

Heritage, Pride and Place

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

Appendix E: Liverpool Citizens Survey



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Introduction

The following analysis presents the main findings from the Study's online survey. This exercise was conducted using the Bristol Online Surveys platform and took place between 28 September and 17 October 2012. There were 216 completed surveys (59.3% male and 40.7% female) and a further 28 incomplete surveys. The results presented here use all of the available data.

The purpose of the survey was to explore residents' attitudes towards, and knowledge of, the World Heritage Site (WHS) in order to analyse, among other things, the link between 'WHS literacy' and 'Sense of Pride' in the city. The survey design was informed by findings from the focus group discussions and the stakeholder interviews, together with previous Liverpool citizen surveys exploring people's sense of place. It was divided into four sections:

- The first section examined people's attitudes towards the impact of the WHS, with one question directly asking respondents whether the status had contributed to their sense of pride in the city.
- The second explored issues related to people's sense of place.
- The third tested respondents' knowledge of the site and the reasons behind its designation.
- The fourth and final section gathered background details of the respondents in terms of gender, age, residency and media use.

For the purposes of analysis, responses relating to the perceived impact of the award on the city and the potential impact of its loss were combined and aggregated to identify three attitude types: residents that were positive, negative or neutral towards the WHS. Similarly, using the variables measuring people's knowledge of the site and its designation, a scale was produced that enabled respondents to be classified as either having a poor, average or good knowledge of the site, which was taken as a proxy measurement for 'WHS literacy'.

The Appendix is structured into seven sections, with each section analysing a different aspect of the survey data. A copy of the survey is attached at the end of the Appendix, for reference.

Attitudes to Liverpool's built heritage

The survey asked respondents to name the buildings, streets, monuments, parks etc. in the city that they 'love' and 'loathe'¹, which made it possible to explore the aspects of Liverpool's built environment that people like and dislike, and also to consider the extent to which these places are situated within the city centre and the WHS.

The main places that respondents to the survey 'loathe' correspond closely with the places commonly mentioned in a similar exercise organised by the Museum of Liverpool. Among those most frequently cited by survey respondents were: St Johns Precinct, Clayton Square, the Crown Court, the Royal Liverpool Hospital, the Mann Island Development (together with other new developments north of the Pier Head), the new Museum of Liverpool, the new Ferry Terminal, the old Royal and Sun Alliance building (known locally as the 'sandcastle'), the Halifax Building, the Crowne Plaza Hotel and the Police HQ.

As one of the few spaces in the survey where respondents were free to write down their opinions on the built environment of the city, many took the opportunity to express themselves at length. The following comments encompass a diverse array of opinions (generated by the 'loathe' prompt), some of which reflect the notion that heritage and development are not mutually exclusive.

'St John Centre, Flyover behind Central Library, Courts [and] Cathedral Court (behind Anglican cathedral). Don't really like either cathedral. That mess of a restaurant opposite St Barnebas church at end of Penny Lane. Lots of horrible bits on Smithdown Road (like houses opposite cemetery).' **(Respondent 9933910)**

'I hate the self-imposed dereliction in Anfield, Edge Hill and Toxteth, I hate the demolition of Scotland Road and Everton Valley, I hate the return to stupid planning like clearance of Ringo's birthplace and the rape of inner city streets, I hate the corruption and infighting that killed off the Tram, I hate the stupid polarity of arguments about the World Heritage site - it's not development versus heritage - protecting heritage is a good way to stimulate investment - do you think we'd have Liverpool 1 if we hadn't saved the Albert Dock?' **(Respondent 9935358)**
 Immediate inner city small towns (e.g. Toxteth, Dingle, Walton). Area immediately outside of business area (north of Leeds Street) is in need of renovation. Road into city from M62 (Kensington).' **(Respondent 9902564)**

'Mann Island, The Block @Kings Dock, Travel Lodge Strand, Clayton Square - how short sighted to have destroyed Cases St, Gt Charlotte St - destroyed, Lime St (except Station) = destroyed, hope old buildings/cinemas will be rescued. The back of Liverpool airport - what a terrible impression for anyone landing first time!' **(Respondent 9883268)**

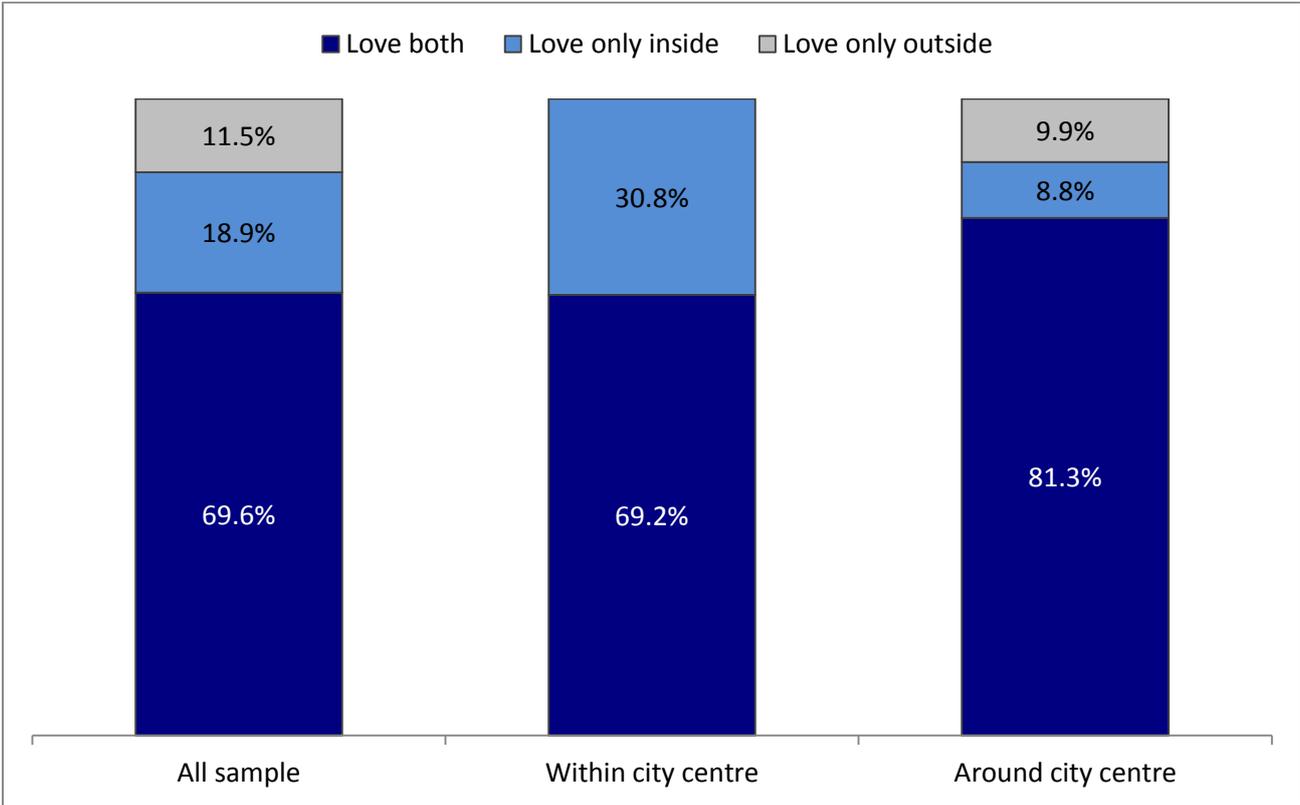
'Not sure I loathe any of them, but not so keen on One Park West, the new Ferry Terminal, the escalator section of Liverpool One, the Beetham Towers or - probably controversially - Exchange Flags/Buildings. The big TV screen. Some of the random clutter in the name of public art (e.g. the Titanic on Park Road). Lime Street is a mess. Pier Head is still missing something (people?).' **(Respondent 9901828)**

¹ Idea taken from Museum of Liverpool Skylight display, where visitors can outline the buildings they love and loathe.

‘The black marble buildings on Mann Island have ruined a number of views of World Heritage site, and look totally out of place. It is short-sighted by the council, Liverpool will be here for centuries, and they have used iconic land for quick money, with some of the offices used for council offices, joke. The coast line of Liverpool, by the garden festival site should not have had houses built on it, this land is unique and should be used for the enjoyment of local people and tourists.’ (Respondent 9934545)

These comments illustrate that residents’ concerns regarding Liverpool’s built environment are not limited to the city centre or the WHS. This is also evident from the variety of ‘loved’ places. Over half of the ‘loved’ places are located outside the WHS. Among those most cited were: the Three Graces (Liver Building, Royal Insurance Building and Cunard Building), the Albert Dock, the cathedrals (Anglican and Catholic), St George’s Hall, Hope Street and the Georgian Quarter, Sefton Park, Calderstones Park, Otterspool Park, the Bluecoat Chambers, Mann Island, India Buildings, Oriel House and Abercromby Square.

Figure 1: What people ‘love’ by location of residence



Source: ICC citizen survey

Note: The categories for the column charts, above, denote whether respondents indicated a love for locations that are exclusively *inside* the WHS area, exclusively *outside* the WHS area, or spread across both areas. The number of respondents classified as living ‘within city centre’ and ‘around city centre’ does not sum to the figure represented by ‘all sample’ because not all respondents that provided data on loved and loathed places also provided their postcode.

In similar fashion to the ‘loathe’ prompt, the ‘love’ prompt also generated numerous comments, which reinforces the notion that Liverpool residents’ appreciation of their built environment is much broader than official heritage designations. Furthermore, these findings again support the idea that residents do not see heritage and development as mutually exclusive.

‘You can't rank the above in order - they are all important. I love lots of things about Liverpool, too long to list - the terraced streets, Smithdown road, the Parks, the Pier Head, the River from the Dingle, the old docks, the view from Everton brow, Queens Drive, Menlove Avenue, the Martins Bank, the view down Water Street, travelling on the #10 bus, - there are many great things.’ **(Respondent 9935358)**

‘Liverpool has many buildings and places of importance; yet even within the debate on the World Heritage Status it has been focused on the 'Three Graces' whereas it also covers William Brown St and Duke-Hanover St where there are hugely important buildings. Liverpool, as with all cities, is a dynamic place in terms of its people and places; a city needs to strike a balance between preserving our heritage and creating new buildings. So I love the Port of Liverpool Building and the Mann Island development - which I've seen built from where I live - has grown on me. I'm old enough to remember the awful bus terminal at the Pier Head from the 1970s and now I see a wonderful open space suitable for civic events. A city must change and cannot be preserved in aspic! The former White Star line building is magnificent but the new Travel Lodge (or whatever budget hotel chain it is) on the Dock Road is a good addition to the area. Obviously, Liverpool 1 has redeveloped that part of the city centre and I think it has been reasonably well done in terms of sight lines, building scale and usage. While there are inherent problems with retail led re-development, I'd sooner have L1 than the Trafford Centre.’ **(Respondent 9933779)**

Modern developments in the city were more likely to be cited under both ‘loathe’ and ‘love’. The most cited across both categories were Liverpool One, Mann Island, Beetham Towers and the Echo Arena.

As Figure 1, above, illustrates, the places most loved by a majority of people (70% of 162 responses) are both inside and outside the WHS. Only 19% of people cited places that are exclusively within the WHS. When exploring the citations in relation to where respondents reside, people living within or around the city centre (postcodes L1, L2 and L3) tended to list places that are located across the city region. However, residents outside the city centre – the majority of the sample – tended not only to cite more places outside the WHS, but at times did not cite any buildings or streets within the WHS at all.

To conclude, the results show that people’s appreciation of the city’s built heritage is much broader than the area covered by the World Heritage Site, which reflects the rich array of heritage assets the city has inherited from its maritime and mercantile past. The findings from the online survey mirror those from the focus group discussions, which showed that while many residents are supportive of the title, they feel it does not necessarily reflect what they personally appreciate in the built environment. As such, residents outside the city centre may feel that the title detracts attention and resources from other (‘their’) heritage assets. This sentiment is clearly reflected in

the following email received from a young student at Liverpool Hope University, which concluded with this section:²

'... I found this survey really interesting, but what didn't appear to be on there is that there are areas within Liverpool and just outside Liverpool which are World Heritage and are frowned upon as they are bad areas. I personally think that these areas need to be focused upon such as Huyton /.../ However as these areas are run down they have no focus point upon them, I see the city centre as Liverpool's main focus point for tourist attraction and since 2004 the city has become more up market and has established itself, to be put on the map. Although I do think that areas outside Liverpool should be taken into consideration as they have been left and houses have been boarded up etc. this for tourist coming into Liverpool does not look good, as when you come outside of Liverpool these areas look as though they have been left to rot, this is the only way I can explain. I personally think that the government and city council have done a brilliant job at focusing upon the city centre however they now need to focus upon these run down areas where all this gang culture is happening and where there is very low budget and people are living off benefits. I was brought up in Huyton, on an estate where I lived until I was 16, there was not much opportunities offered to us living on a small estate, there was only one community centre so the youngsters would find themselves in trouble a lot, if the city council and government focused on areas such as Huyton and Norris Green and funded community centre and included heritage to these areas it would make the city as a whole a better place, rather than just focusing upon the city centre as the city centre has a lot to offer already. Liverpool is a wonderful place full of friendly people and a lot of heritage. However I personally think that the outskirts of Liverpool need to be focused upon more than the city centre itself. I found the survey very useful, that's why I have emailed you as I could not write all this in the survey.'

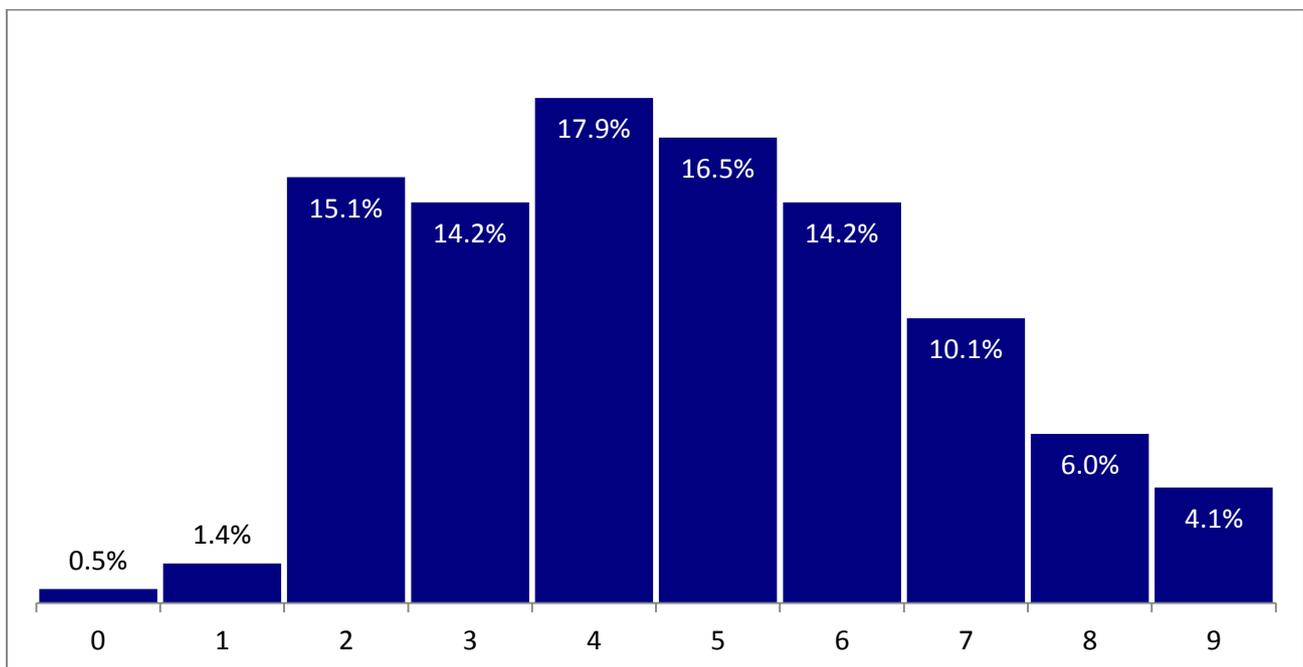
² Text slightly modified for improved legibility.

Knowledge of the WHS and common associations with it

‘WHS literacy’ of respondents

To assess ‘WHS literacy’, a knowledge score was produced for each respondent by aggregating their responses in section three of the survey. If all six areas of the WHS were identified correctly, along with the three motivational criteria for its designation, a maximum score of nine was recorded, with an incorrect answer resulting in a one point deduction. Figure 2, below, shows the distribution of respondents’ scores. Only 3.7% of respondents answered correctly across the board and, alarmingly, only 17 respondents (7.0%) identified the six areas correctly.

Figure 2: Distribution of scores measuring WHS literacy (0= very poor; 9= very strong)



Source: ICC citizen survey

Note: The knowledge score reflects each respondent’s ability to correctly identify the six areas associated with the Liverpool WHS, together with the three reasons for the designation. A score of zero indicate very poor WHS knowledge; a score of nine indicates very strong WHS knowledge.

Respondents were thereafter classified as either having:

- a ‘good’ knowledge, with a score of seven or above (20.2% of respondents)
- ‘average’ knowledge, with a score between four and six (48.6%)
- or ‘poor’ knowledge, with a score of three or less (31.2%)

As noted throughout the Study, only a fifth of the local Liverpool population have good knowledge of what the title stands for and a third of residents have poor knowledge of the site.

Words most commonly associated with Liverpool and the World Heritage Site

The words most often cited by respondents, when asked to provide three words that spring to mind when they think of Liverpool and the World Heritage Site, provide some insight into the nature of the debate on the WHS within the city. For Liverpool, 'football', 'home', 'vibrant', 'friendly', 'Beatles' and 'culture' were the most commonly cited words; whereas 'pride/proud', 'history', 'waterfront', 'restrictive', 'architecture' and 'docks' were the most frequently cited words for the WHS.

The inclusion of 'football' and 'the Beatles' among words that respondents most commonly associate with Liverpool concurs with the results from the stakeholder interviews and focus group discussions, wherein numerous interviewees and participants suggested that the city will always be primarily associated with these popular cultural 'icons' and brands that attract the most visitors. However, when survey respondents were asked whether they felt that 'The Beatles and football will always be the biggest draw for visitors', less than half agreed, suggesting that many residents believe the city has more to offer to visitors.

The World Heritage Site, however, is not necessarily seen as being part of this wider offering, with many residents associating the title with the docks and architecture on the waterfront, and not the other attractions within the site. This theory is corroborated by the results measuring people's knowledge of the site, in which respondents were able to name, with some ease, The Pier Head, Albert Dock and Stanley Dock as three areas of the WHS; but were significantly less successful at identifying the remaining three areas of the site away from the waterfront (Castle and Dale Street, William Brown Street and Lower Duke Street).

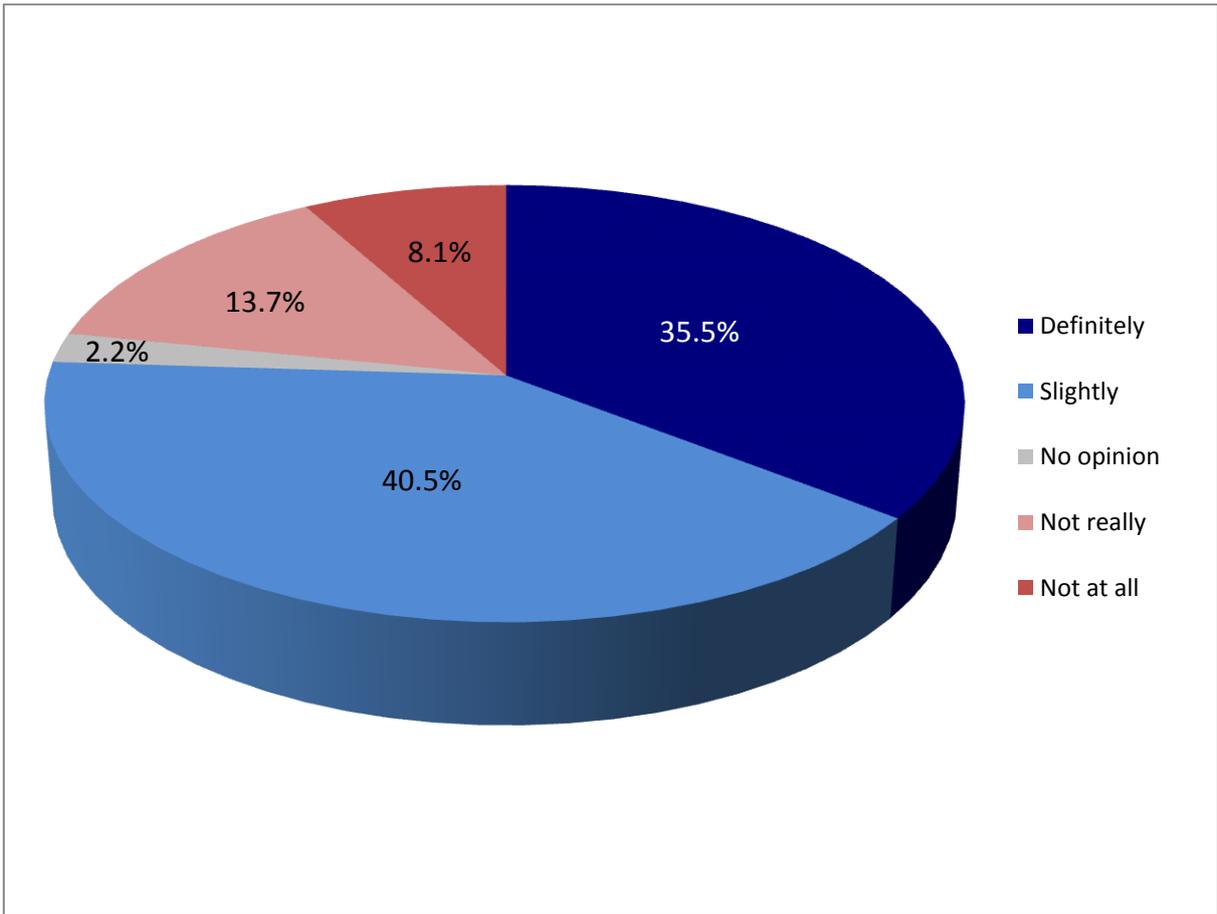
Furthermore, while many associate 'history' and 'pride' with the title, a significant proportion also believe it to be restrictive, presumably in terms of the city's development. The relationship between the award and development will be explored and discussed further on in the Appendix.

Support for, and pride in, the WHS

Overall support for the WHS remains strong. In response to the survey question, ‘*Is the World Heritage title good for Liverpool?*’, 75% responded ‘yes’ and 25% ‘no’. This provides a slightly lower positive response than the MORI poll conducted in 2004, when 87% responded ‘yes’ and 13% responded ‘no’ in answer to the same question. However, given that, in 2004, the WHS had just been awarded and there were no development controversies, the current level of positive responses should be seen as an indication that the WHS title has been able to retain a substantial proportion of its underlying positive connotations.

The WHS also clearly contributes to people’s sense of pride in the city. When asked ‘*Does Liverpool’s status as a WHS contribute to your sense of pride for the city?*’, 46% of respondents answered ‘definitely’ and 22% ‘slightly’, against 11% who answered ‘not at all’ and 18% ‘not really’ (see Figure 3 below). Overall – as indicated by a median response of ‘slightly’ – the award appears to have contributed to people’s sense of pride in their city.

Figure 3: Does Liverpool’s WHS status contribute to your sense of pride in the city?



Source: ICC citizen survey

Table 1: Cross-tabulation of support for title and contribution to pride (%) (n = 244)

Is the World Heritage title good for Liverpool?		Does Liverpool's WHS status contribute to your sense of pride in the city?					Total
		Definitely	Slightly	No Opinion	Not Really	Not at all	
Yes		45.5%	18.0%	2.0%	8.2%	1.2%	75.0%
No		1.2%	3.7%	0.8%	9.8%	9.4%	25.0%
Total		46.7%	21.7%	2.9%	18.0%	10.7%	100.0%

Source: ICC citizen survey

As one would expect, there was considerable correlation between the belief that the WHS is good for Liverpool and a sense of pride in the city, as illustrated by Table 1. People who feel that the title is good for the city (75%) were more likely to see it as contributing to their sense of pride (with 45% responding 'definitely', and an additional 18% 'slightly'); whilst those who did not feel that the WHS title is good for Liverpool were more likely to *not* see it as contributing to their sense of pride for the city.

Interestingly, 8% of people who felt the title is good for Liverpool did 'not really' agree that it contributes to their sense of pride in the city. This group is likely to represent the voice of those who view the WHS as benefiting the city centre but not addressing their own personal heritage (see focus group discussions in areas such as Anfield).

Gender differences

With regards to both support for the WHS and its contribution to people's sense of pride, clear differences emerged between male and female respondents. 93% of women, compared to 63% of men, believe the title is good for Liverpool; and as illustrated in Table 2 below, women are more than twice as likely as men to answer 'definitely' when asked if the WHS contributes to their sense of pride in the city. Whereas only 8% of women do not feel the status contributes to their sense of pride for the city, 41% of men feel it does not.

Table 2: Sense of pride, by gender (%) (n = 216)

Gender		Does Liverpool's WHS status contribute to your sense of pride in the city?					Totals
		Definitely	Slightly	No Opinion	Not Really	Not at all	
Male		31.3%	25.0%	2.3%	25.0%	16.4%	100.0%
Female		70.5%	19.3%	2.3%	5.7%	2.3%	100.0%

Source: ICC citizen survey

Perceptions of the WHS title's value to the city

Quantifying overall perceptions of the value of the WHS

As part of the online survey, respondents were asked to evaluate the impact of the WHS, and consider the likely effects of its hypothetical loss, in relation to seven different areas:

- a. The preservation of historical buildings
- b. Growth and jobs
- c. The city's profile in the UK
- d. Tourism
- e. The city's skyline
- f. The city's profile internationally
- g. Public awareness of the city's historical significance

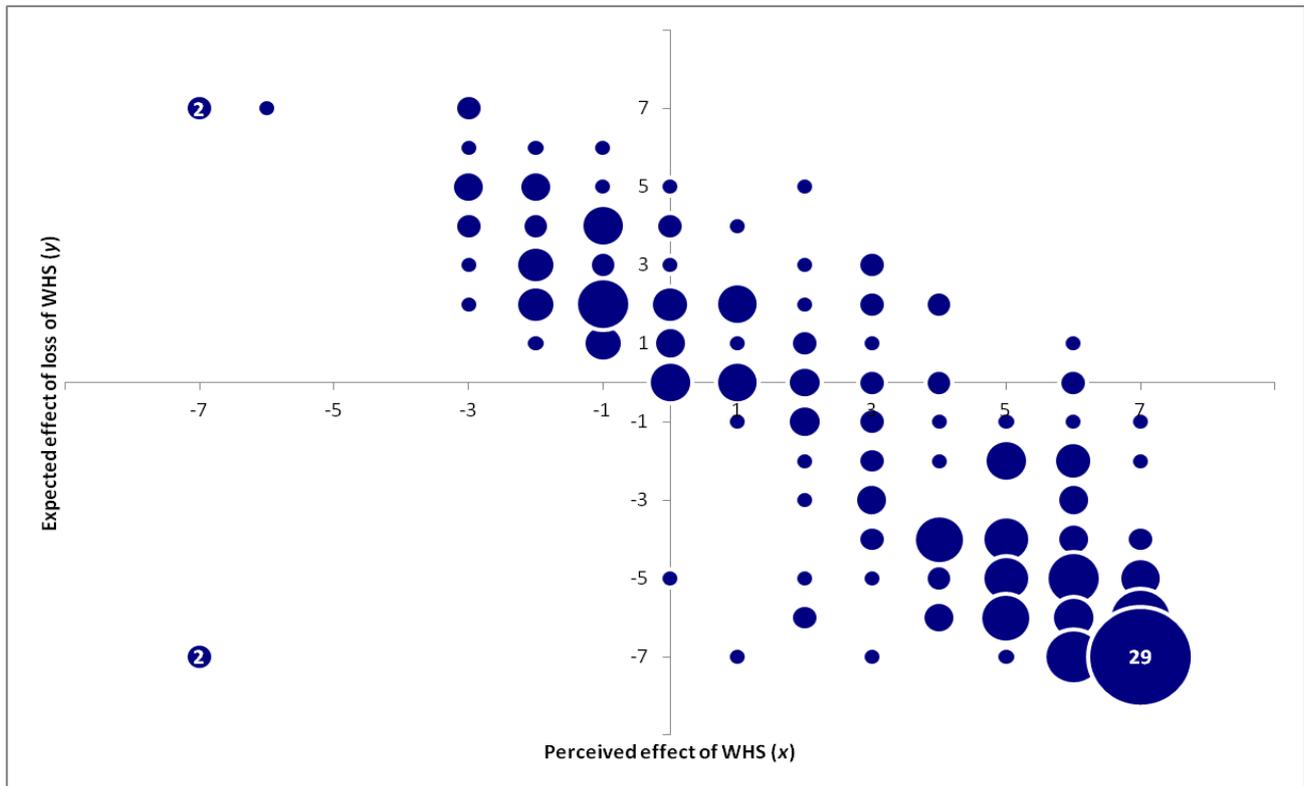
For each of the seven areas, respondents simply had to indicate either a 'negative' impact, 'no impact' or a 'positive' impact.

There are various ways of visualising this survey data. Figure 4, below, plots the overall attitudinal position of each respondent, with respect to both the 'perceived impact of the WHS' and the 'expected impact of the loss of the WHS', using a 'bubble' graph which assigns:

- a value of minus one for each issue where a respondent felt that the impact of the WHS had been 'negative', or where the impact of the *loss* of the WHS was expected by the respondent to be negative
- a value of zero for each issue where the respondent felt the WHS has had no impact, or where no impact was expected by the respondent as a result of the *loss* of the WHS
- a value of one for each issue where the respondent felt that the impact of the WHS had been 'positive', or where the impact of the *loss* of the WHS was expected by the respondent to be 'positive'.

As there were seven survey questions for both the *perceived impacts* of the WHS and the *expected impacts* of hypothetically losing the WHS – with both sets of questions concerning the same issues – the minimum and maximum scores possible for respondents were therefore minus seven and seven, respectively, for both question sets.

Figure 4: Overall attitudes regarding the impacts of the WHS and the expected impacts of its hypothetical loss



Source: ICC citizen survey

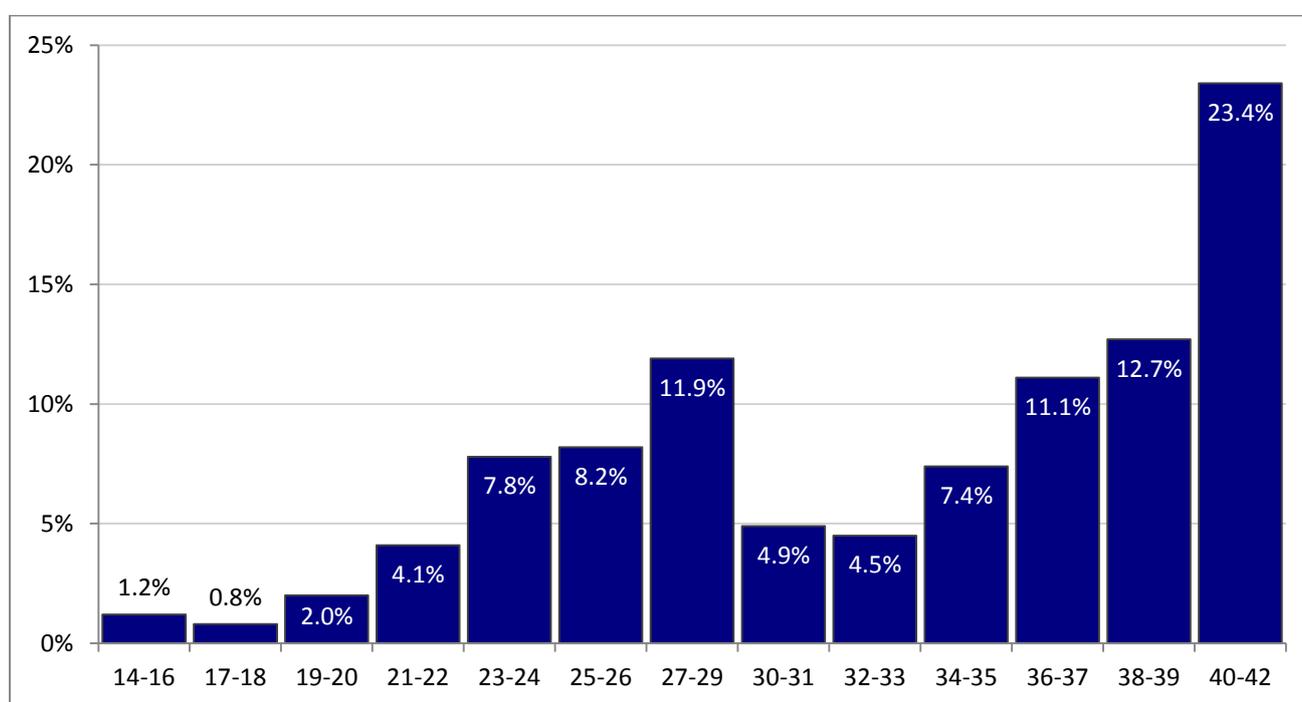
Note: Respondents were asked a series of questions relating to the impacts that they felt the WHS has had, and the impacts that they *expected* in the event that Liverpool’s WHS status was lost. The graph plots the overall responses of each respondent to these questions, with a positive score on either axis indicating a positive attitude; a negative score indicating a negative attitude; and a score close to zero indicating that the respondent perceived no impact from the WHS, or *expected* no impact from its loss. Given that many of the 244 respondents produced the same scores, the ‘bubbles’ on the graph indicate how prevalent particular viewpoints were among respondents.

From Figure 4, we can see that many respondents scored a maximum of seven on perceived effects of the WHS and a minimum of minus seven on the expected impacts in the event of a hypothetical loss of the WHS. These respondents, clustered in the bottom right corner of the graph, are therefore extremely positive about the impacts of the WHS and extremely pessimistic about the impacts they expect to see in the event that Liverpool loses its WHS. There were very few respondents who vociferously held the opposite view: namely, that the impact of the WHS has been overwhelmingly negative, and that its loss would be a very positive development for Liverpool. Even rarer were respondents who took the seemingly illogical position that the impact of the WHS has been negative, but that its loss would also adversely affect the city.

There are, of course, other ways that this data can be presented. By assigning different numerical values to respondents’ answers to survey questions assessing the perceived impacts of the WHS (using a value of one for those reporting a ‘negative’ impact, a value of two for those reporting ‘no impact’ and a value of three for respondents indicating a ‘positive’ impact), and by doing the same

for the respondents' answers to survey questions assessing the anticipated impacts in the event that Liverpool *lost* WHS status (using an inverted enumeration, in which a value of three is assigned to 'negative' responses and a value of one is assigned to 'positive' responses), it is also possible to aggregate responses and calculate an overall score indicating how respondents view the impact of the WHS and its value to the city. Using this scoring index, respondents were classified as perceiving the value of the title as either negative (13% of respondents), positive (54%), or neutral (33%). The scores are presented in Figure 5 using group frequencies, on a scale ranging from 14 (denoting an extremely negative attitude) to 42 (denoting an extremely positive attitude). The data show a positive skew of scores, which confirms the previous finding that, overall, support for the title remains strong.

Figure 5: Distribution of scores on perceived value of WHS title to the city (14= most negative attitude; 42= most positive attitude)



Source: ICC citizen survey

Note: overall scores for each respondent were calculated by assigning numerical values to responses, and aggregating these values for all questions concerning the perceived impact of the WHS and the impacts that the respondent *expected* in the event of its loss. The range of possible scores extends from 14 (suggesting an extremely negative attitude towards the WHS), to 42 (suggesting an extremely positive attitude towards the WHS).

Typical profiles of attitude types

With some background details collected from the respondents regarding their gender, age, length of residency in Liverpool, current postcode and media usage, it was possible to loosely identify the typical profile of people that perceive the impact of the WHS to be negative, neutral or positive. The purpose of this exercise was to highlight where public resources may possibly be best allocated

to improve public engagement and support for the title, at the same time as identifying possible public allies and communities in this endeavour. However, given that the survey sample was not statistically representative, the findings are only intended to offer direction for further exploration. For the purpose of analysis, residential postcodes were classified as either being in the city centre, North Liverpool (including postcodes further out of the city) or South Liverpool (including Wirral postcodes).

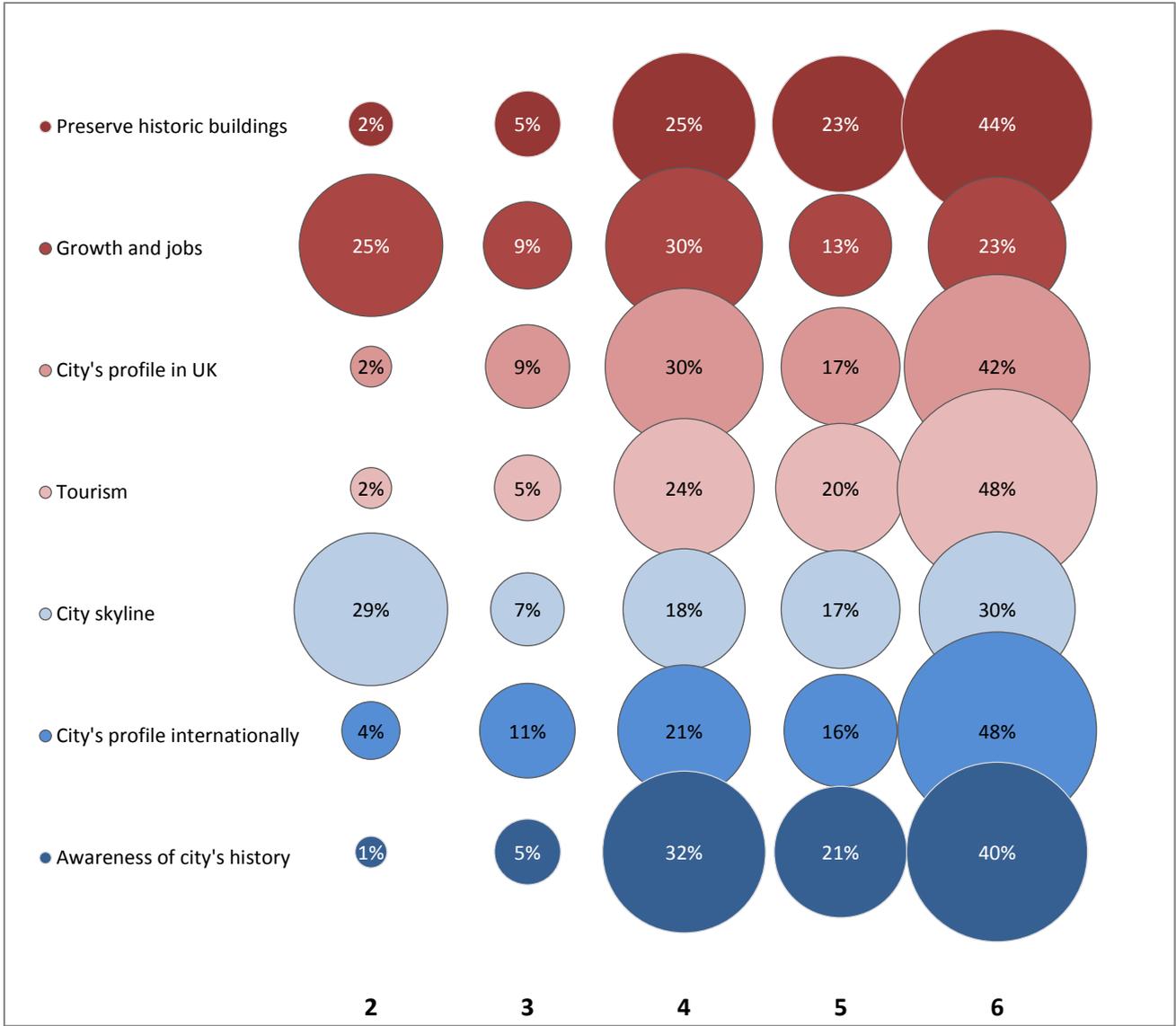
- **Negative Profile** – males between the ages of 26 and 35 that reside in, and originate from, North Liverpool, where they have lived for most of their life. They are regular readers of the Daily Post and the Liverpool Echo, and tend to keep themselves informed of national issues through national papers on the right of the political spectrum and by using BBC News services.
- **Neutral Profile** – males between the ages of 36 and 45 that reside in the city centre. While they may have left the city for studies, they have lived in Liverpool for most of their life. As well as keeping themselves informed of local issues through the local press, they are regular readers of national broadsheets to the right of the political spectrum and generally tend to use a greater variety of news sources and mediums than those with a negative stance.
- **Positive Profile** – females between the ages of 46 and 55 and their male partners, who tend to reside in South Liverpool. While they may not originate from the city, they have lived in the city for a considerable part of their lives. Similar to those with a neutral stance to the WHS, they use a variety of media sources to keep themselves abreast of local and national issues; however, their choice of national broadsheet tends to be towards the left of the political spectrum.

Perceptions of the value of the WHS in relation to specific issues

While respondents to the online survey were generally positive about the value of the WHS for the city, opinions were nevertheless split, to some extent, along two dimensions. People’s perceptions ranged from very negative to very positive on each of the impact areas measured by the survey (as Figure 6, below, demonstrates). The title is seen as positive for preserving historical buildings, improving the city’s profile in the UK and internationally, attracting tourism, and raising public awareness of the city’s historical significance. However, opinion is divided with regards to the title’s relationship with growth and jobs, and the city’s skyline.

Regarding opportunities for growth and jobs, while some respondents felt that the WHS could create jobs, others clearly believe that the WHS is restricting development and hence job creation. Furthermore, almost the same proportion of respondents see the award as having had a positive impact on the city’s skyline as there are those viewing a negative impact. The latter trend could stem from dissatisfaction with the restrictions on high rise developments – both within the WHS and its surrounding buffer zone – among those who would like to see more high rise development on the skyline.

Figure 6: Perceptions of the value of the WHS in relation to specific issues (2 = very negative; 6 = very positive)



Source: ICC citizen survey

Note: The scores above were calculated in the same way as the scores for Figure 5, with data from questions that asked respondents about perceived impacts of the WHS combined with that from questions that asked about *expected* impacts in the event that Liverpool lost its WHS status. Respondents could score a minimum of two (denoting a very negative viewpoint) and a maximum of six (denoting a very positive viewpoint).

In sum, the divergence of opinion on these two topics supports the overriding narrative currently surrounding the WHS in the city (that is, one of polarisation between heritage conservation and economic development), which verifies the findings from the media analysis, stakeholder interviews and the focus groups. Yet the overall support for the WHS along the other dimensions examined suggests that opinions in the city are more complex than has been assumed to date, particularly as reflected in media discussions.

Relationships between different variables

Relationship between WHS literacy, perceptions of WHS value and pride

As discussed in the literature review, Rebanks (2009) suggests that WHS appreciation is linked to ‘WHS literacy’: that is, people’s knowledge and awareness of UNESCO and the World Heritage List. This section tests this hypothesis by exploring how attitudes towards the Liverpool WHS and its contribution to sense of pride in the city relates to people’s general knowledge of the site, in terms of the six areas within it and the motivation behind UNESCO’s inclusion of the site onto the WHL. In Table 3, below, perceptions of the value of the title and sense of pride have been cross-tabulated with WHS literacy, in order to explore the relationship between these variables and test Rebanks’ hypothesis.

Table 3: Relationship between WHS literacy, perceived WHS value and sense of pride (%) (n = 244)

Perception of the value of WHS	WHS Literacy			Total
	Poor	Average	Good	
<i>Negative</i>	12%	13%	14%	13%
<i>Neutral</i>	26%	38%	36%	33%
<i>Positive</i>	63%	49%	50%	55%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Pearson chi square (χ^2)	4.51			
<i>p</i> value	0.341			
Sense of Pride contribution				
<i>Not at all</i>	10%	11%	11%	11%
<i>Not really</i>	17%	23%	9%	18%
<i>No opinion</i>	6%	1%	0%	3%
<i>Slightly</i>	21%	21%	25%	22%
<i>Definitely</i>	46%	44%	55%	47%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Pearson chi square (χ^2)	11.09			
<i>p</i> value	0.19			

*** = *p* value < 0.01, ** = *p* value < 0.05, * = *p* value < 0.10

Source: ICC citizen survey

Overall, no correlation was found between WHS literacy, views on the value of the site and its contribution to sense of pride in place. The cross-tabulations clearly show that whether people have a poor, average or good level of WHS literacy, they are no more or no less likely to perceive the site as having had a particular impact on the city, and are no more or less likely to see it as contributing to their sense of pride. Furthermore, analysis showed that there is no correlation between knowledge and the strength of views. Hence, in the case of Liverpool residents, knowledge of the site does not shape people’s opinions of its value. These findings rebuff the

notion that WHS literacy is decisive in shaping people’s appreciation of the title and thus suggest that other factors, such as media discussion and peer opinions, are equally or more influential.

Perceived Impact of the WHS and its contribution to sense of pride

While the data gathered for this study offers no support for the view that high WHS literacy ensures greater appreciation of WHS status, there is a strong correlation between how people perceive the impact of the title and whether it contributes to their sense of pride in the city (see Table 4 below).

Table 4: Relationship between sense of pride and attitudes towards impact of WHS (%) (n = 244)

Sense of pride	Attitude towards impact of WHS			
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
<i>Not at all</i>	45%	15%	0%	11%
<i>Not really</i>	35%	34%	5%	18%
<i>No opinion</i>	0%	8%	1%	3%
<i>Slightly</i>	19%	28%	19%	22%
<i>Definitely</i>	0%	16%	76%	47%
<i>Total</i>	100%	100%	100%	100%
Pearson chi square (X^2)	145.37			
<i>p</i> value	0.000***			
Is the World Heritage title good for Liverpool?				
<i>No</i>	87%	40%	2%	25%
<i>Yes</i>	13%	60%	98%	75%
<i>Total</i>	100%	100%	100%	100%
Pearson chi square (X^2)	112.51			
<i>p</i> value	0.000***			

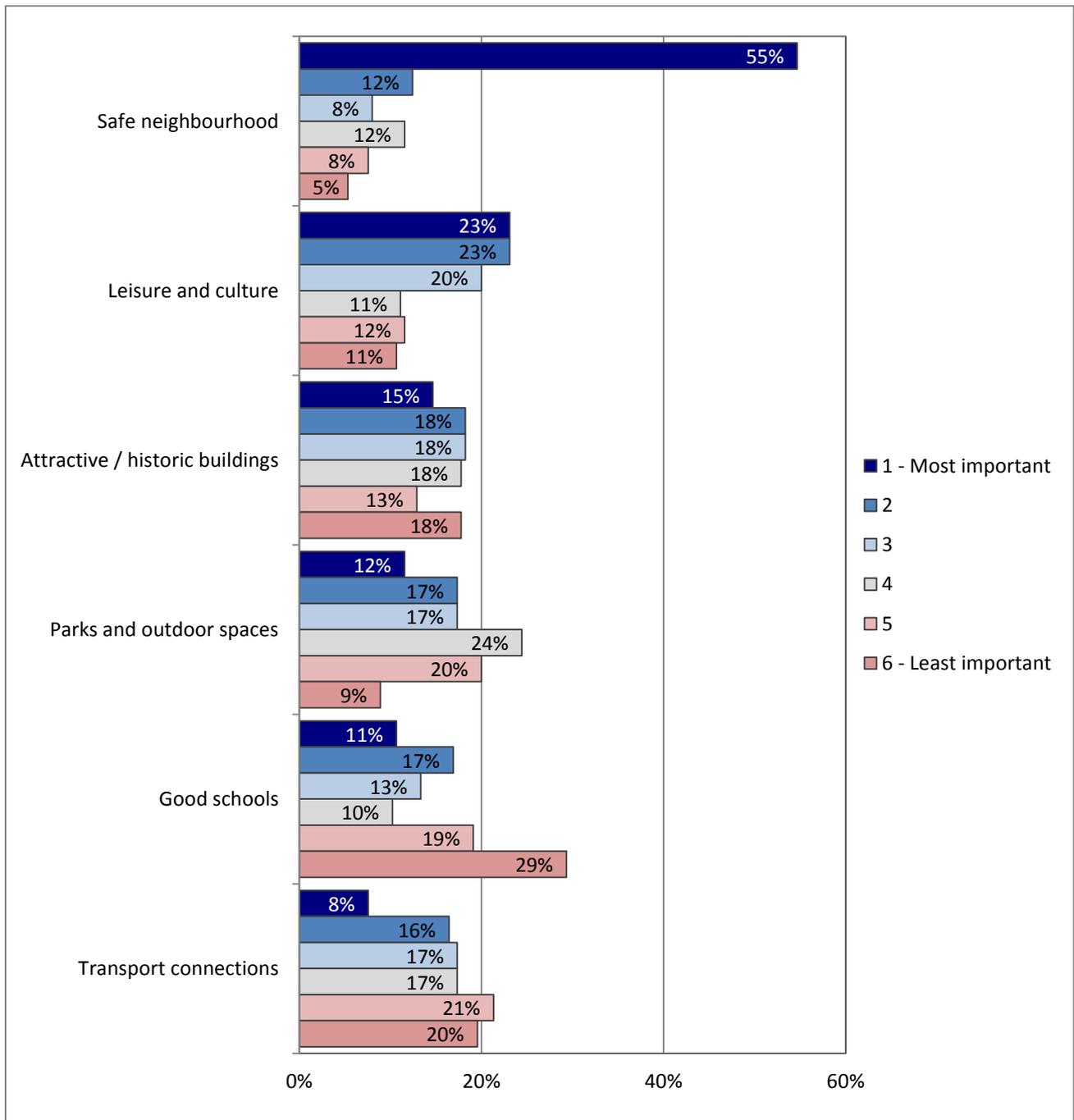
*** = *p* value < 0.01, ** = *p* value < 0.05, * = *p* value < 0.10

Source: ICC citizen survey

Relationship between sense of place and perceived value of the WHS title

With respondents asked to prioritise, in rank of importance, six things that make somewhere a good place to live, some finer details emerge. First, with reference to Figure 7, the majority of respondents (55%) prioritise in first place a ‘safe and friendly neighbourhood’, followed by ‘shops, restaurants, leisure and cultural activities’ (23%) and ‘attractive or historic streets and buildings’ (15%). Across the sample, ‘convenient transport connections’ and ‘good schools/colleges’ are least prioritised.

Figure 7: What do you think makes somewhere a good place to live?



Source: ICC citizen survey

The prioritisation of ‘Shops, Restaurants, Leisure and Cultural Activities’ as characteristics of a good place to live is negatively correlated with levels of support towards the WHS (as illustrated by Table 5, below). On the other hand, people who prioritise ‘Attractive or Historic Streets and Buildings’ and ‘Parks, green spaces, outdoor recreation’ tend to be more supportive of a title (figures in red) that aims to protect and promote the historic built environment. However, a safe and friendly neighbourhood remains the priority for most people living in the region, irrespective of their attitude towards the WHS.

Table 5: Relationship between attitude towards World Heritage Site and sense of place

	Attitude	Shops, Restaurants	Historic buildings	Parks, green spaces	Good schools	Convenient transport	Safe neighbourhood
Attitude	1						
Shops, Restaurants	-0.25**	1					
Historic Buildings	0.25**	0.14	1				
Parks, green spaces	0.18*	-0.06	0.16	1			
Good schools	-0.12	-0.16	-0.18	-0.03	1		
Convenient transport	-0.13	-0.02	-0.11	0.05	0.14	1	
Safe neighbourhood	-0.02	-0.22**	-0.22**	-0.06	0.16	0.04	1

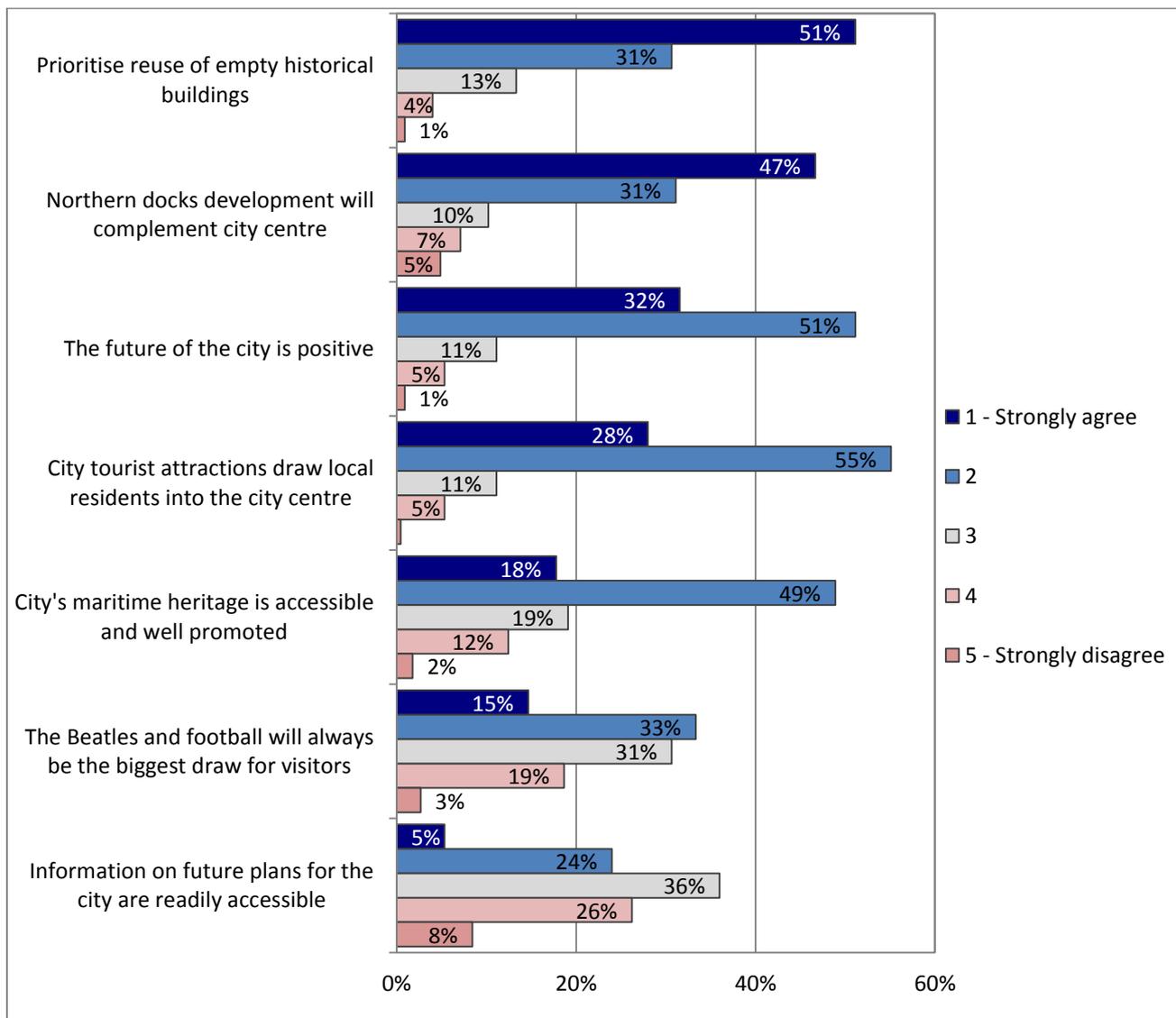
*** = *p* value < 0.01, ** = *p* value < 0.05, * = *p* value < 0.10

Source: ICC citizen survey

Relationship between perceptions of the value of the WHS and reactions to a series of statements relating to the city

The complexity of opinions surrounding the WHS and its impact become more evident in the responses to a series of statements on the city, which are summarised in Figure 8 below.

Figure 8: Range of views on a series of statements relating to the city



Source: ICC citizen survey

Note: For each graph (from left to right), the exact statements put to respondents were as follows: ‘The reuse of empty historical buildings should be prioritised’; ‘Development of the northern docks will complement the city centre’; ‘The future of the city is positive’; ‘The city’s tourist attractions draw local residents into the city centre’; ‘The city’s maritime heritage is accessible and well promoted’; ‘The Beatles and football will always be the biggest draw for visitors’; and ‘Information on future plans for the city is readily accessible’.

Strong correlations were found between attitudes on the value of the WHS to the city and the following three statements: ‘Development of the Northern Docks will complement the city centre’, ‘Information on future plans for the city is readily accessible’, and, ‘*The reuse of empty historic buildings should be prioritised*’. All three statements relate, directly or indirectly, to future development in the city.

Table 6: Relationship between perceived value of the WHS and development of the Northern Docks (%) (n = 225)

‘Development of the Northern Docks will complement the city centre’	Perceived value of the WHS			
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
Strongly disagree	0.0%	0.4%	4.4%	4.9%
Disagree	0.0%	0.0%	7.1%	7.1%
Neither agree nor disagree	0.0%	1.3%	8.9%	10.2%
Agree	0.4%	6.7%	24.0%	31.1%
Strongly agree	12.4%	24.0%	10.2%	46.7%
Total	12.9%	32.4%	54.7%	100.0%
Pearson chi square (χ^2)	93.17			
<i>p</i> value	0.000***			

Source: ICC citizen survey

With regards to the first statement (see Table 6), the results clearly identify a group of 29 people who are categorically in favour of the development of the Northern Docks and very negative towards the value of the WHS; as well as a smaller group of 26 people, who are categorically positive towards the value of the title and negative towards the proposed development of the Northern Docks (both groups are highlighted in red in the table above). However, of the 225 respondents that expressed a view on this statement, these two polarised groups account for only one in four respondents. Hence, it would appear that the majority (three in four respondents) have a set of more nuanced opinions, in which development and the WHS are not seen as mutually exclusive.

Table 7: Relationship between perceived value of the WHS and accessibility of information on future plans for the city (%) (n = 225)

'Information on future plans for the city is readily accessible'	Perceived value of the WHS			
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
Strongly Disagree	0.9%	0.9%	6.7%	8.4%
Disagree	1.8%	4.4%	20.0%	26.2%
Neither Agree nor Disagree	5.3%	11.1%	19.6%	36.0%
Agree	3.6%	13.8%	6.7%	24.0%
Strongly Agree	1.3%	2.2%	1.8%	5.3%
Total	12.9%	32.4%	54.7%	100.0%
Pearson χ^2	36.7			
<i>p</i> value	0.000***			

Source: ICC citizen survey

For the second statement, ‘*Information on future plans for the city is readily accessible*’, we notice that while those negatively and neutrally disposed towards the value of the WHS are somewhat content with the accessibility of information, those that are positive are less so (for further details, see Table 7). This finding coincides with observations from the city centre focus groups, where many pro-WHS participants attended to better inform themselves on the facts surrounding the title, particularly in relation to the proposed Liverpool Waters development. However, a significant number of respondents are neither in agreement or disagreement with the statement (figures in red). This suggests that many are unsure if the city is forthcoming and open on its management strategy for the WHS and development. The indifference to this statement may also reflect the lack of community participation and engagement in the management of the site, which to date has remained a centralised function of the city’s planning department. Further ‘democratisation’ of heritage in the city would most likely facilitate access to, and transparency surrounding, decisions on the future development of the city.

Table 8: Relationship between perceived value of the WHS and prioritising the reuse of historic buildings

'Reuse of empty historical buildings should be prioritised'	Perceived value of the WHS			
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
Strongly Disagree	0.0%	0.4%	0.4%	0.9%
Disagree	0.9%	1.3%	1.8%	4.0%
Neither Agree nor Disagree	3.1%	6.2%	4.0%	13.3%
Agree	4.9%	13.8%	12.0%	30.7%
Strongly Agree	4.0%	10.7%	36.4%	51.1%
Total	12.9%	32.4%	54.7%	100.0%
Pearson chi square (χ^2)	28.71			
p value	0.000***			

*** = p value < 0.01, ** = p value < 0.05, * = p value < 0.10

Source: ICC citizen survey

The final statement, *'The reuse of empty historical buildings should be prioritised'*, elicited strong support across all attitude types (see Table 8, above), including the small anti-WHS and pro-development group identified from the first statement. This finding suggests that opinions are more complex within this camp than the local debate has painted, and illustrates that while residents may hold negative views towards the WHS title in terms of its impact on the city, they are not negative towards heritage per se. In sum, the findings substantiate the argument that the debate surrounding the WHS and development has not reflected the nuance and complexity of opinion within the city, the majority of which does not see heritage and development as mutually exclusive.

Conclusions

The main findings from the online survey can therefore be summarised as follows:

- Residents' knowledge of the WHS is not significant in shaping sense of pride in the city or perceptions of the site's value to the city. This discovery rebuffs the idea that 'WHS literacy' improves people's appreciation of the title. Generally, knowledge of the site is limited, with people, on average, able to identify three of the six areas in the WHS and one of the three criteria for its designation. The three areas that respondents tend to identify are the Pier Head, the Albert Dock and the Stanley Dock, which overlap closely with the words that respondents most commonly associate with the WHS – among which were 'Docks', 'Architecture' and 'Waterfront'. Based on these findings, it would therefore appear that many residents are unaware of the extent of the site, believing it to consist of the waterfront alone.
- Unsurprisingly, those that perceive the WHS to have had a positive impact are more likely to consider it as contributing to their sense of pride in the city. This is particularly evident among women, who are far more supportive of the title than men.
- While there is evidence to suggest that some residents have clearly taken sides in the World Heritage versus development debate, the majority do not see heritage and development as mutually exclusive. The words 'pride' and 'proud', together with 'restrictive', are among those most cited by residents in relation to the WHS. However, those with negative views of the WHS title do not appear to be against heritage in the wider sense, with broad support evident across the sample for prioritising the reuse of empty historical buildings. This finding is supported by the places in Liverpool that are 'loved' and 'loathed' by respondents, and the comments that were made regarding these places. Clearly, appreciation of the city's heritage assets extends far beyond official designations made by UNESCO (the WHS) or English Heritage (listed buildings).

These results, together with results from the focus groups, strengthen the argument that a concentration of resources on the WHS, to the neglect of other heritage assets in the city, may come at the expense of wider support for the title. Liverpool residents are proud of their rich cultural heritage and the tangible assets that originate from it. However, their appreciation for heritage is much broader than that which the WHS encapsulates and currently promotes. Initiatives that link and connect the wider heritage assets of the city to the title, combined with greater public engagement in the distribution of resources for the reuse of assets, is more likely to be an effective management strategy than the current centralised focus on the WHS. While certain aspects of the site need to be promoted as distinct and in line with a wider (global) WHS narrative, excessive emphasis on the official site on its own for the sake of its legibility to tourists may not be effective in achieving sustainable and engaged public support for the title. Instead, a clear presentation of the WHS as an integral part of the broader city heritage and explicit reference and connection to other heritage assets would be the most adequate way forward.