development within the WHS boundaries and its buffer zone should follow. There is no way one model can fit all different situations and circumstances. numerous WHS are listed and delisted or added to the endangered list where UNESCO can learn from and update its convention and operational guidelines.

2.  Within the WHC, there is a need to reconfigure the government's territory in the global heritage arena. To transform the nation-state from safeguarding the WHS for future generations into a frame of scalar reference against which the directionality and velocity of these movements and flows become legible. Acknowledge the local context and how it can adapt to be globalised and added to the global network.

3.  UNESCO must address shifting from humanitarian considerations towards economic and administrative goals that have led to the inscription process becoming a political-economic tool for nations to bolster their sovereign interests. There should be regulatory tools that monitor and balance this shift during the inscription process and later during the evaluation of the monitoring missions.

4.  The need for an updated definition of OUV, which is at the core of the WHC. There is a need to translate the some of the difficult operational guideline's criteria into a material

intervention that acknowledges such criteria within modern society. Either due to the intangible values that could be interpreted differently or as the values do not exist anymore, the present generation does not relate. There is a need to understand how technical standards can represent material intervention. Changing the way how the convention and WH process is addressed introduces and maps relations between 'things or the physical built environment' and 'concepts' as discussed by Law (2004). This new approach will help in understanding how the local generated itself, where global is in the process at local sites. Also, as Benhabib (2002) argued, 'reiterative universalism' recognised the possibility for common understandings of the WHC framework; while also leaving room for interpreting this framework into different cultures' divergent frames of reference.

## 8.6. Addressing the Gap in the Literature

Within heritage conservation and planning, this research studies the politics of technical decisions in global heritage conservation (implementation of UNESCO's operational guidelines and WHC). Unlike the literature, the research discussed how the global could be localised, emphasising nationalism, and reconfiguring the State Parties on the global network not to be denationalised and limiting its role in safeguarding mankind's heritage.

We displayed from recognising a gap in the literature (Chapters 2 and 3), which is the ambiguity of UNESCO's technical approach, making it difficult for State Parties to comprehend. This ambiguity recognises intrinsic qualities within WHS that exceed and transcend national territories that State Parties do not share. By examining the WHC, its evolution, and updating OUV, it is still challenging to agree on what it means for the WH Committee, ICOMOS, or other institutions. In addition, an evolving practice of global heritage conservation, which is rapid for the State Parties, can create a gap and conflict in the documentation prepared by the State Parties for WHS nomination and inscription. The operational guidelines are technical in approach and required a certain level of expertise which is difficult to be interpreted by the State Parties. The State Parties being part of a national urban planning system that must follow, cannot integrate the operational guidelines or the WHC within their planning systems. The limitation of the State Parties' role in the WH conservation process to safeguarding the WHS listed within their boundaries. In addition, the lack of negotiation tools between different stakeholders within the process makes it a one-sided process.

The research findings and contributions discussed earlier (8.1,8.2) added three aspects to the literature gap. First, it emphasises the need for a universalism reiterative concept to understand the OUV, focusing on the local context, giving meaning and significance to the heritage. Liverpool's WHS represent a salient example of such a struggle due to its critical situation, which unpredictably hinders development. It identified all the technical consequences that occurred due to that misinterpretation of OUV among the different stakeholders, which contributed to its addition to the endangered list, making it the only WHS in the UK. Thus, the need to agree on the OUV is crucial to identify its characteristics and attributes to reduce the conflict in the conservation and management processes. Second, the need for reconfiguring the State Parties' territory within the global network means not erasing or denationalising the WHS to transcend its boundary to achieve a global heritage network. However, what is needed; is an acknowledgement of the local within the global which can be achieved by understanding their planning systems and giving the flexibility for integration of whatever suits best the city's development. While third, the need for clear guidelines for assessing the State Parties' current situation and finding the suitable criteria to find the balance between its economic and cultural values will be different according to the different circumstances. Accordingly, it shows how the technical matters were not only used for conservation but also used as a soft power of negotiations forming what is called cultural politics.

Unlike literature on heritage conservation, the research analysis was not interested in a general conservation practice where the built environment got focus to be safeguarded for the future and identifying the flaw in the practice itself. The focus was to trace the politics in a technical lineage of different organisations and stakeholders who are involved in the decision-making process representing two different perspectives on heritage conservation, following different guidelines, and coming from different backgrounds and rationality. The different actors involved (UNESCO/HE/LCC/WHS Steering committee) were analysed as dynamic mediators of heritage conservation and not as an item of a heritage conservation strategy that follows a set of regulations. They interpret it, react to it, and select from it according to their ideologies and understanding of the process.

It is not about comparing different practices or systems. The aim was to understand the historical transformation of the different stakeholders and its impact on heritage conservation and how it is implemented. Heritage conservation between principles and guidelines is a vital Figure of technical progress, economic resources, and funding. The literature revealed the

gaps in communication, implementation, and interpretation of the process. Thus, the research findings traced the technical differences and the political dynamics of the decision-making process on the proposed developments in Liverpool.

## 8.6. Prospects for Future Research

The contribution of the current work opens further opportunities for exploration in global heritage conservation. The first prospect belongs to the breakdown of the technicality of global heritage conservation by tracing back previous WHS and how these technical matters were interpreted differently according to the different contexts. What are the similarities and differences that could be drawn on to update the WHC? Though attempts to do so, however, failed in having a consensus on the core of the WHC, this can open further investigation on the lessons learned from such failures. This can have implications on heritage conservation planning policies and urban design approaches with the historic built environment within cities' urban development.

The second prospect, the idea of global heritage as a strategic socio-technical and political connection will be broadened, which allows us to comprehend how global heritage works in material and social interactions. This emphasis on operations gives a deeper view of the constellation of power/knowledge impacts, called the heritage/governmentality connection. This connection might track the transition from WHC's economic-political benefits. Such an impact on the politics of the technical decision-making process at UNESCO might have consequences for discovering alternative methods.

The third prospect would be to study how the reconfiguring of nation-state form and government territory affects the global heritage conservation approach. Global heritage conventions and operational guidelines lack legal enforcement, which opens new channels of communication which might have implications for the concept of global heritage and its network.

The fourth prospect would be expanding on the state- parties' role to analyse the current situation of their nominated WHS and its surrounding context and identify its goals from benefiting from the WH status before being inscribed at the same time further explore the flexibility of the state-parties planning systems to integrate the WHC and its operations guidelines.

## 8.7. Conclusion

Several reflections must be highlighted in the conclusion of UNESCO's convention and operational guidelines and how State Parties interpreted and adopted them in their planning system, more precisely Liverpool WHS.

The first reflection is the universalist framework. Although WH experts have conducted several reflections on OUV, several major questions are still unresolved, limiting State Parties' comprehension of this concept, as discussed in Liverpool WHS. For example, one of the intrinsic values issues which were not addressed in dealing with heritage properties regardless of their geographical location and individual background. This means the detachment of the heritage properties from their history, and the social and cultural context that shapes them. In addition, this understanding excluded the inclusion of comprehensive statements attributed to local communities based on the socio-cultural context.

The second reflection is the growing push for cultural homogeneity due to the globalisation process and the expanding inter-cultural world interaction. This increased pressure placed global heritage as a 'participant' and 'resistant' at the forefront of globalisation. Governments through tourism and urban development initiatives have mobilised global heritage that expressly embraces its commodification as highlighted in Liverpool's perception of WH status as a brand for inward investments. Global heritage is increasingly considered a practical means of either improving or resisting the consequences of development.

The third reflection is global heritage conservation is an ongoing process of interpretation, selection, reaction, response, and responsibility which needs flexibility from experts and organisations on how heritage is understood or managed at the same time flexibility from the State Parties to adopt this dynamic process within their system.

The empirical research generated a WHS example 'Liverpool Maritime, Mercantile city' which has helped in understanding the politics of the technical decision-making process in global heritage conservation and gives a better insight for future research prospects.

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# 10. Appendices

Appendix 1: ACTOR'S SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE SAMPLE

A. Personal Information
- Name and Institution/organisation
- Position within the institution/organisation
- Contacts

B. Understanding Liverpool's development and its impact on the selected case study
- Can we start with the development history of the WHS
- What was the role of the city council towards the world heritage site?
- How did the idea start for the nomination of the Liverpool world heritage site?
- How the coordination was done between different stakeholders (the city council, Historic England, and the steering committee)?
- What were the priorities set for development and how was the WHS integrated into the process?
- what about the context of the best practice chosen as a guide for the waterfront development, was it a WHS?
- Were the outstanding universal value targeted in the policy and permission given to any development taking place at the WHS?
- How the problem of private ownership was resolved in the management and development of the WHS?
- Can we discuss the process of the fourth grace and why it was announced?
- How do you find the Mann Island project now after it was done?
- Is there any kind of evaluation mechanism for projects that were done?
- What about the development that occurred at PierHead and What was the concept for that one? How do you find it now after it is finished?
- What was the main target for Liverpool waters?
- Liverpool waters project was granted permission through the strategies we're focusing on projects and developments that ensure the coherence of the locality and respect its characteristics.
- What was the impact of the WHS listed endangered on the Liverpool waters project?
- What was the reaction of the Liverpool city council regarding this in terms of development and planning permissions?
- What do you think are the main problems facing Liverpool nowadays?
- How would you suggest an improvement to the policy practice to cover the gap or overcome the overlapping between urban planning policies and urban conservation legislation? What policy innovation would you suggest to better manage the development of the WHS?

This is the end of the interview. Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this research. Your contribution is highly appreciated

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIBE SAMPLE

Can we start with the history and development concerning the WHS?

In 2004, Liverpool was inscribed in the UNESCO WHS list for its significance as a mercantile maritime culture. So that when we were looking at the OUV of the city in terms of its trading history and its relationship to the river and commerce and trade which include not just goods coming over from different parts of the world but also people travelling trans-Atlantic slave trade. Also its role in immigration, as a port for immigration across the world crossing and particularly to America as well. So the world heritage site as you are probably aware is made up of 6 character area with a buffer zone for protection. The 6 character areas one of which is the Pier Head Which is sitting I supposed at the heart of where the boats would come into the city and that first view of the city of you like that was so significant. It has the three graces buildings on it which were developed in the Edwardian period. They were built on top of what has originally infilled George's docks which were in the 18th-century dock. Then it was infilled and the Edwardian buildings were built sequentially on that. We also have the ventilation tunnel which is also part of Pier Head which was built in the 1930s and that again was a major pioneering technological (the underground railway system) and so the car system across Birkenhead.

The development for the Pier Head again I can't give you a long history on that as I was not here at the time but it was part of the broader regeneration of the city with a view to trying to fill in a number of the gaps in the city I mean. The city historically has been badly bombed in the Second World War. So a lot of its heritage and key buildings had been destroyed. So there is a kind of sense of fragmentation in certain parts of the city which became a priority for the council to start to regenerate the whole together. As part of that regeneration program that probably dates back to 2000. At that time a lot of investment went into restoring the heritage fabric of the city, buildings at risk we have a very good reputation for improving the buildings at risk in the city and also the public realm of the city. So that meant that Liverpool one which is the retail-led regeneration there really was the start f that aspiration for quality design of the public realm and to bring standards up and ensure that we both respect the heritage in the city and anything new which was done to the city to be done with high quality and standards. That was a wonderful example of how seven architects would come together and work on the sort of master planning and the development of the architecture of the city. And raise the level in terms of the quality that we would expect for future developments that really would have set a benchmark for the rest of the city and also part of iconic meeting the centre of the city to the waterfront because that relationship has been lost. So reinforcing that

connection which takes you down to the Albert docks. Albert dock was considered the first site for regeneration in the city kind of cultural and heritage-led regeneration initiative which has taken some of the museums that we have there. Then pier head came into focus and part of the Pier Head was also about Mann island development with settles between Stanley docks and Pier Head. So we have the new Mann Island building and the building of the new museum of Liverpool which again was another landmark piece of architecture in that site but also thinking around the public realm which began to think about revealing the importance of that canal route that again was so significant in Liverpool past taking goods on the canal route out and along. In a way of revealing some of that heritage that has been lost or forgotten in a way of re-landscaping programs. As it was in the past the original hub for transport now has been rationalized and taken away. Thinking about it also is creating large open space, flexible event space so that the cultural program of the city (the giants the big festival) is now majoring up could take place in different parts of the city and that was a key one was the waterfront because of the liver building and the backdrop of the 3 graces and the connection to the river, creating that public space of flexible space and decluttering it taking out a lot of remnants that was there. Just putting back a very simple palette of materials and revealing the water space was part of that program.

Again I supposed a lot of redevelopment in the city is now informed by these various planning frameworks. Some of them are considered old now which is going to be refreshing with a whole supplementary regeneration framework that is going to be taken place in the city at a key location.

What was the role of the city council towards the world heritage site?

The role of city council and the state party (the government) decided to give the management of the world heritage site to manage it locally. They said to the local authority you need to take a role in leading this and so the council then decided it would form a steering group to help in its management of the world heritage site and which comprises members from the various stakeholders. You have an interest in or possible ownership of certain parts of the land of the world heritage site. So we have key developers represented on its peel holdings for the Liverpool water scheme which a is major development area within the world heritage site, we have hardcore development which is another major development for Stanley docks and titanic hotel and back of warehouse developments at the very northern end of the world heritage site who have been doing very exemplar work on the conservation the warehouse buildings into a new hotel, we have representation from the universities, representations from the civil society, we have the engage of the residents' group (engage Liverpool), Merseyside

civic society who is another independent civil society, we also have marketing and the very sort of heritage body (Historic England who are statuary consultee). So we have a lot of different skill bases and as wide a representation as we can. That still being effective in terms of the day-to-day management of the world heritage site. They are a non-executive body nobody gets involved in any permission given for development schemes it is just advising capacity to the council to inform its work and its development. So we have a chair who previously was an independent chair Ian Wray who is a professor at the Heseltine Institute of the University of Liverpool he settles for about 7 years and decided to come off as a chair he still sits on the world heritage sites steering group and he is now the chair of the conservation and management Liverpool water scheme. At the moment we have the chair with Mark Kites who was assistant director for investment and regeneration and moved across to be the chief executive of a housing association run by the council. As you are probably aware in 2012 we were put on the World Heritage list in danger so that it's why we are now working on a series of corrective measurements trying to get ourselves off that endangered list and that role strengthening our planning tools, revisiting and reproducing the management plan the first piece of work that we are updating. We had a management plan before it just to update and refresh it. There is work going on at the moment with the local plan and various policies are going into that to do with heritage, tall buildings and skyline policy will be produced as well so we have a raft of work to take and strengthen the way we can protect and enhance the world heritage site.

How did the idea start the nomination of the Liverpool world heritage site?
That started before my time Ian Wray was one of the instigators at the very early stages along with Chris Blanford who was a heritage consultant who has a lot to add to that document. Then it was decided by the council that in fact that Liverpool did have this unique and very distinctive heritage and it needed to be better recognized and that was done in consultation with HE as well.

How the coordination was done between different members of the steering committee and the city council?
The steering group decided that they will not be there to take any decision on a planning development and this is not their role. They were just there to advise. The people who get involved in the planning decision are taken through Liverpool as a planning authority statuary planning department, in consultation with the urban design and heritage conservation team which Rob Burns used to head up. So within that, the planning process if you like is

conducted through the planners with pre-application meetings with the key developers who might have an impact on the site. If it is a major development in the world heritage sites then it triggers several processes that are let me read this for you. This is from 2015, and this has been happening because this particular way of working wasn't there then. Since 2015 each development proposal, that might have a potential effect on the outstanding universal value of the world heritage site would be accompanied by ICCOMOS complied heritage impact assessment, that details the significance of the asset that may be affected, the nature of that impact and where appropriate how that harmful effect could be mitigated. Then we have historic England which is the national heritage advisory body, they are consulted on all these proposals and the state party of the government. The planning system then will take the government in taking into the advice of Historic England they will notify the world heritage centre as necessary under the operational guidance on what we call paragraph 172. So we observe the protocol and the best practice at that level. So it is a process that is taking place through a planning system in consultation with the heritage bodies and advisors. The planners make their recommendations on a site and then that gets discussed and commensurate with the system we have here. The planners worked through the guidance of the national planning framework and that's what they have to work through the legal and what is enforceable by law.

How the priorities were taken for the development there?
The city is evolving and the key priority for the city has always been pride in its heritage and that has always been there and the fact that the physical state of WHS in terms of the built-at-risk that we have achieved demonstrates that Liverpool unlike most over cities in the UK that has a far better job on bringing it old buildings back into new use and invested a great deal on money on that along with grants from Historic England. So demonstrating that we care about our buildings is very tangible there. development and regeneration are key priorities for the city which means the city has to look at the land it has and think about development where can take place. How could it try to build a framework that mitigates the harm that any new development could cause and to do that it uses tools like these planning documents, the assessment work that could require? Those are the key tools that could hope planners for taking decisions. That's why a lot of work is going on now and you have to bear in mind that perhaps that decision was taken in 2012 based on an earlier proposal coming forward in 2010, I think it was after all an outline planning permission granted and it was going to be over 30 or 40 years period. So it was always known that could change. It would change over time the developers. So the outline planning permission had various constraints

or conditions at that time and those conditions have to be met. To safeguard the world heritage site. Now that is the situation where it is. It is about looking at the documents we have, looking at the impact and looking at the harm and trying to work out what can be done that is inlined towards what was said in historic England and other heritage bodies.

We are very much at a stage where we all need to build a closer collaborative relationship with UNESCO. We know that we need to be able to communicate better. Because that is one of the key issues that local authorities within the UK have to work to the UK planning system which is the statutory law that any local planning system has to apply. But to make something enforceable. As the local planners, they can only work for better planning policies and works that they have legally to enforce. What we are working to establish with UNESCO is to repair any negative perceptions that may have a reason on the back of the very first outline proposal, the image that was presented to UNESCO of an outline proposal that hadn't been worked up was just a kind of aspiration. There was no way that it was going to look like that first image that went to UNESCO. This was an image that would make anyone ask 'was going to look like that? Nut no it isn't and it changed enormously from the first image to the master planning work that is happening now, the heights of the buildings are coming down, and master planning work has taken place for each of the different neighbourhood areas which would form the Liverpool water scheme. So there was a very careful thought of design process going on in place which takes time and all these things cannot be done swiftly. They do need to take time and they need to be done as funding development priorities arise. But what we felt we need to do is to reassure that UNESCO and their various committee members that we do want to keep and we are serious about keeping our world heritage status. However, we do need to make UNESCO aware that we are evolving subtly which is a city that has undergone a lot of change in its history. Even some of the history of those docks are infilling and it is about managing change and how we do that sensitively, mindful of our heritage assets, our OUV and the attributes and values. How do we still show that we think about those and those inform the way the city is developed for the future? What we have to do is not just wrap the city in aspect and close it down, it is not that kind of a city anyway. Part of it is OUV and part of it was built with that spirit of innovation and adaptability. Being able to change swiftly to stare head in its global trading. The part of its story and that's we have to stay trotted to that. But part of that story is also about the quality of the buildings that went out in the past, the quality of the spaces that we have, a scale that pier head is an example of a scale of public space which is very unique to Liverpool that tells the story. But then there is also part of the city with different sorts of grains, the mediaeval grain underneath. It is changing our world

heritage site not only Pier Head. So that's why we thought about various frameworks for different parts of the city to play on those unique distinctive characters. But we want to work with UNESCO. They are an organisation that has been evolving as well, they have been modifying and thinking and improving on heritage conservation and how it could be applied to cities. So we want to work with them on that. I think that is starting to happen. We have had a lot of help from engaging Liverpool in terms of procuring that kind of relationship through the civic society voice. They want to retain heritage we listen to that and we want to engage local communities to have that voice and to remind us what we need to be thinking about. But it is also making UNESCO aware of where we are coming from and understanding what we need to do and how swiftly we need to turn around as well in terms of what we are allowed to do through the planning process in terms of timing. The way we have to process the application, we have to move according to UK planning law. We have to move reasonably swiftly and with the best of the world, we want to share and engage UNESCO in the process, particularly the major schemes. What we are trying to work on at the moment is how we do that. What is the best way for us to get that dialogue going? One of the things that we have suggested and made an offer to UNESCO and I hope they would take it up, is Liverpool waters as the landowners are putting out an invite from a member from UNESCO or ICCOMOS to join a key moment when discussion on the development is taking place to do either bring them on the table or when is the best moment to bring them in. when to use their time because they don't have lots of time either. We are trying to sort of navigate a way of working that we are trying to work with them. We have said to them and they said to us too that they are also getting one side of the story through the press (negative press stories) bad stories coming out loud and influencing them and yet they are not necessarily of that there are good things that we have been doing and there has been a lot of good work. So we are trying to be better at communication but these things do take time and of course, we are a local authority like a lot of local authorities that are under pressure from cutting over those cutting off grants and funds those kinds of things, less staff and it is a tough time. So we are trying to do the best we can we are trying to sort of navigate.

The dialogue that we are trying to have through the process of the master planning of the site of Liverpool waters is taking place. So that the best practice is put into place. On the subject of the best practice, we are now looking to do is to formalize the historic urban landscape approach that UNESCO has only recently adopted there have been several case studies and models of good practice that we are aware of and we feel we have been operating a lot of good practice in terms of our heritage and conservation work. It is now more consolidated

into a more formalized approach to the way we want to think about urban in the city in a more multidisciplinary approach, more holistic approach where we can try to engage the different voices and design professions as well which include artists, architects, landscape architects and engineers so it is a case trying to make that a way of placement key. That is one of the things that we want to work with ICCOMOS on. We want to try to form relationships with key world heritage cities that are operating best practices as well. I think working on that with Chinese delegations last Friday and they advise the government in China to demonstrate housing and development they operate the urban landscape approach in recommendations so shanghai and Shengzhou are both models of good practice of the urban landscape approach. We have a relationship with shanghai so I am looking to try to build a relationship with cities of world heritage sites. Looking at port cities like Bordeaux.

So what about the context when you are looking at those best practices?
There are similarities as well as differences. There are similarities in terms of global trade, and the maritime so-called using canal river, our river there was a really strong connection there between how Liverpool operated globally and international trading. A lot of that trading from china would have come through Liverpool. It is actually in that respect it is quite easy. Yea you are right there are a lot of differences too. But I think a lot of the challenges we face are similar. When I took them down to the Titanic and show them space where behind the docking wharf, and Liverpool waters development, they were quite interested in how it might develop and how the development we have done has been to such a high standard with the conservation of our buildings, finding new uses for buildings it was something that they have been interested in. the way we have done that. I think there are similarities you can find between them. That would be interesting how we can work on something together. Of course, we have the RIBA north hub (the architecture centre) we have just formalized an agreement with them to become the interpretation and information hub for our World Heritage site. They have the city gallery they have the architecture model and on that, you can see the extent of the world heritage site and the extent of the buffer zone. It became a very very useful turning point tool on which new developments into the city can be placed onto that digital model and that we can explore the impact of what that development might look like about the rest of the city. What we are trying to do is work as much as we can in partnership so we have a very good relationship with the university and work on research projects with the archaeology department. So different sorts of areas of expertise are out there that we are trying to collaborate with and work with. We are also organizing seminars in partnership with the university. We did one last year on world heritage and development and impact and we

are going to do another one. We are constantly trying to look at what the research agenda might be, one of the key things we are looking at is priorities that we need to identify to take us forward. We also have pointed out that mayoral task forces now have been appointed and that's the task force of 6 people representing the great and the good who are advising the mayor on development as well concerning the WHS. It is as long as it needs. It is there to do a job and as long as that job needs doing they will be there. Those have representations from the universities from new cousins who was the former chair of English heritage that was the director of Ambridge court museum and science museum in London so he has a lot of experience, David Henshaw who was working as a counsellor and again three representation from the universities so we are trying to get the best advice we can. One more organization I want to mention is World heritage the UK, which is the national body that represents all the 31 world heritage sites in the UK I was at a conference with them last week in London on setting the context for the world heritage site. It was an extremely good conference with all the different WHS, describing and talking about the different contexts in situations. But there was again a great deal of coming together, particularly for the urban sites we share with Edinburgh, bath.

Were the outstanding universal value targeted in the policy and permission given to any development taking place at the WHS?

The OUV is something that has been capsulated in a document and there was very useful future development but I think a lot of this is to do with speaking fluent UNESCO which not many people do. It is a very difficult thing to do, they have a language that is not always easily understood by people working on the ground and we have an OUV but it is quite a mouthful so when you have OUV you have really to think what does that mean? And then you have got attributes and then you have got integrity and authenticity. So there is a whole language around the world heritage status that isn't always easy for anyone (all of us) to navigate. So it is something that should be made more available (it is available actually) but I think it is part of us adopting the part of the historic urban landscape approach. It enables us to formalize those values and remind people, this is what we need to think about. It should be here as an appendix (the supplementary planning document for the world heritage site). But like all appendices to people read them. The way this has been written and formed is about a response to the OUV and that's what it is. But again I think we need to keep reminding people about those values. I think what we are trying to do (I am with several people) is think about what a narrative heritage is. I think it is about rewording and all rethinking it to make it work.

We know that there are a lot of things that should be done for the world heritage site. I think our challenge is that our world heritage site stretches over most of the city and a lot of it is not the owner of the city councils but private ownership. So our job is getting tougher because we have to persuade all of those parts into the concept of marketing themselves but what has been interesting is that the Stanley docks and the Titanic warehouses have for example embraced the world heritage in the development of their site they used it to market themselves. It was a part of telling their story. They were very clever in identifying and making them unique (it has been a part of their distinctiveness) and they have used it as a part of their promotion. We are all working on it but we still have a way to go. We are not alone in this you have got to think that Liverpool is the only WHS but when you talk to similar world heritage sites they are facing the same problems. The problem is the translation of the OUV into a practical way and it is about balance. It is a lot easier to do when you have a site like Stonehenge which automatically position itself and the storyline is easier to promote. Even Liverpool Maritime Mercantile is quite long and it is about more than the only images which are shown the waterfront as being easily distinguishable from the image of the city. Yet we have got ropewalks, brown streets the cultural quarter saying 'hay we are over here we are part of the World Heritage site' as our story has been told in quite different ways. The commercial area too which is a bit behind castle street. So it is a job that needs a lot of help, marketing and interpretation.

So what we are trying to do when we are doing the place making we are trying to integrate that thinking of reflecting the heritage in the design of the public realm rather than doing that obvious and crude interpretation that has a storyboard which is violent. No, it is not what we want to do we are trying to find how to do it in a more settled way. In a way, that sort of integrates that thinking or stimulates people to think more broadly about it.  So that sometimes this could be quite a settled thing and how you see it happening in a more settled way through a storyboard in a conventional interpretational way is in Liverpool one. If you walk along Thomas stir way. How that public realm design was developed is that using materials in the landscaping that reflects the materials of its location, you have underneath a water space. So you have got a water space leading into view down to Albert dock but you also have the way and which the shoreline and the movement of the water on the strand and the way that is moved and changed with the docks it is reflected in an integral design within the floor scheming so you have sort of reference there to the tides and that's kind of backed up and reinforced by the various heritage history panels but we have to be quite careful about things like panels because they don't do much to the public realm and something like the

dock road for example interpretation of that is extremely tricky because you got a walkway there you can't stick something there while walking so we have to think about it in a quite carefully considered way. Part of Liverpool's one development is also about views (retaining some of the views back to the historic buildings) in and around the city. That was all part of my thinking. Sometimes that connection that back story isn't always fully express in the marketing because you could actually by saying a little bit more make that connection to people. I think sometimes that it is not happening and people are not practically lazy little about the way UNESCO described the world heritage site, they don't always say or make connections to an event on some aspects of it. For example (the giants' event) when it first came the very first giant was very much tied to the story of the Titanic and Liverpool (it was Liverpool's story in it) used a lot of the research and archives in the museum and the library. But that story isn't necessarily made as much as could it be. What you could be doing there is telling the way and which that research informed by you just needed to say that instead of having a stand-alone as a unique event and thinking is there a context here (in fact there is one) but what is it remind me again (it is about being contextual design) and contextual story how you are going to narrate. That story is revealing Liverpool's past and its connection with the canals is there as the way the canal has been revealed and the design has been around revealing. I suppose there is nowhere to tell this story. One of the things we are working on with interpretation cluttering with panels is not a good way to do it. We are looking at Apps enabling people to go around the city with an app that tells more about the history or there are also guiding tours that people would like going on guided tours (will be offered) all the maritime museums on the Albert dock. So there will be different tours that could help in telling the story. What I am working on is starting with a very simple WHS website that will be a starting point because as I said it is so much you can offer and say to tell the story, just start with something simple and build on it.  Because we haven't had a website for a long time.

I have been talking to the new director for national museums Liverpool about how organisations might work together. The director sits on the world heritage site steering group. Part of Liverpool's history has been told in part of the museums well like the slavery museum the maritime mercantile museum, and even the world museums and the Museum of Liverpool. All of those museums tell part of our story so we want to direct people to them but also we want people (the museums) to frame what they do, frame their context within the world heritage sites and that all operating within the WHS, it's all that it needs to say. This is where RIBA North architecture comes to play because they are now partners for us and they

mentioned the WHS. They do tours around the different character areas and the gateway to the world. They have thematic tours which are very good so we are getting there. We need to do much more marketing for our work towards the WHS. I think it is eclipsed by various events for the sake of just bringing that heritage brand together.

Did I want to ask you about Pier Head village? How the decision was made and why?
It is nothing to do with me. I think it could be done differently. It could be related to a particular niche. Other cities have looked at that and have done very well. As thinking about what a definable product could you think about! That is one of the things that we need to look at again compared to the resource issues. I don't have a budget to work with. It is nice to have one and then we could start looking at things like that. We are trying to encourage others to work and achieve that.

How you are trying to overcome the funding problem in your developments?
We have to identify key priorities that are achievable and an action plan in a manageable way. What we have to do is work on key activities that could be achieved. We have done quite a long. Again it gets back to the partnerships, working collaboratively with others. We all share the world heritage site, the whole city could benefit from it. It is just a question of raising awareness and seeing what each of the partners could contribute. That's where the conversation I am having with different partners is trying to look at that. Titanic hotel is very keen to work as another hub for us and share information telling their particular story. We send people in their direction so they will tell the story. The bluecoat building is another heritage at the city centre and they run a very good art program in the city. They are also remindful of that heritage role that they now have taken on and embraced as part of their programming. They are also looking at a heritage-related exhibition program. Another cultural organisation like (FACT) ropewalks part of their audiences so that they can tell another part of the story from their program. So it makes it related to each distinctive part of the city.
How the three graces were used in the development of the design of Pier Head and the World Heritage site in general? As I know the three graces are privately owned.
Although the city has purchased the Cunard building some of the floors are rented by private companies. As making tours available inside the buildings was easier when we have more staff somebody has to do that. It is another resource issue. That is something we are aware of it. The way we tend to open up the buildings is sort of open door stage heritage as a kind of special announcement come and have a look behind the scene. That's when we actually can

show people the basement and other aspects of this building. But I do know that the liver building is going to look at opening up the ground floor for cafes. So it is looking into being a more open and accessible space which may say people can get inside. That is coming on the way now. The British music experience also has a tourism information centre attached to it.  It is about joining everything up. It is a quite difficult thing to do because there are so many people out there doing their thing. It is the sum of the parts we need.

This world heritage site is a WH city if was take into consideration the buffer zone as well because the whole of the city developed in different parts of the city the character of those areas is part of its world heritage character and status. Of course, when you have different parties involved in a Heritage site of that size each party will determine a particular take when they decide what should be done.

If you think about it, it is an urban port city that was part of the industrial revolution which was very much about change. I mean the industrial revolution changed the world, cities and the whole landscape. As people came from the countryside into the cities to get work. It was very much about needing change and innovation new developments, and technologies to keep ahead to keep the sort of economic engine running. It is the story of cities and urban life. It is always a challenge of having world heritage sites and tourism. So they will always find themselves the victim of their success. As too many people how to do you manage the visitors. It is managing that kind of interest. So they have to think about changing their landscape to accommodate a large number of visitors, and new infrastructure to manage the site as well. As world heritage sites it is very difficult to think about them, the way you think about museums and galleries where you come from the front door and got a very tangible entrance. You have a controlled environment where you can tell your story and show your objects and then you come out. So it is a different experience when you come up with a city-wide world heritage site that we are. So controlling everything is difficult.

Our cultural heritage if we start to think about it not just the tangible evidence of that, it is intangible. The intangible values of the heritage start to come about that greatness that a port city like Liverpool would have been about. We would have had hundreds of people coming in on boats, working here, taking advantage of the wealth and the economy that was available through this place and a lot of immigrants come in. so it is the story of urbanisation and I think that it often about difficult stories is less clean. It is not sanitised and got its rough edges. A major part of the wealth that was generated in the past came on the back of fairly.

What could be done better?

Certainly, it comes out of communication. Communication could have been done better, being joined up, and having mechanisms and processes where we could together in a more regular joined-up way. Where pulling resources not fighting in silos I think that would manage things a lot better. Improving our marketing by telling the story better. Putting something out there and working on that. Retaining quality in everything we do rather than in an exhibition or an event, a building the way we design the public realm. I think the quality of the city and the foundation will put down the highest quality I think we need to keep that. When we think about only what is best for Liverpool and that's what the people deserve.

## APPENDIX 3: ETHICS APPROVAL

Ref: 2018-3596-6114

08/06/2018

Dear Mrs May abdelhakeem Newisar, , Prof Richard Kingston, Dr Philip Black

**Study Title**: A conceptual Design Framework of Public Open Spaces in Heritage Sites

Environment, Education and Development School Panel PGR

I write to thank you for submitting the final version of your documents for your project to the Committee on 15/05/2018 15:28 . I am pleased to confirm a favourable ethical opinion for the above research on the basis described in the application form and supporting documentation as submitted and approved by the Committee.

Please see below for a table of the titles, version numbers and dates of all the final approved documents for your project:

| Document Type | File Name | Date | Version |
|---|---|---|---|
| Consent Form | Consent FormTemplate-May | | |
| Participant Information Sheet | Interview Participant Information Sheet-May | 21/04/2018 | 1 |
| Additional docs | users questionnaire | 21/04/2018 | 1 |
| Additional docs | Semistructured interviews- Government Officials and planners- May 17 october 2017 | 21/04/2018 | 1 |
| Additional docs | May Newisar- Risk Assessment | 21/04/2018 | 1 |
| Additional docs | Focus Group Discussion Information Sheet - May 14-05-2018 | 14/05/2018 | 1 |
| Additional docs | ConsentFormTemplate 14-05-2018 | 14/05/2018 | 1 |
| Additional docs | FGD topic guide- May 15-05-2018 | 15/05/2018 | 1 |
| Additional docs | May Ethics revision | 15/05/2018 | 2 |

This approval is effective for a period of five years and is on delegated authority of the University Research Ethics Committee (UREC) however please note that it is only valid for the specifications of the research project as outlined in the approved documentation set. If the project continues beyond the 5 year period or if you wish to propose any changes to the methodology or any other specifics within the project an application to seek an amendment must be submitted for review. Failure to do so could invalidate the insurance and constitute research misconduct.

You are reminded that, in accordance with University policy, any data carrying personal identifiers must be encrypted when not held on a secure university computer or kept securely as a hard copy in a location which is accessible only to those involved with the research.

For those undertaking research requiring a DBS Certificate: As you have now completed your ethical application if required a colleague at the University of Manchester will be in touch for you to undertake a DBS check. Please note that you do not have DBS approval until you have received a DBS Certificate completed by the University of Manchester, or you are an MA Teach First student who holds a DBS certificate for your current teaching role.

**Reporting Requirements:**

You are required to report to us the following:

1. Amendments
2. Breaches and adverse events

We wish you every success with the research.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Sarah Marie Hall

Environment, Education and Development School Panel PGR

APPENDIX 3: CONSENT FORM

University of Manchester/ School of Environment, Education and Development

*'Tensions between Local development, national and international conservation policy: the case World Heritage Status in Liverpool'*

CONSENT FORM

If you are happy to participate please complete and sign the consent form below

Please initial box I agree to take part in the above project

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. I confirm that I have read the attached information sheet on the above project and agreed to participate. | |
| 2. I have had the opportunity to consider the information and ask questions and had these answered satisfactorily. | |
| 3. I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without detriment to any treatment/service. | |
| 4. I understand that the discussion will be audio-recorded | |
| 5. I agree to the use of anonymous quotes | |
| 6. I agree that any data collected may be archived and used as anonymous data as part of a secondary data analysis process | |

| Name of participant | Date | Signature |
|---|---|---|

| May Newisar | 10/06/2018 | |
|---|---|---|
| Name of researcher | Date | Signature |

APPENDIX 4: ACTOR'S SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW INFORMATION SHEET

You are now being invited to participate in a semi-structured interview for research entitled

*'Tensions between Local development/ National conservation policy and World Heritage Status in Liverpool*.'

This research is studying the politics of technical decision-making in Liverpool's World Heritage Site. Before considering accepting or declining this invitation, please read carefully the following information about the research and how this interview will be conducted. Should you need further explanation, please contact and discuss this with the researcher. Your time and contribution are highly appreciated.

Who will conduct the research?

*May Abdelhakeem Newisar*, a second year PhD Student in Planning and Environmental Management, School of Environment, Education and Development at the University of Manchester, United Kingdom

What is the purpose of the research?

This research aims to understand how the global heritage conservation approach is localised to inform Liverpool's transformation and regeneration which are reflected in the selection of the projects and formulation of the policies

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen to take part in this semi-structured interview due to your knowledge and experience on the related topic, which is valuable to the needs of this research.

What would I be asked to do if I took part?

You will be asked to Share your experience as being involved in the decision-making process whether you are working in the public or private sector. This is to have a better overview of how the technical standards of global heritage conservation were negotiated among different stakeholders. What are the problems and challenges facing you during the process? The listed questions indicate the variables and indicators of the research and it is possible to expand your answers to a wider context that according to your knowledge and experiences would be relevant to this research. You will also be asked whether you agree or disagree if this interview will be recorded.

What happens to the data collected?

The data will be used only for the purpose of this research and will not be transferred to any other person or body that is external to the researcher's academic entity (The University of Manchester).

How is confidentiality maintained?

Your identity will not be revealed in the PhD thesis report or any academic articles following this research. However, subject to your approval, your statements will be quoted anonymously or paraphrased accordingly. The record of the interview (transcript or audio files) will be stored securely in the researcher's encrypted computing device and the researcher's university virtual drives. You will need to sign a consent form prior to the commencement of this interview, which give you options on how you prefer your answers to be transcribed.

What happens if I do not want to take part or if I change my mind?

You are free to withdraw from your participation at any time without any reason. Your withdrawal will not affect any of your personal or institutional circumstances.

Will I be paid for participating in this interview?

There is no available funding provided to compensate for your participation in this semi-structured interview

How long will the interview last?

The interview will last approximately 45 to 60 minutes. Additional time is possible if any important information needs to be explored more thoroughly.

Where will the interview take place?

The interview will be conducted in a public place during business hours or at any time that is convenient for you. The interview place should be accessible to first aid or medical support facilities that are located within 30 minutes of travel time.

Will the outcomes of the research be published?

This research will be presented in a PhD thesis format and will be published partially in reliable peer-reviewed proceedings and scientific journals.

Who has reviewed the research proposal and design?

The research proposal was examined by two supervisors and an internal assessor, who are all senior academic/research staff in the School of Environment, Education and Development, at the University of Manchester. The fieldwork plan, including the structure of interviews, has been approved by the research ethics committee.

What if something goes wrong?

In case any of the questions offend you or the institution/organisation you are representing, you are free to withdraw from the interview at all times. The semi-structured interview has been constructed carefully with respect to your professional attributes and the researcher will strive to prevent any disputes that may occur during the discussions.

What if I want to complain?

You are most welcome to address any feedback and complaints to the researcher. You can find the contact details at the end of this information sheet. Should you need to complain to the researcher's supervisors, you may contact:

Prof. Richard Kingston
Humanities Bridgeford Street
School of Environment, Education and Development
The University of Manchester
Manchester, United Kingdom
M13 9PL
E-mail: richard.kingston@manchester.ac.uk

Dr Philip Black
Humanities Bridgeford Street
School of Environment, Education and Development
The University of Manchester
Manchester, United Kingdom
M13 9PL
E-mail: philip.black@manchester.ac.uk

If you wish to address a more formal complaint, you can do so by contacting the University of Manchester through:

The Research Governance and Integrity Manager,
Research Office, Christie Building, The University of Manchester,
Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL,
Emailing: research.complaints@manchester.ac.uk
Telephone: +44(0)161 275 2674 or +44(0)161 275 8093

How can I contact the researcher?

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Email: mayabdelhakeem.newisar@manchester.ac.uk