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Contested Grounds; the Regeneration of Liverpool Waterfront

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Abstract

This paper explores the process by which the regeneration of Liverpool waterfront took place over the past few decades. It adopts a case study method to identify different trends and patterns and to examine their impact on the emerging urban landscape. The research identified three successive eras of post-industrial waterfront regeneration in Liverpool that aimed to tackle different issues and respond to challenges and opportunities. The study argues that although the future of regeneration will be predominantly led by the private sector within a context of weakened public role and extreme urban competition, it is important to uphold the role of the public sector to actively lead the process of regeneration through a shared and comprehensive regeneration strategy. The strategy should be based on urban design and heritage agenda to guarantee the qualities of the urban landscape will not be compromised and new interventions will result in a coherent whole.

Keywords: *Liverpool, Urban Regeneration, Urban Design, Waterfront, Cultural Heritage, globalisation, Urban Competition*

1. Introduction

The transformation of urban waterfronts is one of the key urban design and planning stories of the late twentieth century. The decline of waterfront in post-industrial cities has opened new opportunities for regeneration on large and often visible locations. The waterfront has become a primary scene for experimentation in architecture, planning and urban governance.[1] Waterfront regeneration currently is widely associated with ways to reshape the image (perception) of a city, attract people back to obsolete areas, and recapture economic investment.[2] The regeneration of the waterfront is a great opportunity but also a challenge. On the one hand, it has the potential to restore the identity of cities, reinforce a sense of place and satisfy the conditions of post-modernity. On the other hand, it may also result in alien developments, isolated by being at the edge of a city.[3] However, the success of certain 'models' of waterfront regeneration has led to a 'globalisation' of waterfront themes. These waterfront themes, which were based on successful cases, have set precedents and have been replicated globally, with a concomitant international uniformity of organisational methods, spatial typologies and architectural styles.[4]

This study intends to reveal some of the hidden complexities associated with waterfront regeneration. It is particularly interested in examining the regeneration of Liverpool waterfront with the aim of identifying the different trends and issues that shaped the process of the regeneration. The study also attempts to understand what makes a successful waterfront regeneration. This study is divided into five main main sections. The first reviews the literature on the transformation of the post-industrial waterfront

1 Timur, "Urban Waterfront Regeneration"; Dovey, *Fluid City*; Jones, "Regenerating urban waterfronts"
2 Marshall, "Contemporary Urban Space-making at the Water's Edge," in *Waterfronts in post-industrial cities,* 4-5.
3 Dovey, *Fluid City, 9.*
4 Bruttomesso, "Complexity on the Waterfront," in *Waterfronts in post-industrial cities.*

and highlights some of the policies and approaches that were employed by key waterfront regeneration projects worldwide. The second focuses on the history of the development of the city of Liverpool and examines the political, social and economic conditions of the city. The third explores the regeneration efforts of the city's waterfront. Three successive eras of waterfront regeneration have been identified and each is discussed in terms of the regeneration context, the key regeneration scheme and implications. The fourth discusses key lessons from the Liverpool waterfront experience and relates it to the broader debate of waterfront regeneration. The final section draws the research conclusions. The data of this study has been collected from different sources including articles, reports, policies, and numerous site visits. Semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders and critics were also conducted to offer commentary on the process.

2. The Transformation of the Post-industrial Waterfront

In the recent history of human settlements, waterfronts had become one of the most significant sites within the city. The waterfront during the industrial revolution was the gateway to the city and vibrant community in itself. The scale and the type of activities that took place on the waterfront had changed dramatically. The rapid commercial and industrial growth expanded the port city and forced it to develop beyond the city confines with linear quays and break-bulk industries.[5] The twentieth century also attested the separation of the port and urban function. The Industrial Revolution meant almost the whole domination of the waterfront for industrial and port activities.[6] However, this domination did not last for long due to the rapid development of maritime technology. Those developments required ever-larger ships and more extensive lands and deeper water areas to assume and discharge the port function. This, however, has led to loosening the strong functional relationship between the ports and port-cities.[7] By the mid of twentieth century, the waterfront existed within the city as underutilized parcels, isolated from the social, physical, and economic activities of the rest of the city, accordingly, cities have turned back to their waterfronts.[8]

However, the increasing necessity for land in urban areas has led many waterfront cities to look back to what was abandoned industrial polluted waterfronts, earmarking them for renewal. The high profile of the urban waterfront locations and their high visibility led also to magnify many intersecting urban forces and introduced major problems, challenges and opportunities for urban regeneration.[9] In the 1960s, the term waterfront revitalisation was coined in North America, namely in Baltimore, Toronto and San Francisco.[10] Baltimore has set itself as a model that can be followed, in 1945 the city lost 30% of the population and suffered from all of the urban crises in the twentieth century, nevertheless, Millspaugh (2001) argued that Baltimore rekindled its spirit and through a systematic, entrepreneurial and beautiful makeover of its older inner harbour has created a unique global image.[11]

The uniqueness of Baltimore Inner Harbour Redevelopment is that it was created by one of the first generic public-private partnership of the post-industrial age of the US.[12] The project started in 1960 and completed by 1995, more than a hundred large and small projects were constructed, ranging from

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5 Hoyle, "The port-City interface: Trends, problems and examples," 432.
6 Marshall, "Connection to the Waterfront; Vancouver and Sydney" in *Waterfronts in post-industrial cities,* 17-8.
7 Hoyle and Charlier, "Inter-port competition in developing countries: an East African case study," 87-89.
8 Marshall, "Connection to the Waterfront; Vancouver and Sydney" in *Waterfronts in post-industrial cities,* 17-8.
9 Marshall, "Contemporary Urban Space-making at the Water's Edge," in *Waterfronts in post-industrial cities,* 4-5.
10 Hoyle, "Global and Local Changes on the Port-City Waterfront," 398.
11 Millspaugh, "Waterfronts as Catalyst for City Renewal," in *Waterfronts in post-industrial cities,* 74-6.
12 Breen and Rigby, *Waterfronts: Cities Reclaim their Edge.*

recreational, museums, residential, business headquarters ...etc. Toronto and San Francisco have also experienced mega transformation projects in their waterfronts with some individuality in each context; both waterfronts have been transformed from underutilized resource to an area teeming with pedestrian and redevelopment activity.[13] However, American waterfront regeneration has concerned with rehabilitation and redevelopment, comprising a wide range of development mixes including residential, recreational, commercial, shopping, services ...etc. Jones (1998) argues, this largely became the typical development model within the US and formed the 'export model' that was characterized many waterfront development projects in other parts of the world including Asia, Australia, Europe and the UK.[14]

According to Jones (1998), the revitalization of many US waterfronts has often been linked with several factors including the growing amount of leisure time available; the need to preserve historical and architectural heritage; the growing environmental and social concerns; and the US Federal Government support.[15] The examples of American waterfront revitalization in Baltimore, San Francisco, and Toronto were considered as the first generation of the post-industrial waterfront revitalization.[16]

The second generation of the post-industrial waterfront regeneration was headed by development organizations that were established specifically to develop waterfront areas, to build on, test and expand the measures that have pioneered in Baltimore.[17] Most of these organizations were belonging to the 1980s and they came to characterize that period. In the UK, the LDDC (London Docklands Development Corporation) was set up by the UK Government in 1981 to develop the derelict East London Docklands. Simultaneously, BRA (Boston Redevelopment Authority) a multi-disciplinary body charged only with the task of regenerating the Charlestown Harbour zone of the city. In addition to other influential projects across the globe, such as Darling Harbour in Sydney, Australia; and Victoria and Alfred waterfront in Cape Town, South Africa. Show (2001) indicated that although this generation of waterfront regeneration has spread around the globe, yet, it was in Europe the concept of a second-generation was more evident. This brought about by the size required for regeneration in cities like London and Barcelona, which was sub-national in scale. This wave of regeneration helped to develop a new approach with the creation of public-private partnerships and the extensive use of private investment.[18]

In the UK, the example of LDDC in London was unique, it was the largest redevelopment project in Western Europe, and was featured by market-led approach and has become the most significant and controversial urban experience during that period.[19] The redevelopment of the Docklands in London aimed to facilitate the role of private experience through shifting the balance between central and local government, the erosion of local democracy and increasing the emphasis on policies.[20] The approach used to regenerate London's Docklands has been criticised heavily. According to Jones (1998), the criticisms have been aimed at lack of public funding, problems of social segregation, ad hoc public funding, lack of local community participation, and less attention paid to the environmental issues.[21]

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13 Cook et al., "Port and City Relations; San Francisco and Boston," in *Waterfronts in post-industrial cities.*
14 Jones, "Issues in Waterfront Regeneration: More Sobering Thoughts-A UK Perspective," 434.
15 Ibid, 435.
16 Shaw, "History at the water's edge," in *Waterfronts in post-industrial cities,* 160-71.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 Brownill, *Developing London's Docklands: another great planning disaster?*
20 Ibid.
21 Jones, "Issues in Waterfront Regeneration: More Sobering Thoughts-A UK Perspective," 438.

The third wave of waterfront regeneration led by smaller cities and towns, such as the Albert Dock in Liverpool, Cardiff Bay, and Berlin. Shaw (2001) pointed out that this generation marked by the acceptance into the mainstream of development practice all the aspects established by the previous two waves of waterfront regeneration.[22] This wave characterized by recognizing the value of old building and harbour heritage as a symbol of community memory. This feature is been reinforced by planning policy by encouraging the conservation of worthwhile buildings to suitable uses. The success of conservation-led regeneration of the waterfront has introduced a new era of historic preservation and a different approach characterized as an adaptive reuse.

The fourth generation of waterfront regeneration is chiefly driven by economic globalisation. The restructuring of the global economy has forced more and more cities to engage in a competition with each other to attract global capital in physical and human terms.[23] The needs of cities to compete for mobile capital have required cities to offer an inducement to capital, as Boyle and Rogerson (2001) indicates that cities have to (1) *refashioning of city's economic attractiveness* (for example, tax abatement, property and transport facilities) or (2) *re-imaging their city through manipulation of its physical and soft infrastructure* (for instance, cultural and leisure amenities).[24] Within this climate, the waterfront has become more central in the contest between the often-contradicted interests of global forces of economic investment and local forces of place and heritage. As a result, waterfront regeneration nowadays has grown more complex, contentious and difficult to resolve.

3. Liverpool; a Brief History of the City Development

Liverpool, the core city of the Merseyside, is located in the North West Region of England. The city, although it has credentials as a mediaeval town, the most rapid and dramatic physical, demographical, and economic changes by which the city is most known, occurred between the 19th and 20th century.[25] This dramatic expansion was a result of the city becoming the main UK port linking the early industrialising region of North West England with North Americas and West Indies, thus, it had positioned itself as the second most important port in Britain after London.[26]

The city of Liverpool has experienced extremes of growth and decline. Since the city became an independent port in 1647, it has developed as a global port based around international trade in salt, slaves, raw material and manufactures, eventually the city entered into direct competition with other British Cities 'Bristol, Cardiff and London' and quickly it began to gain on its rivals.[27] The growth of the city which was enhanced dramatically by the industrial revolution has reflected on the significant increase of Liverpool's population. In the mid-1930s, it had risen to more than 800,000 compared with 70,000 in the early 1800s, with around a million people living in its suburbs by the beginning of the twentieth century.[28] The wealth of the city has also been manifested in the huge number of architectural masterpieces and the development of often pioneering modern infrastructure such as docklands, parks and railways. Liverpool, by the mid-twentieth century, has constructed more than 7 miles of docklands. Recently, as a recognition of the importance of Liverpool architectural and landscape legacies, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 'UNESCO' in 2004 inscribed parts

22 Shaw, "History at the water's edge," in *Waterfronts in post-industrial cities*, 160-71.
23 Begg, "Cities and Competitiveness," 795-6.
24 Boyle and Rogerson, "Power, Discourse, and City Trajectories," in Handbook of Urban Studies, 402-16.
25 Sykes and others, "A City Profile of Liverpool," 301.
26 Belchem, *Liverpool 800: culture, character & history.*
27 Wilks-Heeg, "From World City to Pariah City?" in *Reinventing the City? Liverpool in Comparative Perspective.*
28 Sykes and others, "A City Profile of Liverpool," 300.

of Liverpool Waterfront and Commercial Quarter as World Heritage Site 'WHS' for its outstanding universal value to the international community. UNESCO described Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City as "*the supreme example of a commercial port at the time of Britain's greatest global influence*".[29]

Unfortunately, the development of the city did not continue. The 20th century witnessed an accelerating reversal of the growth of the city. A number of external and internal factors led Liverpool to lose its economic fortunes. Most notably, the shift from commonwealth orientation to European trade where Liverpool found itself increasingly uncompetitive, the decline of the manufacturing industry in the hinterland, and the competition with other UK port cities.[30] This situation was exacerbated by a series of locally driven planning decisions during the 1960s and 1970s such as the adoption of comprehensive area clearance and redevelopment policies and the new town policy.[31] Liverpool waterfront, in particular, has suffered significantly also from the massive technological development in cargo systems, containerisation and the increasing size of vessels, and when did that occur it arrived with great speed and dramatic impact. In a short period of time, a significant part of Liverpool's docks was completely redundant. Liverpool was seen by some critics as the 'beaten city' of the post-industrial age.[32]

In general, the severe decline of the city coupled the snowballing rates of unemployment had also significantly impacted the social and political situation of the city. From 1979 on, the relationship between the new-liberal central Conservative government and socialist left-wing Labour local governments started to become extremely confrontational. Crick (2016) reasoned that as it was a consequence of the complex problems that the city was facing, and an increasing sense of blame on the national government, impersonal forces of global capitalism personified by the Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, a hard left 'Militant' local labour party has gained the control of the council in 1983.[33] This confrontation between the local and national governments climaxed in 1987 when 47 city councillors were discredited as the council adopted a new regeneration strategy based around building new municipal housing and clearing the slum tenements with an illegal budget which almost bankrupted the city. However, this started to change by late 1980s and early 1990s, Liverpool City Council with a new leadership aimed to repair the broken relationships, especially with the national government. This period witnessed the change of relationship from confrontation with the national government to an era of partnership. The national government also decided to appoint Michael Heseltine the National Minister for the Environment at that time as a specific Minister for the Merseyside. Soon after his appointment, Michael Heseltine established the Merseyside Task Force (MTF) to coordinate government policies in Liverpool, generate new initiatives, reduce the rates of unemployment and enhance the economic and the social life.[34] The city also received considerable funds from the national government and that included the City Challenge Program where the city encouraged to work in partnership with community, private, and voluntary sectors to undertake large physical regeneration programs.[35] Moreover, the city succeeded as well to gain a considerable amount of European Funds 'European Objective One Program', which aims to the cities that are lagging in order to make them more attractive for private investments.

29 UNESCO, "Liverpool World Heritage Site."
30 Hoyle, "Global and Local Change".
31 Couch, *City of Change and Challenge.*
32 Belchem, *Liverpool 800: culture, character & history.*
33 Crick, *Militant.*

[34] Parkinson and Duffy, “Government's Response to Inner-City Riots: The Minister for Merseyside and the Task Force”; Couch, *City of Change and Challenge*.
[35] Belchem, *Liverpool 800: culture, character & history*.

4. The Regeneration of Liverpool Waterfront

The past few decades have witnessed a significant transformation of Liverpool waterfront. The beginning of Liverpool waterfront regeneration efforts can arguably be associated with the establishment of the Merseyside Development Corporation MDC in 1981 as one of the UK's first two Urban Development Corporations (UDCs). Although there had been a number of initiatives to regenerate Liverpool waterfront before 1980, however, all these efforts failed to materialise due to the lack of fund and incapability of the city council. The establishment of the MDC indicated that regeneration of Liverpool waterfront has become at the top of the national priorities. The MDC was directly funded by the central government with the aim of improving the physical and environmental conditions of docklands.

In general, since the MDC was established, several development institutions were introduced, a number of visions and strategies were adopted and key flagship regeneration projects were accomplished. This study has identified three successive eras of waterfront regeneration in Liverpool which will help to understand the overall phenomenon and identify patterns and key issues. Although these eras of regeneration overlap and interrelate, however, each of them is unique in terms of context for regeneration, the key actors, and the nature of the regeneration schemes in terms of spatial typologies and architectural style. These eras of regeneration also reflect the complexity of the numerous processes that derive the physical, social and economic change of the waterfront. Figure 1 shows the extent of the research study areas, the key docks in Liverpool waterfront and the extent of the UNESCO WHS area.

[Insert Figure 1 here]

4.1. The First Era (1980-1997); The Shift From Industrial to Cultural Heritage

The Context

Notwithstanding a city with such declining situation might work for a robust alignment of the local and national government in order to act effectively in addressing the resulting challenges, however, the political situation of the city was deteriorating significantly as mentioned earlier. A key issue that also reflected the adverse impact of the worsening economic and social situation of the city was the 1981 riots or what was known locally as the uprising which had grabbed the national attention to the severity of the problem endured by the inner-city residents of one of the most deprived cities in the UK. On the other hand, the regeneration of the waterfront during this period was completely separate from regeneration at the other parts of the city. The regeneration was led and largely undertaken by the MDC. The Conservative Government of 1980 took the view that a single-minded development agency would be a more appropriate vehicle for such large scale projects. The justification was that Liverpool Docklands required an agency with limited objectives operating in a closely defined area which would regenerate the area more efficiently and effectively rather than local authorities if they were given the necessary powers and resources. It also has been argued that the MDC will create greater political stability and create a more promising environment to encourage private developers.[36]

In 1981, the MDC published its first plan the 'Initial Development Strategy' (IDS).[37] The purpose of this plan was to set out a strategy for reclamation and identifying the land uses, it was a flexible

[36] The Secretary of State for the Environment, "The Merseyside Development Corporation."
[37] The Merseyside Development Corporation, "Initial Development Strategy."

framework for public and private sector investment, as pointed by Couch (2003) a guide to the control of development and a programme for land acquisition and reclamation.[38] The IDS had targeted to achieve a mixed-use plan of industrial, commercial, residential and leisure development. 55% of the regenerated area was intended for industrial use; forty per cent commercial, recreational and residential; and five per cent for the port of Liverpool. In fact, after seven years the MDC has revised its strategy and became more flexible in responding to the market demands.[39]

The derelict area of the Merseyside did not attract the anticipated industrial uses. Fortunately, while the demand for the industrial uses was low, demand for leisure has been very high. There were three initiatives had shown the tourist potential of the area: the Albert Dock restoration project which attracts over 2 million tourists to the area annually; the International Garden Festival which attracted almost three million; and the Tall Ships race which also had attracted 2 million visitors. With the success of these three events, the MDC shifted its strategy from focusing on attracting industrial uses to concentration upon leisure and tourist-based strategy.

The Albert Dock Restoration Project

The Albert Dock is the greatest monument built in the Liverpool waterfront in 1846. It was designed by Jesse Hartley as the first enclosed dock system in which warehouses lines the four sides of an enclosed dock and rising vertically from the dock walls, the merit is that goods can be unloaded directly from the ships into the warehouse minimising the risk of damage through repetitious handling and the danger of robbery. The Albert Dock has a unique structural system from iron, stone and brick without timber to avoid the building being burnt in a case of fire. The Albert Dock was considered as a revolutionary docking system; two years after it opened it had featured the first hydraulic cranes. The design of Albert Dock as enclosed dock makes it very popular to store valuable goods such as cotton, tea, silk, ivory and sugar.

Despite being a landmark of Liverpool innovation of the dock system, the Albert dock, however, started to struggle just after 20 years of its completion. The dock designed to cater for sailing ships, yet the development of steamships meant that the size of the dock is too small, and by the beginning of 20th century the dock was only able to cater for only 7% of the Port of Liverpool Ships. Another design issues exacerbated the problem such as the small entrance which prevented large ships from entering besides the lack of quaysides. The Albert Dock fell slowly into decline and its future was no longer certain. Interestingly, the Albert Dock was granted Grade I listed building in 1952 as a recognition of its architectural and technological value.[40]

Although the Albert Dock has been recognised nationally, yet there was a number of proposals were aimed to redevelop the land and demolish the Albert Dock during the 1960s and early 1970s but luckily they all failed to materialise.[41] The Albert Dock by 1972 was emptied and closed down. Belchem (2006) pointed out that the Albert Dock in many senses as it has resembled the wealth of the city at the time of its construction, it is subsequent decline symbolised the collapse of the city local economy.[42] Since the closedown of the Albert Dock in 1972 until the establishment of the MDC in 1981, there were many

38 Couch, *City of Change and Challenge.*
39 Meegan, "Urban Development Corporations"
40 Belchem, *Liverpool 800: culture, character & history.*
41 Jones, *The Albert Dock; Liverpool.*
42 Belchem, *Liverpool 800: culture, character & history.*

attempts to regenerate the site but they all failed chiefly because the incapability of the Liverpool City Council to handle regeneration initiatives.

The establishment of the MDC in 1981 was significant for the regeneration of Albert Dock. The use of public money to physically regenerate Liverpool south docks was seen as crucial to attract private investment into the area. After two years of negotiation, the MDC created the Albert Dock Company which was responsible for the regeneration of the Albert Dock. The regeneration of the Albert Dock started with the restoration of Dock system which was badly deteriorated, and then in 1986, the Merseyside Maritime Museum moved into the Albert Dock. In 1988 the work in TATE Liverpool was finished and the Albert Dock was officially opened by the Prince of Wales. Many have seen the decision of locating the Tate gallery in Liverpool as a major success for the city as it established Liverpool to be the hub for the modern art in the north.[43] In the same year, the ITV established a new studio in the Albert Dock and started to broadcast from there, two years later the Beatles Story museum opened adding more to the cultural significance of the Albert Dock. Throughout the 1990s many hotels, restaurants, and companies established their branches there, and eventually, nowadays the place is one of the most important tourist attractions in the North West Region and also part of the city's UNESCO world heritage site (Figure 2).

[Insert Figure 2 here]

Implications

The success of the MDC in restoring the physical and environmental conditions of the waterfront was notable. The example of the restoration of Albert Dock clearly shows that the effectiveness of the MDC approach and the adaptability to shifting strategy from industrial to cultural heritage. Despite there were some critiques levelled towards the nature MDC, as a special vehicle to address only derelict docklands of Liverpool that falls within a confined zone, however, by understanding the convoluted political and social context at the time and the incapability of the city council and its failures to deliver previous regeneration initiatives, there was a genuine need for a powerful organisation to lead the regeneration.[44]

A key outcome of the regeneration of this era was the major shift of the perception 'image' of the city from a failing port city to a city branded with vibrant culture and heritage. This shift which was crystallised in the restoration of Albert Dock and the ability to attract key cultural institutions. Grindrod (Interview, 2013) maintained that "due to the success of the restoration of Albert Dock, the brand of Liverpool is very strong now, it embraces both modernity as in the example of TATE Modern and heritage exemplified in Albert dock".[45] Evans (Interview, 2012) 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".[46]

In general, despite the significant success of the regeneration of this era and, it was criticised for its lack of integration with the rest of the city. Albert Dock was seen as an isolated landmark building on the edge of the waterfront and not integrated with the city. This can be chiefly attributed to the nature of

[43] Richard Meegan (Planning Expert & Professor of Urban Economics at LJMU & University of Liverpool), Interview with the Author, November 2012.

[44] Richard Meegan (Planning Expert & Professor of Urban Economics at LJMU & University of Liverpool), Interview with the Author, November 2012.

[45] Sue Grindrod (Senior Staff of TATE Liverpool, and the Director of Liverpool Waterfront Business Partnership) Interview with the Author, March 2013.

[46] Richard Evans (Planning Expert, European Institute of Urban Affairs EIUA) Interview with the Author, November 2012.

the MDC as a separate entity with less concern for integration with the city. Parkinson (2013) acknowledged that saying "the MDC raised the quality standards of the waterfront but it did not manage to bridge the waterfront and the city centre, they were two separate places".[47]

However, this era of regeneration was extremely significant for the subsequent regeneration of the waterfront. It demonstrated the role that can be played by culture and built heritage in the process of regeneration. The restoration of the Albert Dock and the docks landscape show that Liverpool has recognised its built heritage as a catalyst for regeneration rather than a hindrance.

4.2. The Second Era (1997-2012); Image Creation and Place Making

The Context

This era of regeneration was largely driven by socio-political factors at the national level. The new elected central government in 1997 was inclined towards reinforcing the role of cities and adjusting people's perception of urban life which led to embracing the Urban Renaissance Agenda.[48] The Urban Renaissance Agenda was primarily about re-urbanisation, urban design and modernisation. Fundamentally, it has established a vision for urban regeneration based on the principles of design excellence, social well-being, and environmental responsibility, through a viable economic and legislative framework.[49] Liverpool captured the national mood very quickly and quite effectively through establishing Liverpool Vision as one of the first Urban Regeneration Companies (URCs) in the UK. Throughout this era, Liverpool Vision was central in guiding the regeneration and bringing key public and private sector agencies to strengthen the city economy and enable it to compete more effectively in global markets. Wilkinson (Interview, 2013) stated that a number of key regeneration projects during this period would not have materialised if Liverpool Vision did not exist. This is due to the nature of Liverpool Vision as it combines public and private sectors and, hence, mixing both the political capability with the entrepreneurial approach.[50]

In 2000, Liverpool adopted the Strategic Regeneration Framework SRF to set a vision for the future regeneration of the city. The adoption of the SRF by Liverpool Vision was a key moment in the history of Liverpool waterfront regeneration. The essence of this document was about creating better places and improving the image 'perception' of the city. The SRF also stressed on the need for building on the success of the previous era through further enhancing the role of cultural built heritage. During this period, two key aspects were critical in guiding and shaping the regeneration of the waterfront. On the one hand, the inscription of the city to the UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS) which was a great success in achieving global recognition. On the other hand, the winning of the European Capital of Culture 'ECoC' 2008 which was undeniably fundamental in accelerating the regeneration process.

At that time, urban design has started to take a more dominant role. Urban governance has embodied the principles of urban design through urban strategies and design guidance. Special agencies such as Commission for Architecture and Built Environment (CABE) and Liverpool Architecture and Design Trust (LADT) were also established locally and nationally to assure the quality of the emerging urban landscape will not be compromised and the regeneration will result in better places for people. The

47 Michael Parkinson (former director of EIUA, Planner and author), Interview with the Author, February 2013.
48 Urban Task Force, "Urban Renaissance Agenda."
49 Ibid.
50 Dominic Wilkinson (the Ex-Chair of Liverpool Architectural Society, Lecturer at LJMU) Interview with the Author, March 2013.

general approach of regeneration in this era can be described as a design-oriented approach. The following section will further illustrate that through focusing on the regeneration of the Pier Head Waterfront.

The Pier Head Waterfront Regeneration

The historical Pier Head Waterfront is the most recognisable image of Liverpool. The site is also part of the UNESCO World Heritage Site and contains the three Edwardian buildings known as the Three Graces. The SRF 2000 identified the opportunity for architecturally significant building on the waterfront to add to the waterfront composition. The rationale behind that was the city needed a development that could grasp the international attention and shape the new image of the city in order to exploit the cultural tourism economy.[51] In 2002, Liverpool Vision announced an international competition to design the Fourth Grace on Pier Head Waterfront. The city aspired to create what is known as 'the Bilbao effect' which would help to boost the image and the tourism economy of the city besides strengthening the city's bid for the European Capital of Culture 2008. The competition brief for the Fourth Grace called for a symbol of Liverpool's future, and a landmark that would complement the three existing civic buildings whilst providing a dynamic venue for public activities.[52] Unfortunately, after winning the competition by the famous architect Will Alsop, the project has collapsed due to its spiralling cost. Despite the project has raised huge controversy within the city about the appropriateness of the design and its impact on the authenticity of the site, however, the project also meant that Liverpool had past the worst periods of decline and it is looking towards the future (Figure 3).

[Insert Figure 3 here]

Nevertheless, the idea of developing the site did not go away after the collapse of the Fourth Grace project. A new Master plan was developed by Liverpool Vision, Liverpool City Council LCC, and the site owner, the North West Development Agency NWDA. The site was divided into two more moderate schemes; the Mann Island Development on the east side and the Museum of Liverpool to the west. The aim was to develop a vibrant mixed-use development that would reanimate Liverpool waterfront and link the different parcels of the city centre and the waterfront together. The brief for the western side of the site called for a new museum of Liverpool life, intended to explore the social history of the city. The historic nature of the site was an important feature; the brief emphasized that the new museum building should act as a symbol and contributor to the regeneration of the city, and enhance the role of tourism in Liverpool.

The site required a high level of sensitivity, hence, the philosophy of the architect, 3XN, was to treat the site as a part of the pedestrian flow on the waterfront between the Albert Dock and the Three Graces, turning the building and the public space around it into a gathering space with a building structure that would open the views rather than obstruct them.[53] Additionally, the city demanded a building that would be bold, functional and act as a social place, which meant that the place should be flexible, dynamic and facilitate changing exhibitions in the galleries.

On the eastern side of the site, the development of Mann Island required also a careful consideration. The brief of the project commanded a highly creative and sensitive design approach given its location within a World Heritage Site and its position between the historic commercial port buildings and the

51 SOM, "Strategic Regeneration Framework."
52 Rogers, "The Fourth Grace."
53 Frearson, "Museum of Liverpool: More than a Building," Dezeen Magazine.

Albert Dock. The brief also pointed to the need for the proposal to respect and maintain a series of key vistas of the Three Graces that were considered essential to the visual ambience and the character of the WHS. Additionally, the urban design challenge for the project was the poor visual connection between the site and the city. The Strand, which is a busy multi-lane highway, forming a big barrier physically and psychologically between the site and the city centre, the challenge was to overcome that through the design of a pedestrian node and reconnect the city physically and visually.

In 2005, Broadway Malyan was commissioned by the site developers (Neptune Developments, and Countryside Properties) to produce a new proposal for the site. The architect worked very closely with the city council and his design proposal gained strong support from both CABE and English Heritage. The design consists of three black buildings, three public spaces and a new canal basin. The project is mixed-use, consisting of residential, commercial and office facilities. The developers of the project note that the project is designed to complement and enhance existing and planned attractions on the Liverpool historic waterfront and will form a pivotal point between the Three Graces and the Albert Dock with the geometry of the new buildings reflecting this transition (Figure 5 & 6).

The group of the three black buildings is placed over transparent double-height commercial and leisure podiums, with projected overhangs creating pedestrian roots around the cluster. These transparent podiums provide a very sharp contrast to the solid heavily decorated bases of the adjacent Three Graces buildings. The inclined roofs of the two residential blocks form a contrast to the building's side elevations, the sliced roofs which can be considered as a fifth elevation create a sense of scale and providing residents with views to the surrounding WHS. Furthermore, the inclined roofs have demonstrated that the design is not only driven by commercial interest, rather it frames the views to the Three Graces quite nicely.[54]

However, although the design of Mann Island and the Museum of Liverpool were highly applauded by critics for their architectural qualities and contextual integration with their historical surrounding, in 2006, the development on the Pier Head Waterfront had fuelled concerns within UNESCO about the impact of these developments on the integrity of the WHS. The UNESCO sent a monitoring mission to assess the state of conservation of the WHS in its wider context and, in particular, to evaluate the impact of Mann Island development on the integrity of the WHS.[55] The UNESCO mission to Liverpool concluded that:

- 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, potential impacts of contemporary design proposals on historic areas such as the Pier Head will remain difficult to assess.[56]

The UNESCO urged Liverpool to introduce a stricter planning control based on a comprehensive analysis of the townscape characteristics, urban pattern, density, and sense of place. This has resulted

[54] Dominic Wilkinson (the Ex-Chair of Liverpool Architectural Society, Lecturer at LJMU) Interview with the Author, March 2013.
[55] Liverpool City Council, “Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City.”
[56] UNESCO & ICOMOS, “Maritime Mercantile City

in the WHS Supplementary Planning Document (SPD) which has proved to be central for the succeeding development of the waterfront.

[Insert Figures 4 & 5 here]

Implications

The previous account of the regeneration of the Pier Head Waterfront reflects the shift from agency-led regeneration to a more comprehensive approach where different stakeholders are involved in the process of the regeneration. The regeneration process throughout this era took different turns. The first attempt to regenerate Pier Head Waterfront through the Fourth Grace project, despite its failure, it had grabbed the national attention to the quality and the value of the existing heritage and sparked the discussion on the appropriateness of iconic architecture as an approach for regenerating the city. This approach, as it was referred to as the Bilbao effect, was heavily condemned by a number of critics. For example, Couch (Interview, 2012) argued that "... iconic architecture can be used to market cities like Bilbao 'the Guggenheim Museum' or Birmingham 'the Bull-Ring shopping centre', a city with poor or no image, but Liverpool already has its image and in no need for such costly projects".[57]

Liverpool's experience from the failure of the first attempt of regeneration was critical for guiding the second attempt of regeneration. Liverpool had refocussed its regeneration agenda from creating an image based on architectural icons to employing a more cohesive approach that is primarily concerned with place-making and urban design. Wilkinson (Interview, 2013) explains that saying "despite the failure of the Fourth Grace project, it was useful for raising debate, it got people interested in the site... However, it can be argued that the importance of the project for the city was not because of its nature as an iconic building which, as assumed, will rejuvenate the image of the city. Rather, the importance of the Fourth Grace is that it has demonstrated that iconic architecture is not a matter and what is matter is the fractured nature of the city. In short, iconic architecture can be deceptive and, therefore, cities need to consider the quality of their places and spaces through urban design framework as opposed to focussing on producing global images through iconic buildings".[58] However, this soon has been reflected in the development of the new masterplan for the area which has quickly gained the support of the different stakeholders.

The development of the Pier Head Waterfront masterplan was not also without controversy. This is chiefly due to the sensitivity of the area as being part of WHS.[59] However, urban design had played a critical role in providing a platform for assessing the new architectural interventions based on a number of measurable criteria such as conservation of key vistas, the continuity of urban fabric and public spaces and the reinterpretation of historic character and the consideration for the visual ambience. This, however, had shifted the debate from subjectivity as per the Fourth Grace project to objectivity where outcomes can be evaluated and measured. Issues such as architectural style have become less relevant while others such as design rationale, justification and contextual integration prevailed. Interviews with key stakeholders echoed that, for instance, Burn (Interview, 2013) said describing the new Museum of Liverpool and Mann Island Development "... both buildings are contextualised designs because they

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57 Chris Couch (Author and Professor of Urban Planning at the University of Liverpool) Interview with the Author, November 2012.
58 Dominic Wilkinson (the Ex-Chair of Liverpool Architectural Society, Lecturer at LJMU) Interview with the Author, March 2013.

[59] Dominic Wilkinson (the Ex-Chair of Liverpool Architectural Society, Lecturer at LJMU) Interview with the Author, March 2013.

have a rationale and they are really clear why they look like this, it is not because they do not look like a warehouse or a classical building that is mean they are not contextualised".[60]

In general, urban design agenda throughout the process of waterfront regeneration of this era was key in shaping the emergent landscape. Urban design has helped to establish the vision of the area represented in the SRF (2000), besides providing tools to assess new architectural proposals in relation to their context. Although the impact of new developments on the historic areas remains contentious and difficult to assess, the experience of Liverpool waterfront indicates that urban design has the capacity to work as a medium to assure the significant qualities of the built heritage will not be compromised and the insertion of the new developments will result in a coherent whole.

4.3. The Third Era (Post-2012); Investment or Heritage? *The Context*

Contrasting the previous era of regeneration where the city was primarily aspiring to improve its image and create better places for people through obtaining funds from government and European Union, the regeneration post-2012 is by large driven by economic agenda such as job creation and investment attraction. In 2012, the city published the Strategic Investment Framework (SIF) which marks the beginning of this era. The vision aims to build on the success of the previous SRF (2000). The SIF (2012) indicated that whilst some of the projects that will facilitate the transformation of Liverpool in the next 15 years are focused on non-physical investments through supporting business, culture, creative and visitor economy, yet, the SIF (2012) also strongly argued that the fundamental foundation of the city growth will require considerable investment in the built environment and the city's physical infrastructure. In order to achieve that, the SIF (2012) identified major transformational projects that focus on sectors and places where Liverpool has already a strength, reasoning that the city should try to continue gaining a more competitive advantage over other competitor cities.[61]

However, the previous periods of regeneration have failed to address the regeneration of the northern docklands of the city which has remained untouched. The SIF stressed on the need to consider the new proposal for skyscraper scheme 'Liverpool Waters' as one of the major transformational projects that will be critical to expanding the city's Central Business District and secures the future economy of the city. The project has raised huge controversy over its impact on the city. The following section discusses this project and its anticipated implications on the city's waterfront.

Liverpool Waters Proposal

Liverpool Waters is a major regeneration and development scheme proposed for the derelict north docks of Liverpool at an estimating cost of around £5.5bn. The developer of the project is Peel Group which considered as one of the largest property developers in the North West region of England. Peel's profile includes large developments such as Trafford Centre, MediaCityUK, and Liverpool John Lennon Airport. The project is completely located within the WHS and its buffer zone. 42% of the project land is located within the World Heritage Site and makes up about 22% of the whole inscribed site. Although claimed that the project intends to draw on the distinctive identity of the site and the city to define character areas, and delivering a high density and easily accessible waterfront that is both economically and environmentally sustainable, 62 the project, however, since it has been announced has raised huge controversy about its impact on the historic ambient of the WHS.

The original Liverpool Waters scheme was unveiled in 2007; it contained many iconic skyscrapers where several of them are over 50 storeys. However, after three years of engaging in discussion with different agencies such as English Heritage and CABE, a modified scheme was submitted to acquire planning permission in 2010. The modified scheme is a high-density development that incorporates two clusters of tall buildings, with towers up to 195 metres in height, the majority of the scheme are medium-rise blocks along the Mersey riverfront (Figure 6).

60 Rob Burn (Urban Design and Heritage Manager at Liverpool City Council) Interview with the Author, April 2013.
61 Liverpool Vision, "Liverpool City Centre Strategic Framework."

However, the responses of English Heritage and CABE about the modified scheme suggest the concessions offered by Peel are not yet meeting critics concerns. English Heritage despite it has supported the principle of a major scheme to regenerate the northern docks, it has commented on the Liverpool Waters Scheme saying that "the information of the planning application does not allow the effect of the development on historic buildings to be assessed accurately".[63] Consequently, English Heritage warned Peel that it would fight Liverpool Waters Scheme unless Peel agreed to make further changes in the scheme. English Heritage also stated that Peel has a significant way to go to convince English Heritage to back the scheme and that the new development would not damage the City's WHS.[64]

Similarly, criticised the proposal for its lack of information and ambiguity, it has stated that "the current Liverpool Waters planning application does not fully articulate the nature of what is being applied for in the material submitted and, in its current form, does not provide the confidence that a high-quality scheme will emerge".[65] Lindsey Ashworth, director of investment for Peel was reported in local media stating that "Peel is not prepared to make any more changes after already significantly reduced the size of the development".[66]

UNESCO in 2011 was also very concerned about the impact of Liverpool Waters on the WHS. It has warned the city that it could strip off the WHS status if the proposal is granted planning permission.[67] UNESCO decided to send a reactive monitoring mission to Liverpool to assess the city's WHS. Final report of the mission concluded that "if the proposed Liverpool Waters scheme as outlined during the mission would be implemented, the World Heritage property would be irreversibly damaged, due to a serious deterioration of its architectural and town-planning coherence, a serious loss of historical authenticity, and an important loss of cultural significance".[68]

The controversy about Liverpool Waters has spilt out the professional debate to become a hot topic in the media. Joe Andrson 'the Council Leader' reported saying he wants both the Liverpool Waters scheme and WHS accolade, but also he declared "whatever happens in 2012, let me be clear about one thing: we will back Liverpool Waters".[69] Bartlett (2012) said that if a compromise cannot be reached, which is more likely, he expected that the city council might impose conditions on the scheme in an attempt to curtail it to satisfy English Heritage and UNESCO. However, Peel has previously threatened to walk away if they do not get their way.[70] Bartlett (2012) pointed out that it is inconceivable that the

62 Peel, "Liverpool Waters."
63 Editorial, "English Heritage won't support Peel's Liverpool Waters plans," Liverpool Daily Post.
64 Bartlett, "Liverpool Waters plan set for approval but future remains uncertain," Liverpool Daily Post, 16th April 2012.
65 CABE, "*Liverpool Waters.*"
66 Bartlett, "Liverpool Waters plan set for approval but future remains uncertain," Liverpool Daily Post, 16th April 2012.
67 Bartlett, "Campaign committee set up to save Liverpool World Heritage Site status," November 2011.
68 UNESCO, "Mission Report; Liverpool – Maritime Mercantile City," 4.
69 Bartlett, "Campaign committee set up to save Liverpool World Heritage Site status," November 2011.
70 Ibid.

city will not approve the plans which promise to create 20,000 jobs badly needed in Liverpool and regenerating the derelict docklands.[71]

Liverpool Waters, however, was granted planning permission in February 2012 which meant a major implication for the future of the city's WHS status. A few months later, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee decided to place Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City on the *List of World Heritage in Danger*, with the possibility of deletion of the property from the World Heritage List if the current project is implemented.[72] More recently, at the 43rd session of the World Heritage Committee which held in July 2019, a decision has been made to retain Liverpool in the list of World Heritage in Danger, with a view to considering deletion from the WHS at the 44th session in 2020. The decision requested a moratorium for new buildings within the area of the WHS and its buffer zone, until the local plan, the neighbourhood masterplans, the revised Supplementary Planning Document and the Tall Building policy are reviewed and endorsed by the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies.[73] This, in fact, shows that the relationship between UNESCO and the city had become very strained.

[Insert Figure 6 here] ***Implications***

The regeneration of the northern docklands of Liverpool is a major opportunity and challenge for the city's future regeneration. The necessity for large projects to fundamentally change the impact of decades of dereliction and securing future growth is paramount. However, the current global economic climate and the massive competition with other cities would have a significant impact on the process of waterfront regeneration. It is evident from the study of Liverpool Waters that less emphasis is retained on the importance of design excellence, heritage and place-making, while the major concern was increasing the city's market share and economic growth.

The evolution of Liverpool Waters epitomises the shift from a public-private led regeneration to a private-led approach. Nevertheless, Skempton (2013) warns that "whilst the private sector is the engine of development, and will remain for the foreseeable future, however, only the public sector which is democratically accountable, can ensure a strong public realm and appropriate and effective urban design and transport planning".[74] The discussion on Liverpool Waters also reflects the concerns on the issue of the quality of the development. Although Parkinson (2013) maintained the need for increasing the role of the private sector, nonetheless, he argued that "the trick is to work with people who want to invest and develop but also try to get the quality in that".[75] However, there is little evidence that the city is adopting an urban design and heritage conservation strategies to try to influence the quality of the new waterfront developments and steer the regeneration process.

Nowadays, the role of heritage in the future of regeneration of the city has become more contentious. Although there is a tendency to use heritage agencies for challenging new developments. As per Brown, he indicated that "English Heritage and UNESCO are important for maintaining pressure over Peel to keep them alert not to do something irresponsible and to make sure they act sensibly".[76] However, the divergent interpretation over issues of authenticity and integrity of the historic urban landscape by the

71 Ibid.
72 UNESCO, "Decisions Adopted by The World Heritage Committee at Its 36th Session."
73 UNESCO, "Decisions Adopted by The World Heritage Committee at Its 43rd Session."
74 Trevor Skempton (Planning and Urban design Activist, Former Chair of Liverpool Architectural Society) Interview with the Author, March 2013.
75 Michael Parkinson (former director of EIUA, Planner and author), Interview with the Author, February 2013.
76 Peter Brown (Ex-Chair of Merseyside Civic Society, Professor at the University of Liverpool) Interview with the Author, February 2012.

different stakeholders (heritage agencies, local authorities and developers) prove to be problematic and an agreement, particularly in the case of Liverpool Waterfront, is difficult to reach. In this regards, Skempton (2013) argued "... what is essential is a good and widely-respected conservation strategy, alongside a first-class development masterplan. At the moment, I feel that English Heritage and UNESCO have been ill-advised. In the end, I regard having the correct strategy is more important than having the WHS title".[77]

To conclude, challenges facing Liverpool waterfront regeneration are significant. Issues of extreme urban and economic competitiveness, the reliance on the private sector, and the diminishing role of public sector will have a significant impact on the future of waterfront regeneration. However, it is important for the city to find a middle way that maintains a balance between economic interest in the one hand and quality developments that respect the historic landscape on the other hand.

5. Discussion

The previous section of the analysis of Liverpool waterfront regeneration showed the complexities of the issues that shaped the regeneration of Liverpool waterfront. The uniqueness of the case of Liverpool is the combination of different approaches to waterfront regeneration in response to changing trends, opportunities and challenges. Table 1 summarises and compares the eras of Liverpool waterfront regeneration and their impact on the urban waterfront.

Throughout the process of waterfront regeneration, the issue of remaking the image and branding was central. Liverpool understood that the old negative image would adverse economic development and would possibly impact how the local communities perceived themselves. The efforts of image remaking and branding have taken two forms in terms of physical regeneration. The first which is the conservation-oriented approach with local spatial references based on reconfiguring the historic urban fabric and built heritage for new uses which was evident in the first era of regeneration. The second is the design-oriented approach where the more innovative and adventurous design takes lead with more universal or global references as per the development of Pier Head Waterfront. Other non-physical approaches such as the ECoC 2008 and the inscription to WHS list were also vital in the process of remaking the image of the city.

The process of regeneration of Liverpool waterfront has also revealed the changing models of urban governance in response to the changing local and global context for regeneration. The first era which was led by public agency 'the MDC' echoed the need to repair the area's infrastructure, conserve its built heritage and prepare it for private investment. However, as a response to the conditions of economic globalisation, urban governance has changed during the second era of waterfront regeneration from a traditional managerial form of providing collect services, to a more entrepreneurial approach. This has exemplified in the establishment of Liverpool Vision which has proven to be very effective in gaining private sector confidence and coping with the volatility of the market.

However, although the model of Liverpool Vision has also continued to characterise the third era of waterfront regeneration in Liverpool, the impact of the extreme intercity competition and the lack of public funds cannot be underestimated. Liverpool has realised that it cannot sustain its future urban

[77] Trevor Skempton (Planning and Urban design Activist, Former Chair of Liverpool Architectural Society) Interview with the Author, March 2013.

growth without offering more enticement for private investment. This has had a huge impact on issues such as built-heritage, design quality and place identity, besides, it has sparked the discussion on the appropriateness of some developments in the conservation area. However, what is evident from the discussion on Liverpool Waters is that the form of the future emerging landscape in Liverpool waterfront will become more a matter of private sector and an expression of economic trends. Within this climate, it can be argued that Liverpool needs to work harder more than ever to maintain a comprehensive and balanced approach to regeneration that seeks economic development while respecting the historic landscape through careful planning, good quality design and engagement of all stakeholders. [Insert Table 1 here]

6. Conclusion; Contested Grounds

The study of Liverpool waterfront regeneration shows the significant transformation of the waterfront in the past few decades from a derelict eyesore that lost its economic fortune to a great cultural and business destination. This study sought to understand the process by which the regeneration took place. Three successive eras of waterfront regeneration were identified. Each of these eras of regeneration reflects the shifting priorities of regeneration, changing models of urban governance and the impact on the emerging urban landscape. The study demonstrates that the city although it was able to control the process of urban regeneration through the adoption of a number of key strategies and policies such as the SRF (2000) and SIF (2012), the regeneration of the waterfront, on the other hand, was largely driven by global trends that were often beyond the city's ability to control. In fact, the waterfront was and continued to be the grounds where the numerous global and national forces of economic globalisation and competitiveness intersect with the local interest of place heritage and culture.

The investigation of Liverpool waterfront regeneration revealed that the future regeneration of the waterfront will be predominantly led by the private sector within a context of weakened public role and extreme intercity competition. It is undeniable that this situation will force the city to offer more inducement for private investment to sustain its urban growth. The danger is, as stated by Marshall (2001), that the city will become less the result of design and more expression of economic trends.[78] This can be noticed in the development of Liverpool Waters. However, it is important to uphold the role of the public sector to actively lead the process of regeneration through a shared and a comprehensive regeneration strategy that is based on urban design and heritage agenda this in order to guarantee the qualities of the urban landscape will not be compromised and new interventions will result in a coherent whole. Heritage agencies, despite their strict interpretation, can also play a significant role in shaping the emergent urban landscape. Lessons learnt from the regeneration of Pier Head Waterfront are worthy of note.

Relating Liverpool waterfront regeneration experience to other post-industrial waterfront cities, the question is does Liverpool waterfront regeneration constitute a new approach to waterfront regeneration? The fact is that the case of Liverpool does not necessarily constitute a new generation of ideas that substantially break from other global cities, but rather presents a mixture of responses to a wide range of global and local issues and challenges that made the whole process of waterfront regeneration rather unique. However, this research argues by understanding the peculiarity of the regeneration of Liverpool waterfront, lessons can be drawn for other cities around the globe. The experience of Liverpool waterfront regeneration showed that, the most successful urban regeneration

78 Marshall, “Contemporary Urban Space-making at the Water's Edge,” in *Waterfronts in post-industrial cities,* 5

project is the one with the most comprehensive and inclusive process, publicly led, privately executed and where divergent forces and interests intermingle to shape the urban landscape.

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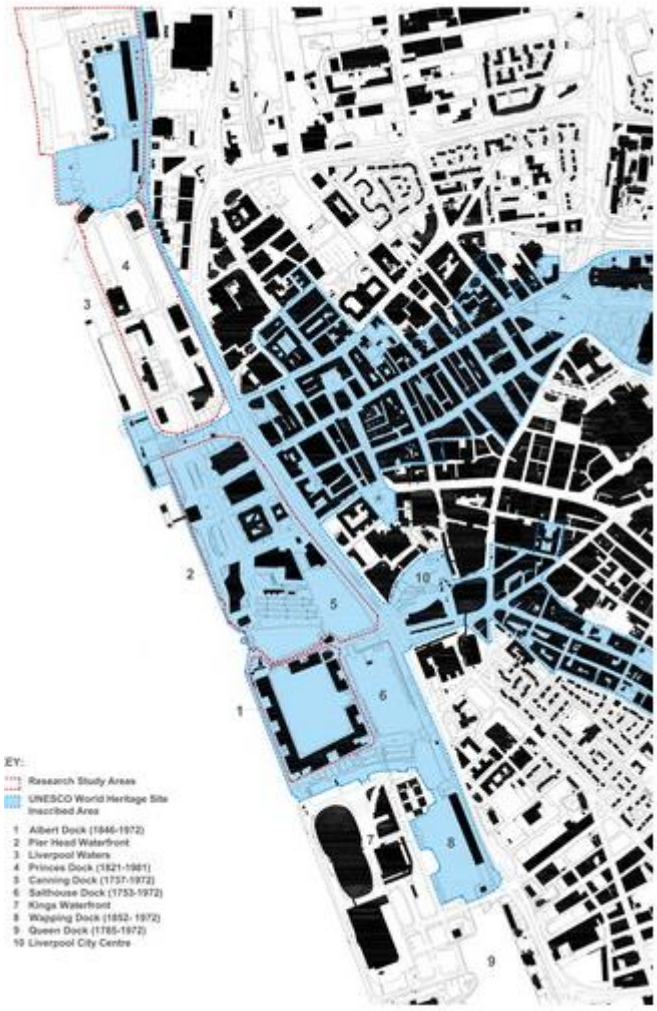

Figure 1. Liverpool Waterfront Map. Source: EDINA Digimaps modified by the authors.

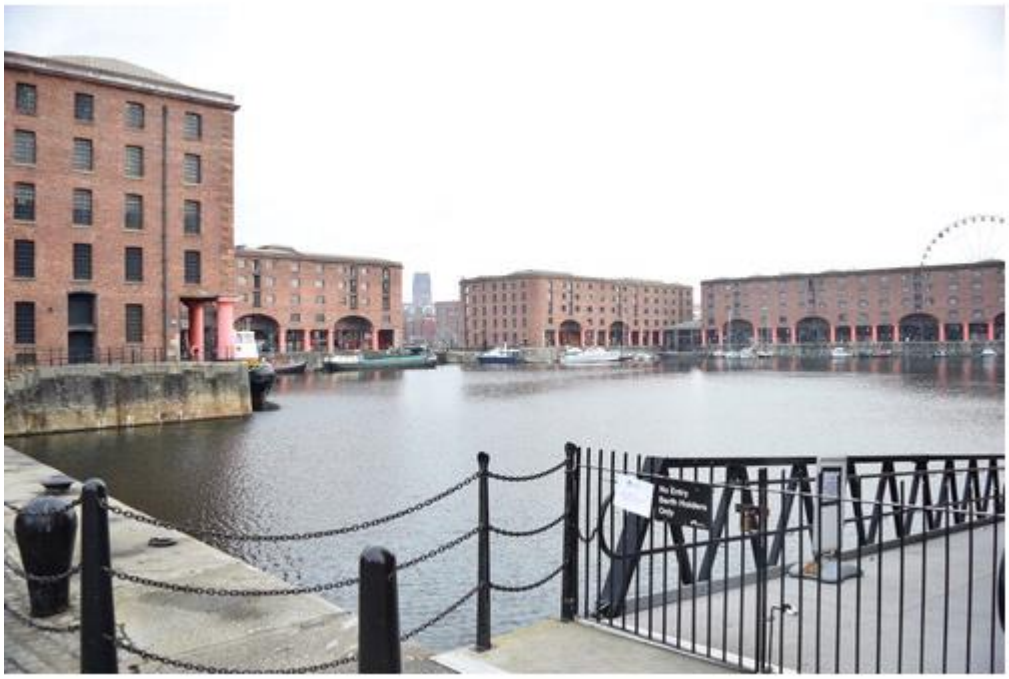

Figure 2. Albert Dock, the dock now is one of the most visited attractions in the North West Region of England and it contains a number of leading cultural institutions.

Figure 3. The Winning Fourth Grace design by Will Alsop, the project was scrapped for spiralling cost.

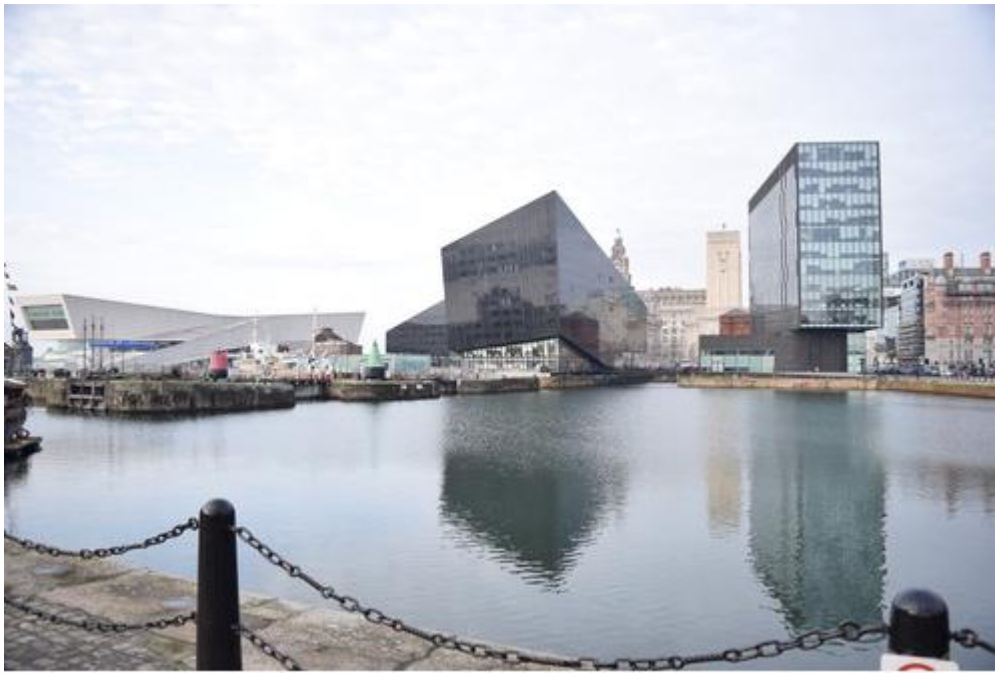

Figure 4. The Museum of Liverpool and Mann Island development on the Pier Head Waterfront, glimpses of the Three Graces of Liverpool appear on the back.

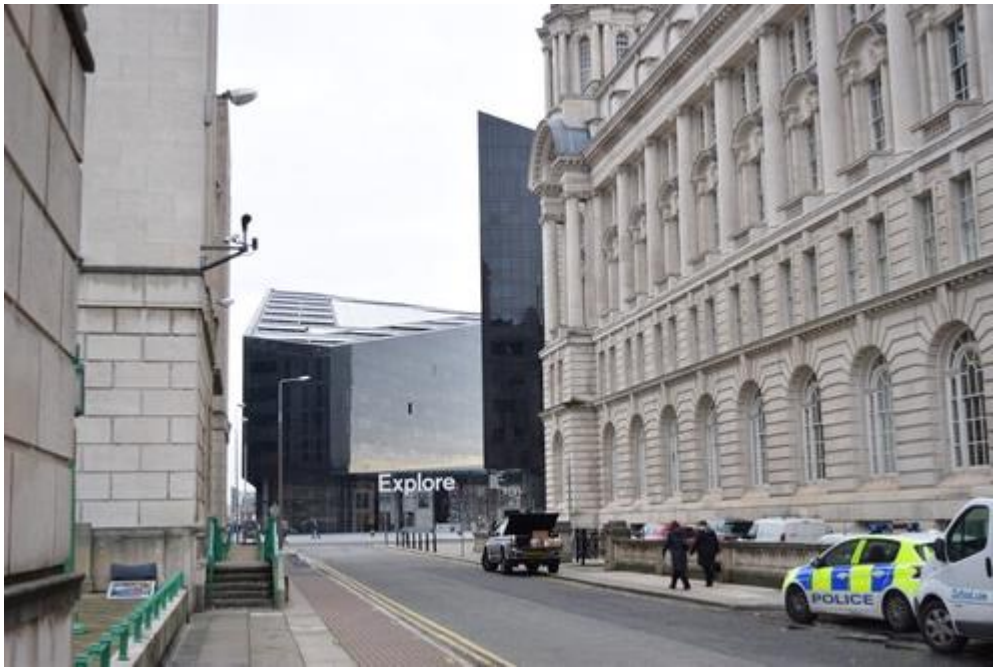

Figure 5. Mann Island Development, the design shows significant contrast to its historic ambiance.

Figure 6. Computer Generated Image of Liverpool Waters project, the image shows the significance of the project and the two clusters of tall buildings which UNESCO is very critical about. Source: Chapman Taylor website (Liverpool Waters Project).

Table 1 of 1

Table 1. Summary of the eras of Liverpool waterfront regeneration.

The era of regeneration	Key stakeholder(s)	Key regeneration strategies	Key regeneration areas/projects	Key features
1. The First Era (1980–1997)	Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC)	Initial Development Strategy (IDS) 1981	The Albert Dock Restoration	Agency-led regeneration Conservation-oriented approach The regeneration has succeeded in improving the environment and the physical aspects of the waterfront, but it did not manage to contextually integrate the city with its waterfront due to the nature of the MDC. This era was key in demonstrating the role of cultural heritage regeneration for the subsequent development of the waterfront.
2. The Second Era (1997–2012)	Liverpool City Council (LCC), Liverpool Vision, North West Development Agency (NWDA), Developers, Liverpool National Museums, Civic Societies, English Heritage, UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS), Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE)	Urban Task Force report (UTF) 1998 The Strategic Regeneration Framework (SRF) 2000 Liverpool City Centre Movement Strategy (CCMS) 2000 Liverpool Urban Design and Development Guide (UDDG) 2003 World Heritage Site Supplementary Planning Document (SPD) 2008	The Pier Head Waterfront	Public-private partnerships. Design-oriented approach Urban design has played a huge role in shaping the vision and facilitating the process of transformation. Urban design was critical in mediating between heritage conservation and new developments and has provided the tools to assess and measure contextualization. The built form of the emergent urban landscape of this era is more genuine and imaginative as it resembles the numerous factors that shape the urban identity.
3. The Third Era (post-2012)	Liverpool City Council (LCC), Liverpool Vision, Developers, Civic Societies, English Heritage, UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS), Peel Group	Strategic Investment Framework (SIF) 2012 World Heritage Site Supplementary Planning Document (SPD) 2008	Liverpool Waters, Northern Docklands	Private-led regeneration Investment-oriented approach The built form will be largely shaped by market preferences. The economic agenda has taken priority with less concern for the matters of design quality, public spaces and built heritage.