

Heritage, Pride and Place

Exploring the contribution of World Heritage Site status to Liverpool's sense of place and future development

Appendix B: Media and Promotional Analysis



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Introduction

The first part of this Appendix offers an overview of the detailed UK press content analysis that was conducted in order to assess how the Liverpool World Heritage Site (WHS) has been treated by the media and in turn influenced public opinion. The following pages cover the themes with which articles discuss Liverpool's WHS and the distribution of these themes, both in general and over time. The analysis also reports on the spread of articles between different newspaper categories, and the attitudes expressed towards the WHS and Liverpool across the articles.

The second half of the Appendix summarises the findings from the promotional analysis undertaken by this study, which entailed a qualitative review of websites and relevant printed material where the Liverpool WHS was likely to be featured as a tool for the promotion of tourism or city branding. The main question tackled in this analysis was: to what extent, and how, is the WHS award used to attract visitors and inward investment to Liverpool?

Media content analysis

Article Search

An initial search within the electronic newspaper database Lexis Nexis produced over 400 articles mentioning ‘Liverpool’ and ‘World Heritage Site’ as major themes (e.g. in their heading, first paragraph, or referred to more than three times in the main article). However, included in this figure were articles that discussed other World Heritage Sites (WHSs) without specific reference to Liverpool, such as, for example, articles on Saltaire which included a reference to the Leeds-Liverpool canal. Similarly, the figure included articles such as travel features published by the *Daily Post* and *Liverpool Echo* on WHSs, without any specific reference to Liverpool. Omitting these articles, the following analysis is based on 337 articles published between 22 August 1998 and 25 June 2012 – the date on which UNESCO placed Liverpool on its endangered list. The next section turns to the qualitatively grounded themes that were established through a thorough reading of the articles.

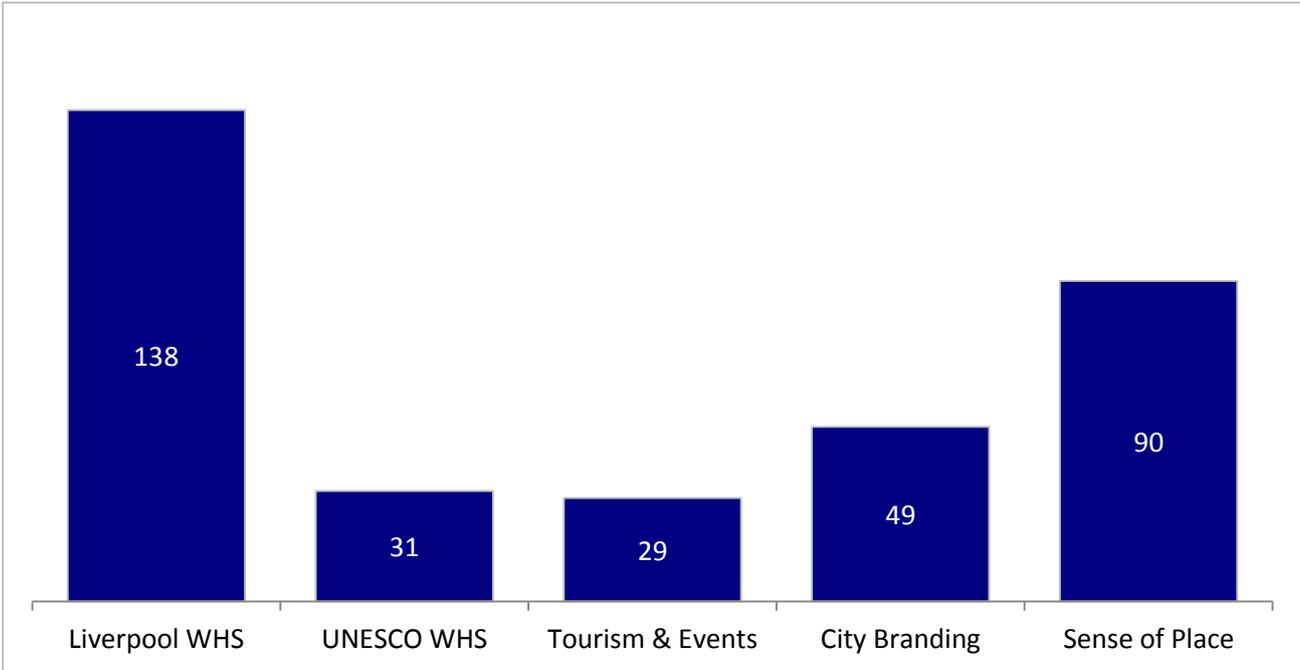
Five subject themes

For purposes of analysis, five qualitative themes were identified and coded as: Liverpool WHS, UNESCO WHS, Tourism and Events, Branding and Economics, and Sense of Place. These five main themes were then sub-divided into a series of more specific sub-themes (see Figures 1 to 4):

- **Liverpool WHS (Theme 1)** comprises articles that focus on discussing the city’s bidding, designation and management of the WHS (Theme 1.1); the relationship between the WHS and city development plans (Theme 1.2) and Liverpool Waters in particular (Theme 1.3). This theme accounts for 41% of the articles, the majority of which (23% of the total sample) discuss the second sub-theme, heritage juxtaposed to development.
- **UNESCO WHS (Theme 2)** comprises articles which discuss other WHSs, specifically or generically, and mention Liverpool as an example of a potential or designated WHS in the UK (Theme 2.1); one at potential risk (Theme 2.2); or one that UNESCO are monitoring or have monitored (Theme 2.3). This theme accounts for 9% of articles.
- **Tourism and Events (Theme 3)** comprises articles that are predominantly features on tourism or specific events and attractions in Liverpool based on the WHS (Theme 3.1); generic tourism discussion referring to the WHS in passing (Theme 3.2); an event occurring within the WHS (Theme 3.3); or travel features of other WHSs with reference to Liverpool (Theme 3.4). This theme also accounts for 9% of articles.
- **Branding and Economics (Theme 4)** comprises articles that discuss the city in terms of its business and economic development and regeneration. The three sub-themes are city branding related directly to the WHS (Theme 4.1); branding and regeneration with passing references to the WHS (Theme 4.2); and plans for new developments in or around the WHS (Theme 4.3). This theme accounts for 14% of articles.
- **Sense of Place (Theme 5)** consists primarily of letters, news items and features on issues related to how people contest definitions of physical space in the city and the WHS. The three

sub-themes are preservation, planning and heritage issues relating directly to the WHS (Theme 5.1); discussions of preservation, more generally, with passing reference to the WHS (Theme 5.2); and discussion of new gradings of buildings and the publication of heritage material (Theme 5.3). After Theme 1, these articles are the most prominent, accounting for 27% of all the articles.

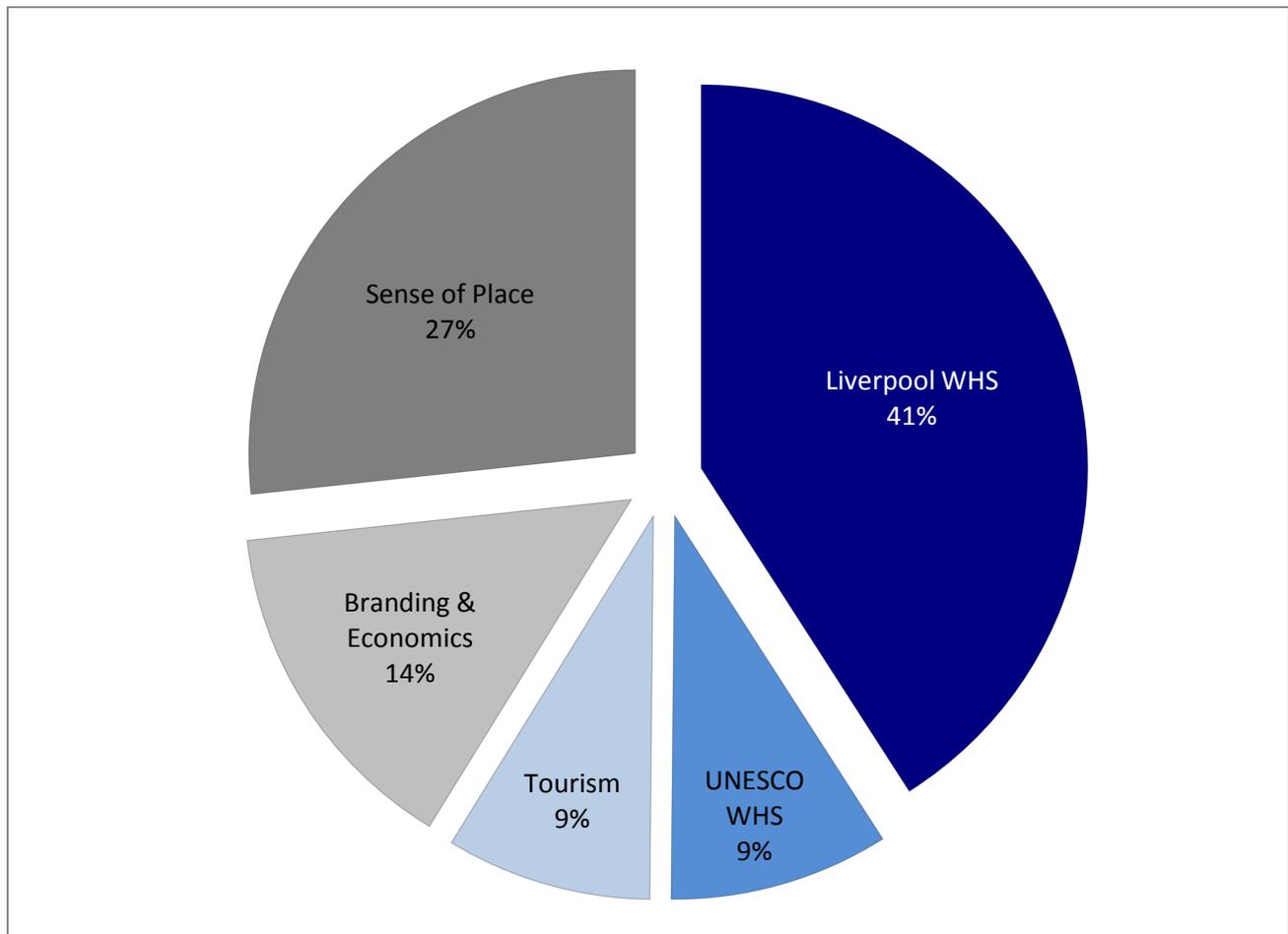
Figure 1: Frequency of themes



Source: ICC media analysis

With reference to Figure 3 below, which shows the percentage of each sub-theme, a marked finding is that, across the entire period, there are only nine articles where the WHS is discussed or referred to as a brand for promoting the city (Theme 4.1), and only 11 articles where the status is prominent in relation to specific discussion about tourism and events in the city (Theme 3.1). These figures are overshadowed by the dominance of articles discussing the WHS in relation to development (23% of all articles, Theme 1.2) and preservation of the WHS (15% of all articles, Theme 5.1).

Figure 2: Percentages of each theme



Source: ICC media analysis

Trends in themes¹

Despite the initiation of the bidding process in 1998, there were no articles mentioning the Liverpool WHS until 2000. However, from that point the WHS became more of a regular news item, fuelled by the city’s bid and eventual designation, and this culminated in 2004 with a peak in articles on Tourism and Events (Theme 3) and Branding and Economics (Theme 4), as well as a then-record number of articles overall. Following this spike in article numbers in 2004, there were a number of years, between 2005 and 2010, where articles relating to Sense of Place (Theme 5) exceeded those specifically on the Liverpool WHS (Theme 1). These articles primarily consisted of news and letters relating to various development projects, such as the new ferry terminal, the new Museum of Liverpool and Mann Island, all of which are on, or by, the waterfront and located within the WHS. The overall peak in articles, in 2011, coincided with UNESCO’s monitoring mission in November of that year, where the heritage versus development discourse drove the agenda of the local press coverage concerning the WHS, whilst at the same time drawing increased national coverage.

¹ Given that the sample of press articles analysed terminates at 25 June 2012, this section can only analyse yearly trends up to and including 2011.

Figure 3: Percentage of articles, by sub-theme

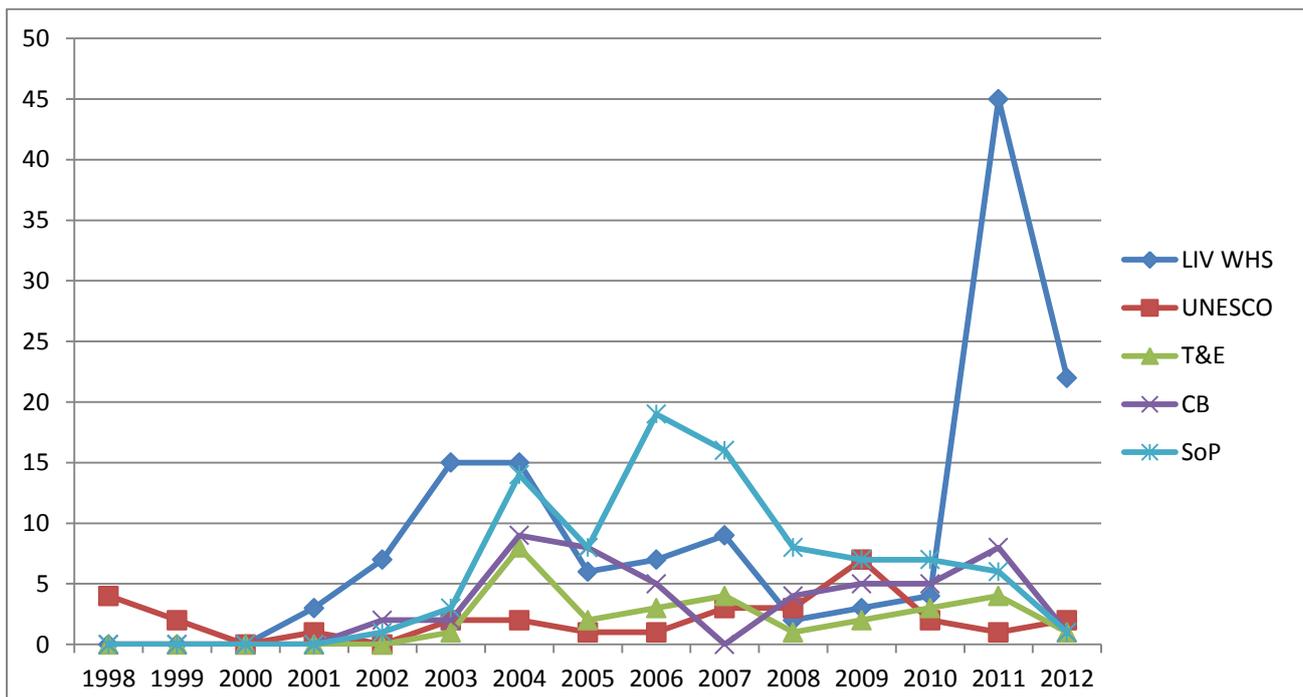


Source: ICC media analysis

It should be noted that while the narrative of World Heritage versus development took hold in the local media steadily from 2004 onwards, back in 2003 the business association Downtown Liverpool were already suggesting that the WHS could be ‘disastrous’ for the city’s development and regeneration. It was also in 2003 that the *Liverpool Echo* reported that the WHS could potentially generate an extra £25m per year in tourism, with this sector currently estimated as a £3bn per year industry for the city. However, only once, in the year of designation, were there more than five articles using or mentioning the WHS with reference to tourism and events.²

² The prominence (or not) of the award as a tool for promoting Liverpool’s visitor economy is more closely examined in the second part of this Appendix, which is dedicated to the analysis of promotional materials.

Figure 4: Trends in themes, 1998-2012



Source: ICC media analysis

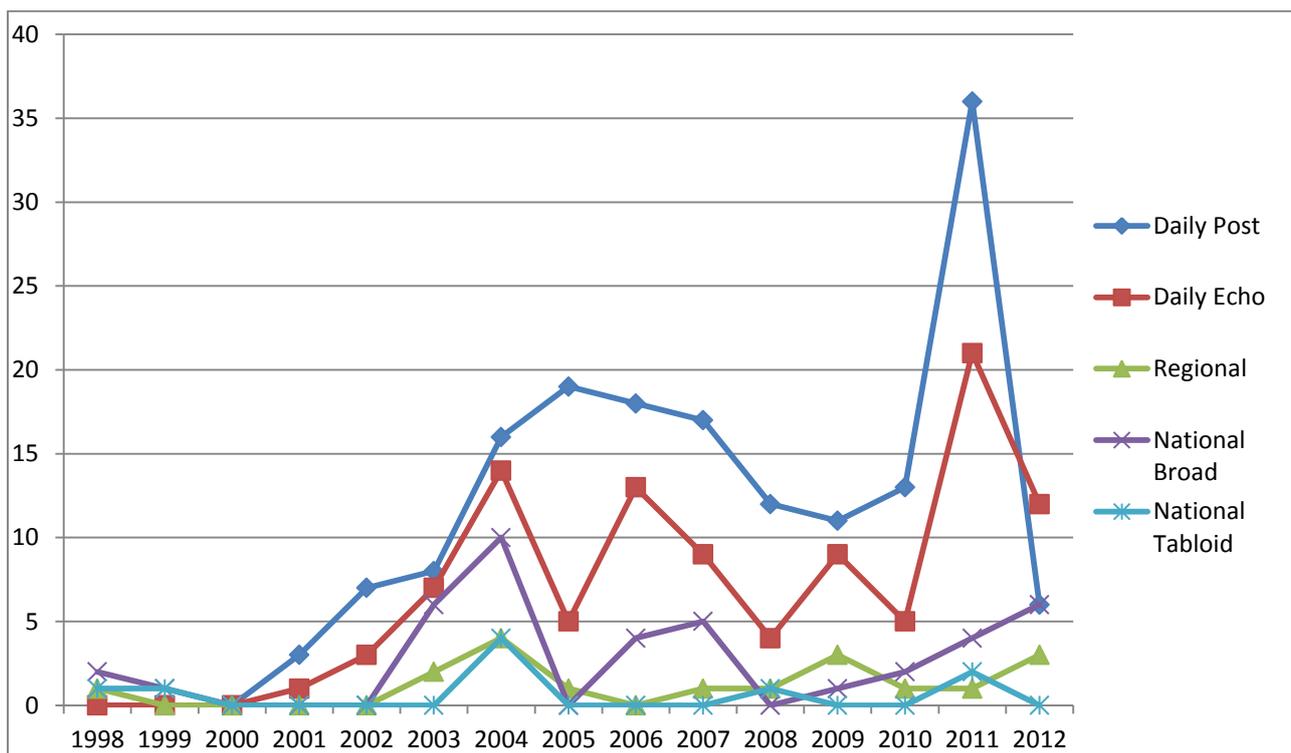
Note: ‘LIV WHS’ (Liverpool WHS); ‘UNESCO’ (UNESCO WHS); ‘T&E’ (Tourism and Events); ‘CB’ (Branding and Economics); ‘SoP’ (Sense of Place).

Coverage across the press

Unsurprisingly, the majority of the coverage featuring the selected search criteria was concentrated within the local press, with considerable overlaps in reporting between the *Liverpool Daily Post* and the *Liverpool Echo* on the topic.³ With these two sources accounting for such a large percentage of total articles, they were almost totally responsible for the coverage of the bidding and award stages, and also for covering articles coded under the Sense of Place theme in terms of new developments. The Liverpool WHS also drew the attention of the UK national broadsheets, to discuss the regeneration and possible renaissance of the city since the 1980s; yet the majority of this coverage was concerned with Liverpool being awarded WHS status and the subsequent UNESCO monitoring missions to the city in light of development plans for the waterfront. For other regional newspapers, features on Liverpool as a tourist destination increased over the period, as did mentions of Liverpool’s WHS from regional newspapers based in areas that were also formulating a WHS bid. The national tabloids barely covered the issue, with a total of nine articles over the entire period. Interestingly, there was a dip in total coverage during 2008 – Liverpool’s European Capital of Culture (ECOC) year – during which very few articles mentioned the WHS or associated ECOC events in conjunction with the WHS.

³ This is unsurprising, given that the two titles belonged to the same newspaper group and share a number of resources.

Figure 5: Coverage by different newspapers

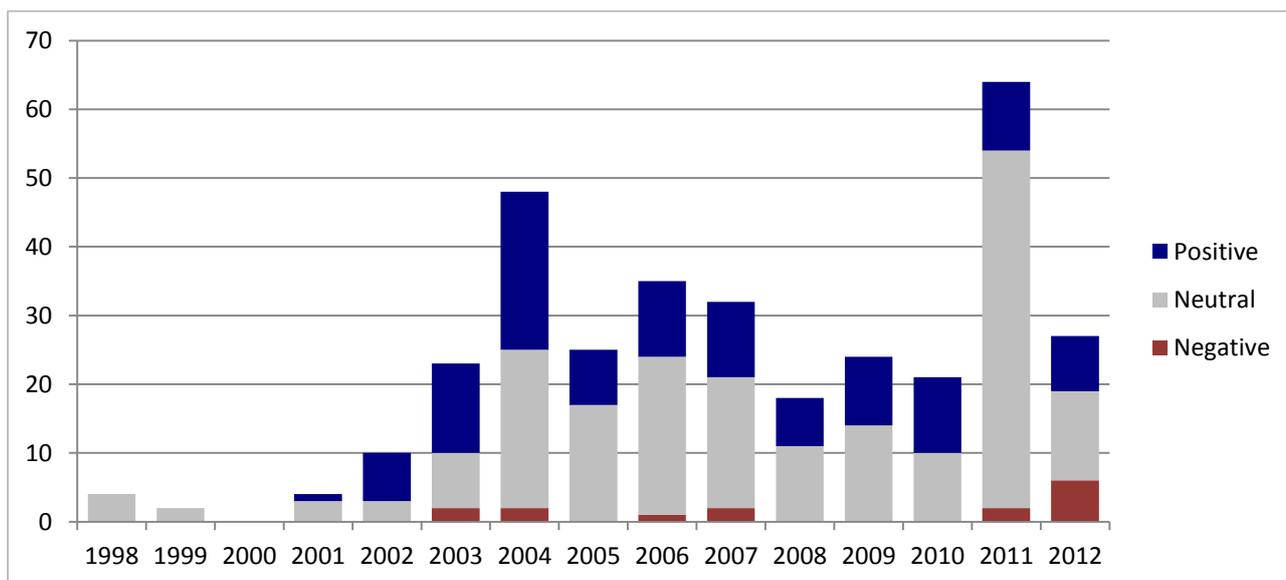


Source: ICC media analysis

Attitudes towards the WHS and Liverpool

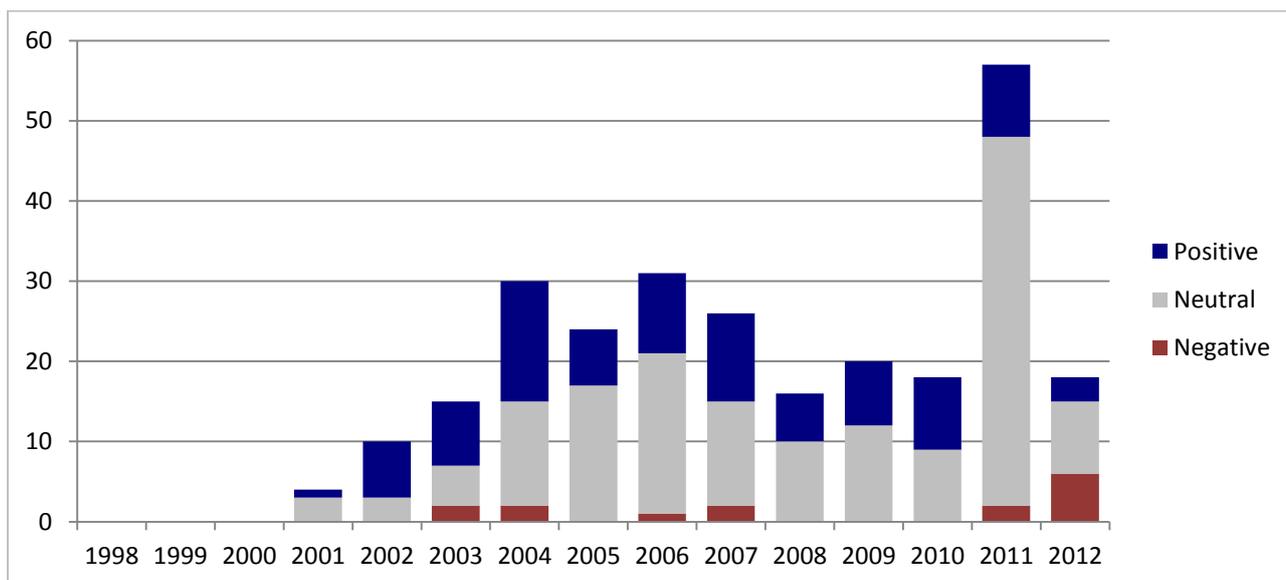
As the debate surrounding the WHS has become increasingly framed as a juxtaposition between regeneration and development, the local press have in the main remained impartial, with news items covering the arguments and concerns of both preservationists and developers. As a result, with both negative and positive voices accommodated in articles, the majority of these news items have been classified as neutral. However, clearly positive and negative attitudes did arise in local letters, comments and opinions in terms of Sense of Place (Theme 5), and in features regarding Tourism and Events (Theme 3) and Branding and Economics (Theme 4). There was a clear surge in positive articles during 2004, surrounding the designation of WHS status, and an increase in negative articles in 2012, due to discussion of the potential withdrawal of the WHS and an increasing sentiment that the WHS stands in the way of the city developing (see Figures 7 and 8). However, the only negative reporting of the WHS has been within the local press, with 39% of all non-local articles over the period being positive towards the WHS.

Figure 6: Attitudes of articles towards WHS (n) (all press)



Source: ICC media analysis

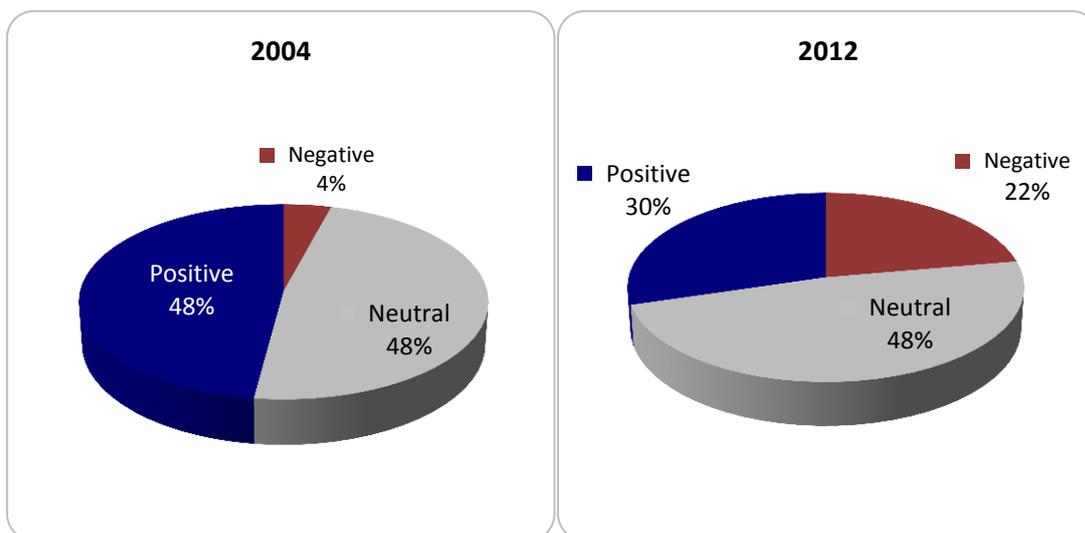
Figure 7: Attitudes of local press to WHS (n) (Liverpool Daily Post and Liverpool Echo)



Source: ICC media analysis

The negative comments in 2003 relate to those by Downtown Liverpool, and to letters reflecting the concern that attaining WHS status would risk new development in the city subsequently being restricted. However, as Figure 9 below shows, with the exception of 2010, 2004 saw the highest percentage of positive reporting (48%) and 2012 the most negative (22%), with neutral reporting accounting for half of all articles in both years.

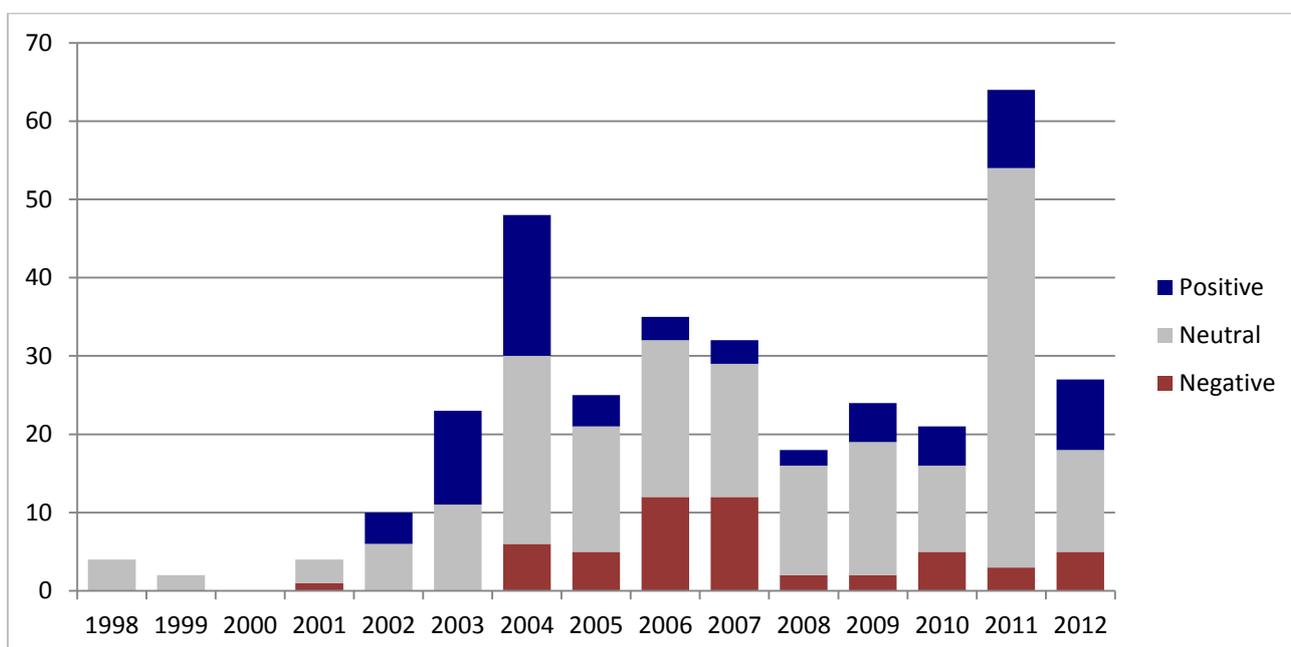
Figure 8: Attitudes of all press articles in 2004 and 2012 towards WHS (%)



Source: ICC media analysis

So far as attitudes towards Liverpool across the articles are concerned, the overall majority (62%) are neutral. However, as Figure 10 below shows, for three consecutive years between 2005 and 2007, there were more negative articles concerning the city than there were positive, particularly in the local press with reference to the WHS.

Figure 9: Attitudes of all press towards Liverpool with reference to WHS (n)

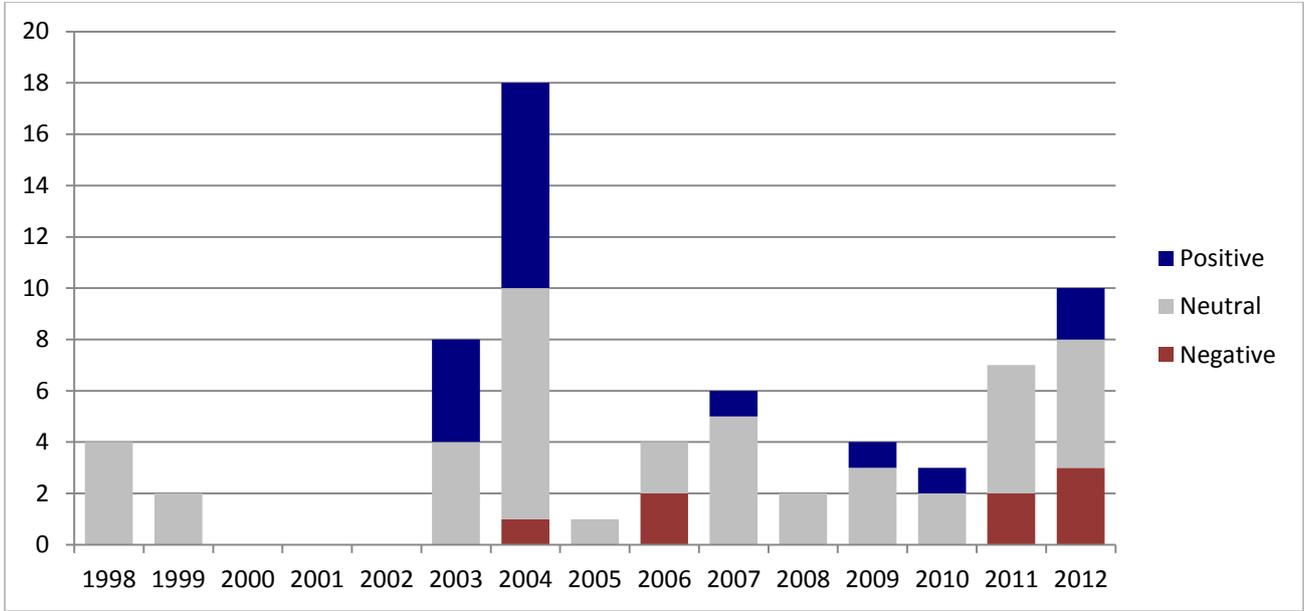


Source: ICC media analysis

Looking only at the attitudes of the non-local press towards the Liverpool WHS, there is a clear positive swing in 2003 – the year prior to the city’s designation – which continues into 2004 (see Figure 11). However, in the years 2006 and 2011, which coincided with monitoring missions to the

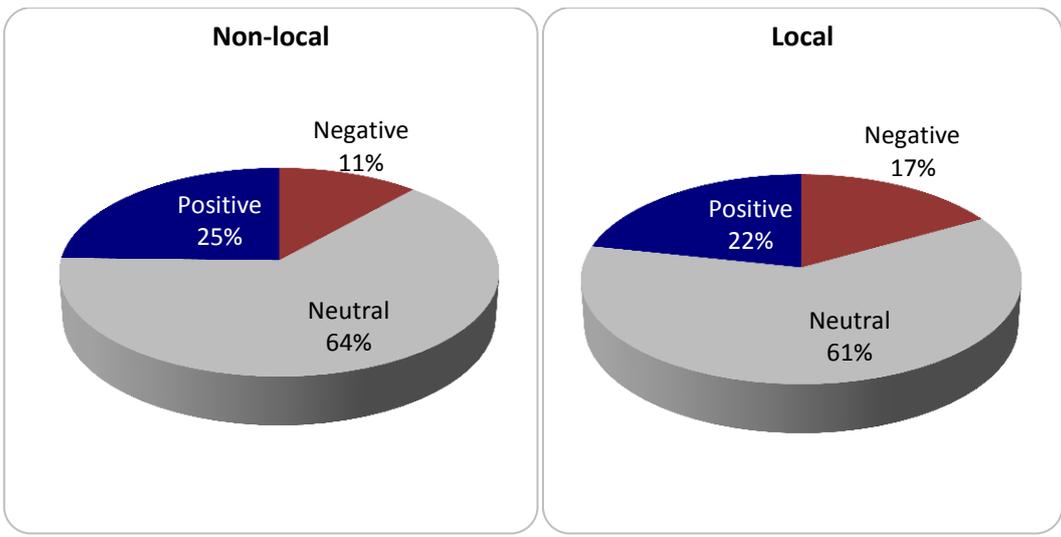
city by ICOMOS on behalf of UNESCO, more negative attitudes towards the city were prevalent. Nevertheless, the number of these non-local articles remains minimal, with only eight negative articles to 17 positive articles overall, and roughly two-thirds (64%) of the articles remaining neutral.

Figure 10: Attitudes of non-local press to Liverpool with reference to WHS (n)



Source: ICC media analysis

Figure 11: Overall attitude of non-local and local press towards Liverpool with reference to WHS, 1998-2012 (%)



Source: ICC media analysis

On the whole, due to the presence of letters, comments, etc., the local press has been slightly more negative than the non-local press towards the city with reference to the WHS (as shown by Figure 12).

In Tables 1 and 2, below, the attitudes towards the WHS and Liverpool are cross tabulated to explore the correlation between these sets of attitudes. Here, the dominance of neutral reporting on the WHS and the city emerges clearly, with just over half of all the articles remaining neutral to both in their coverage.⁴ Thereafter, the largest clusters are of articles that report positively towards the WHS, and positively (14%) or negatively (12%) towards the city. Of the 15 articles across the entire period that are negative towards the WHS, two thirds of these are positive towards the city. Interestingly, between 1998 and 2012, only one article takes an openly negative attitude towards both.

Table 1: Cross-tabulation of attitudes across all articles (n)

Attitude to WHS	Attitude to City			Total
	Neutral	Negative	Positive	
Neutral	173	11	18	202
Negative	4	1	10	15
Positive	32	41	47	120
Total	209	53	75	337

Source: ICC media analysis

Table 2: Cross-tabulation of attitudes across all articles (%)

Attitude to WHS	Attitude to City			Total
	Neutral	Negative	Positive	
Neutral	51%	3%	5%	60%
Negative	1%	0%	3%	4%
Positive	9%	12%	14%	36%
Total	62%	16%	22%	100%

Source: ICC media analysis

In Table 3 below, the clustering of attitudes is broken down further into the five subject themes initially outlined. From this, some patterns emerge. Firstly, we can observe that articles openly negative to WHS status tend to relate to Theme 1 – the main focus of the article being on the Liverpool WHS itself and the negative impact it is seen to have on development and the positive repositioning of the city as a place open to new investment.

As initially noted, Liverpool WHS (Theme 1) and Sense of Place (Theme 5) are the most prevalent themes across the articles. This reflects the general media narrative around the WHS that has focused on its management in face of development pressures, which in turn has become a polarised debate among stakeholders and residents between heritage/conservation and development. However, whereas the majority of articles remain neutral to the WHS, there are slightly more positive than neutral articles towards the WHS within the theme ‘Sense of Place’. Of

⁴ However, as noted previously, neutral reporting often entails remaining impartial whilst presenting both negative and positive views on Liverpool and its WHS.

these positive articles towards the WHS (45 in total), which tend to be letters and comments from residents and preservationists, the majority are negative towards the leaders of Liverpool in their management of the WHS and the city in general with regards to issues of heritage. Yet still they only account for roughly 8% of all the articles. As alluded to elsewhere, but somewhat disguised by the neutral categorisation of articles that contain both positive and negative sentiments, the dominant narrative that emerges from the analysis is heritage/preservation versus development.

Apart from earlier articles covering the designation and inscription of the WHS, there is very little coverage on the actual details of the site, the criteria for its designation, or how the award both positions and connects Liverpool within an international network of sites on the World Heritage List (WHL). This is also reflected to some extent in Table 3, which identifies the attitudes conveyed by articles where the award is considered in terms of Tourism & Events (Theme 3) and City Branding (Theme 4). On the relatively few occasions where the award has been used or referred to under these themes, the overwhelming majority of articles are, again, neutral in their attitude towards both the WHS and Liverpool. There are very few articles that are explicitly positive towards both, which is surprising considering that the ‘image’ and ‘place-making’ benefits of the WHS were among the initial motivations behind the inscription.

Table 3: Cross-tabulation of attitudes, by theme (%)

Attitude to WHS, by theme	Attitude to City			
	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Total
Neutral	51.3%	3.3%	5.3%	59.9%
<i>Liverpool WHS</i>	24.0%	0.3%	0.3%	24.6%
<i>UNESCO</i>	5.9%			5.9%
<i>Tourism & Events</i>	3.9%	0.3%	1.8%	5.9%
<i>City Branding</i>	8.0%	0.9%	1.8%	10.7%
<i>Sense of Place</i>	9.5%	1.8%	1.5%	12.8%
Negative	1.2%	0.3%	3.0%	4.5%
<i>Liverpool WHS</i>	0.6%	0.3%	2.7%	3.6%
<i>City Branding</i>	0.3%			0.3%
<i>Sense of Place</i>	0.3%		0.3%	0.6%
Positive	9.5%	12.2%	13.9%	35.6%
<i>Liverpool WHS</i>	3.3%	3.6%	5.9%	12.8%
<i>UNESCO</i>	3.0%	0.3%		3.3%
<i>Tourism & Events</i>	0.3%		2.4%	2.7%
<i>City Branding</i>	0.3%	0.6%	2.7%	3.6%
<i>Sense of Place</i>	2.7%	7.7%	3.0%	13.4%
Total	62.0%	15.7%	22.3%	100.0%

Source: ICC media analysis

Table 4: Cross-tabulation of attitudes, by press type (%)

Attitude to WHS by Press	Attitude to City			
	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Total
Neutral	51.3%	3.3%	5.3%	59.9%
<i>Non-local</i>	11.0%	0.6%	0.9%	12.5%
<i>Local</i>	40.4%	2.7%	4.5%	47.5%
Negative	1.2%	0.3%	3.0%	4.5%
<i>Non-local</i>				
<i>Local</i>	1.2%	0.3%	3.0%	4.5%
Positive	9.5%	12.2%	13.9%	35.6%
<i>Non-local</i>	1.8%	1.8%	4.2%	7.7%
<i>Local</i>	7.7%	10.4%	9.8%	27.9%
Total	62.0%	15.7%	22.3%	100.0%

Source: ICC media analysis

As identified previously, all the negative articles towards the WHS have emanated from the local press. In Table 4 above, the cross-tabulation of attitudes is broken down into non-local and local press articles. This data shows that the proportion of positive articles towards the WHS is similar for the two press types. However, non-local newspapers (national broadsheets and regional titles) have had a greater tendency to express positive attitudes towards the city, in conjunction with their positivity towards the WHS, than the local press. Irrespective of whether this reflects the polarisation of attitudes and the debate at a local level, the findings therefore suggest that the WHS designation has had positive benefits for improving the ‘image’ of Liverpool nationally.⁵ Indeed, the little negative reporting of Liverpool in relation to the WHS among the national broadsheets has been in relation to the management of the site with respect to new and proposed developments. Hence, any potential loss of the award would likely entail more negative reporting of the city, counteracting the positive reporting associated with the inscription of Liverpool onto the WHL.

⁵ Although the WHS award also creates potential benefits for the city’s image *internationally*, an analysis of international press coverage is outside the scope of this particular report.

Promotional analysis

The approach to promotional analysis entailed a qualitative review of websites and relevant printed material where the Liverpool WHS was likely to be featured as a tool for the promotion of tourism or city branding. The majority of the material analysed can be considered part of the tourism and visitor economy.

The main question tackled in this analysis was: to what extent, and how, is the WHS award used to attract visitors and inward investment to Liverpool? The analysis explored how the award is used by local/regional, national, and international organisations. Table 5 presents a summary of the sources and websites analysed.

Table 5: Data sources for promotional analysis

	TOURISM & EVENTS	CITY BRANDING
LOCAL	Tourism Information VisitLiverpool Press Releases City Map Attractions & Museums: Albert Dock Tate Liverpool Liverpool Museums Organised Walks: RIBA Lovehistory	Official World Heritage Website (www.liverpoolworldheritage.com) Public/Private Organisations: Liverpool Vision Local Enterprise Partnership Chamber of Commerce Liverpool Council Universities: University of Liverpool Liverpool John Moores Uni. Liverpool Hope University
NATIONAL	Tourism Agencies: VisitBritain VisitEngland	
INTERNATIONAL	Airlines: Ryanair, Easyjet, Flybe, Wizz Air Travel Guides: Lonely Planet Rough Guides Trip Advisor	

Please note that whilst we acknowledge that the sites reviewed do not give the full picture, they do provide a strong indication of the extent to which the WHS brand has been appropriated and used to define and/or improve the image of the city, which was seen as a key benefit of inscription. For purposes of clarity, the discussion is divided between the themes of Tourism and Events and City Branding.

Tourism and events

The Official Tourism Website for the Liverpool City Region (**VisitLiverpool.com**) currently⁶ does not highlight or use the award and the UNESCO World Heritage symbol of patrimony on its homepage. The award is first mentioned after clicking on the page 'things to do in Liverpool', which has an embedded link for 'UNESCO World Heritage City'. This link takes the visitor to the 'heritage' page, where one can search heritage attractions across the city region. On this page, the motivation behind the award and the scope of the site is briefly presented. For more detailed information, embedded on this page is a link to the official website of the World Heritage Site. Whilst there is therefore not a significant presence of the award on the official tourist site, visitors arriving in Liverpool also have the option of using a free visitor map, which details in brief the six areas of the WHS.

The only local website reviewed which refers to the award on its homepage is that of the **Albert Dock. Tate Liverpool** and **Liverpool Museums**, the overarching website for numerous museums located within the WHS, do not use the award and do not have visible links for further information. While a search for 'UNESCO' on Liverpool Museums' website provided 15 hits, there is no direct appropriation of the award in the marketing of its numerous attractions located across the site.

Two tourist attractions that use the city's cultural heritage, the walking tours of the Royal Institute of British Architects (**RIBA**) and **Lovehistory**, have not used the UNESCO accreditation to attract or inform visitors of the city's heritage, either on their websites or on their walks⁷. While both actively promote the significance and importance of the city's cultural heritage, neither organisation has used the award explicitly (or unprompted) to add credibility to their activities.

Nationally, the picture is slightly more positive, although references are not consistent across the board. On **VisitBritain.com**, a search for 'Liverpool' produces numerous hits (as one might expect), but not a single one that specifically refers to 'Liverpool World Heritage City'. A search for Liverpool and World Heritage together provides no results either.⁸ In the travel guide for Liverpool, the culture and heritage of Liverpool is at the forefront, complemented by Beatles attractions and football. While the UNESCO award is referred to, there are no links for further information. More interestingly, when searching for UNESCO, unlike other World Heritage cities in the UK (Bath, Canterbury and Edinburgh), Liverpool is not featured on the first page. However, on VisitBritain's dedicated page to World Heritage Sites (WHSs), Liverpool is placed 9th in the Top Ten WHSs in Britain. Clicking on Liverpool here takes you directly to the 'heritage' page of VisitLiverpool.com, as outlined above. For further information on British WHSs, the user is referred to by link to the UK's UNESCO website. Again, throughout the website, the UNESCO symbol of patrimony is not used.

On the website **VisitEngland.com**, the tag line for the city's travel guide is 'Maritime history, musical heritage, football and cathedrals'. On this page, under 'History and Heritage', the WHS title is mentioned with reference to the waterfront, and on a further link to the 'Three Graces', the following text is used: 'This, however, is only scratching the surface of Liverpool's architectural treasures. After all – the whole city is a UNESCO World Heritage Site.' Meanwhile, if the user finds Liverpool through the 'Cultural city breaks' tab of the website, the title is again used dominantly as

⁶ Webpage reviewed on 11/12/12.

⁷ Analysis conducted between November and December 2012, including attendance at respective walking tours without prompting questions on the WHS.

⁸ Searches conducted in December 2012.

an accreditation for the city's attractions, and provides a link to VisitLiverpool.com for further details. Again, like VisitBritain.com, the title is used as an authorisation for the quality of the city's attractions, yet with little or no content on the details of the site or its designation.

Overall, with regards to the official tourist bodies, to some extent the low level of appropriation of the award at the local level is replicated at the national level. It suggests that Liverpool may simply reflect the national picture with regards to appropriating the UNESCO label, and as such, the national tourist framework is unlikely to support a wider appreciation and promotion of the award locally.

With regards to the budget airlines that operate out of Liverpool, all but **Flybe** mention the title in their travel guides. Again, the title is used as an authorisation of the city's attractions with no further directions or links to information sources, as in the following introduction by Wizz Air:

‘A centre of maritime, artistic and sporting excellence, Liverpool's successful crowning as the European Capital of Culture by its unrivalled architecture and heritage, including its world-famous waterfront, itself named as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.’

Although **Trip Advisor** actively works with and promotes UNESCO's World Heritage List, **Lonely Planet** and **Rough Guides**, like much of the promotional material analysed, conflate the WHS with the waterfront. Interestingly, Liverpool, unlike London, Cardiff, Edinburgh, Manchester and Birmingham, is not currently included on the Rough Guide's drop-down menu of popular destinations. Again, with no specific attractions in Liverpool directly associated with the WHS, the title is used by the main tour guides as a stamp of approval for the city.

In sum, when used, the title appears to be mainly presented as a tag to add credibility to Liverpool's numerous attractions by tourist authorities, airlines and travel guides. However, the WHS title is not actively used as a direct calling card to promote tourism in the city, and there is very little or no use of UNESCO's symbol (brand) of patrimony.

City branding

The poor appropriation of the award in terms of tourism and events is repeated with regards to city branding. The bodies responsible for promoting business and enterprise in the city and the region – Liverpool Vision, the Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP), the Chamber of Commerce and Liverpool City Council – refer to the city's rich cultural heritage on their websites but do not actively use the UNESCO WHS brand to attract inward investment into the city, or to attract entrepreneurial talent to the city.

While both **Liverpool Vision** and the **LEP** mention the award in terms of the visitor economy, neither have appropriated it to promote 'liveability': a means to attract people to live in the city through the accreditation of its aesthetic and cultural assets. Instead, currently the award is primarily seen as a means to attract visitors and not talent to the city. While the **City Council** recognises the importance of the city's heritage assets generically, the UNESCO label is used peripherally. Instead, and maybe not surprisingly, on their websites, these bodies prioritise and promote plans for development of the city, particularly the Liverpool Waters proposal.

Of the three universities in the city, only **Liverpool Hope University** actively uses the label in conjunction with the other cultural assets of the city to attract students, with their website providing a link to UNESCO UK. The **University of Liverpool** and **Liverpool John Moores University** currently do not use the award as a marketing tool for internationalisation.

The limited appropriation of the award, generally, across both areas (tourism and city branding) is further reflected in the lack of links between the sites reviewed and the city's official World Heritage website, which currently shows a low level of maintenance and functionality. The last updates to the official website date back to August 2011; as such, the contact details provided are to the former World Heritage Officer, who left the post in the autumn of 2012. The poor functionality of the website was raised in numerous stakeholder interviews, as some had used it to better acquaint themselves with the site prior to interview:

'And I go on the website, and it says, you know, 'Use the interactive map,' and it's not interactive at all. Well, I couldn't get it to interact with me. You know, you just, sort of, go, 'Well, you've got to work at these things.' You know, you've got to make it sexy for people./.../ I suspect it ticks a box for UNESCO.'

In sum, across local organisations' websites there is little use of the award in the branding of the city. If and when used, it is presented mainly as a means to improve the region's visitor economy. Liverpool Hope University were the only organisation reviewed that uses the title on its website to attract people to live and study in the city.

Conclusions

The findings attained from the promotional analysis, though not extensive, reflect and support those from the media analysis in that the city has not fully appropriated the award to promote tourism and events or brand the city. Instead, from the media analysis, the dominant narrative surrounding the WHS in the press since designation in 2004 has been in terms of development in or around the city centre and specifically on the waterfront, heightened with the UNESCO monitoring missions to the city in 2006 and 2011.

With 41% of the 337 articles reviewed covering the bidding, designation and management of the city (Theme 1) and a further 27% of articles under the theme Sense of Place (Theme 5), it is apparent that very few articles are press releases by the Council or organisations using the award to promote the image of the city per se. Initially, the award received favourable coverage across local, regional and national press; however, since then, national broadsheet coverage has been solely concerned with the threat to the title due to planned development. Nationally, the title is generally seen as something positive for Liverpool, with no negative attitudes expressed towards the title; whereas attitudes are more divided within the local press. While both the *Daily Post* and the *Liverpool Echo* have remained neutral, covering the opinions of conservationists, civic leaders and developers, the debate and narrative in the city has, with time, become increasingly polarised between the supporters of, and critics of, the WHS. This polarisation has been most active and heightened around the time of the UNESCO monitoring missions. On a few occasions, voices that envisage a consensual path between heritage and development have received coverage.

It is clear from the media analysis that whilst any potential loss of the title would not have a significant impact on promoting the city's cultural assets (due to the fact that, to date, it has not been significantly used for such purposes), it would undoubtedly tarnish the image of the city nationally and internationally. While the indirect consequences of any potential loss in terms of the region's economy are incalculable, the unresolved issues of the title, with regards to Liverpool Waters, are unlikely to counter the longstanding negative imagery Liverpool and its inhabitants have contended with (Boland 2007). If the most vehement voices surrounding the WHS continue to dominate local press coverage, the polarisation between conservation and development will widen further and alternative visions for the city are unlikely to materialise. The media and promotional analysis presented here suggests that a democratisation of heritage in the city is long overdue, and that without such a process it is unlikely stakeholders and organisations in the city will appropriate and use the title to achieve the benefits it was originally sought for.