Urban Design, Place and Integration: a study of Liverpool One

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FOREWORD

The aim of this work is to help the reader understand how the large-scale retail-led redevelopment of Liverpool City Centre – known as Liverpool One – fits within its urban context ten years after completion. The original masterplan and architectural intent was for a seamless integration of new with existing. Now is a good moment to assess if that has been successful. Not only do ten years represent a significant anniversary, but they have also seen unprecedented change in retail habits, impacting on traditional patterns of behaviour and expectations in our city centres.

Many retail-led urban developments have focused on the indoor mall as a standard design intention. A lot has been written in both the popular press and academic journals about this format – much of which is critical of the so-called privatisation of public space and the monolithic architecture that has appeared in order to achieve blatantly commercial objectives. Grosvenor's Liverpool One scheme sought to do things differently. Its aim was to recreate the familiar shopping street – outdoors, attractive and making a contribution to the city and its reputation.

The approach to the study has been scholarly, drawing on academic and professional literature and methods to identify key themes and work towards conclusions. The authors, Mike Devereux and David Littlefield, are both academics - though with practice-based backgrounds in urban planning, design and architectural writing. Their expertise in this area has been demonstrated through written work and presentations on ideas of place, contemporary interpretations of cities and responses to heritage. This study follows *Literature Review on the privatisation of Public Space,* completed for Grosvenor in 2017.

Grosvenor has commissioned this research, and it is deliberately designed to have impact. Such a detailed study of Liverpool One allows observations to be applied not only to the existing development but also, importantly, to the contemplation of future urban development schemes.

This study draws upon a wide range of thinking about the urban condition, which underpins the development of a robust method for the investigation; the study comprises thematic analysis of Liverpool One, concluding with a series of tools and techniques which can be applied both to Liverpool One as well as to very different urban and cultural contexts.

In presenting this work, the authors aim to contribute to the continuing discussion about city centres. We hope to offer new perspectives on Liverpool One while helping Grosvenor and others continue to make places that excite, attract and perform, not only their commercial role, but also their urban and civic roles into the future.

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Transect 1: civic space. Town Hall, Derby Square, Law Courts, Chavasse Park, Hilton hotel, Police HQ.

Transect 2: public space. Albert Dock, Chavasse Park, retail streest, cinema/restaurants, Bluecoat, rail.

INTRODUCTION

"Cities are not isolated phenomena, distinct from and independent of the larger society. Instead, they are always embedded in specific societal contexts. These societal contexts determine, in large part, the nature of cities within any given society: their organization, functions, and form."

Chris Hamnett, *The Future of Cities*, in Blowers et al 1974 [p53]

This study was commissioned by Grosvenor Estates for the purpose of investigating the degree of integration between Liverpool One and the city of Liverpool itself. The study was conducted in 2018, 10 years since the completion of the retail-led, mixed-use regeneration project that is Liverpool One; it comprises a close examination of urban form, with reference to management practice, retail trends and local conditions. The study takes particular notice of the immediate context of the Liverpool One estate, acknowledging that it borders publicly-owned land as well as the privately-owned Albert Dock. Further, the study notes that Liverpool One borders a Business Improvement District (and does not form part of that district, though may be subject to its influence, and vice versa – especially since Grosvenor's acquisition of retail units on Lord Street). The 10-year anniversary of the estate provides an appropriate moment for reflection on the performance and function of Liverpool One; on-going consideration of the role of privately-owned public space and dramatic shifts in retail practices provide further context to the work.

It is important to note that while this study references the social and economic dimensions of integration (the impact of digital shopping is a material consideration), it is principally a study of spatiality and urbanism; commentary on the finances and yields of retail-led development is probably best left to others. Our approach to this study focuses on the fields of urban planning, design, architecture and the making of place; although other disciplines, such as retail economics and social behaviours, are implicated in any study such as this, this report is to be read first and foremost as a consideration of the built environment.

This study was informed through three principal methods: reading; semi-structured interviews; and site visits. The study was further informed and tested through participation in external events, as follows:

- paper delivered to the UK-Ireland Planning Research Conference, Queens University Belfast, 12 September 2017. Paper title: *Identifying and Mapping 21st Century Urban Public Space*. This paper is attached to this report as Appendix 1;

- public lectures and walking tours delivered through the *Being Human* Festival of the Humanities series of events, via the Arts and Humanities Research Association, Liverpool 18 November 2017. Lecture title: *Paradise (Street) Lost and Found*;

- contribution to the "Streetspace" workshop organised by Queens University Belfast, 19 June 2018. Paper title: *Public Space*.

- authoring an "Opinion" piece for the *RIBA Journal*, February 2018. Title: *Public Space Reconsidered*. This text is attached to this report as Appendix 2;

- further, the authors have begun to develop a "network bid" for submission to
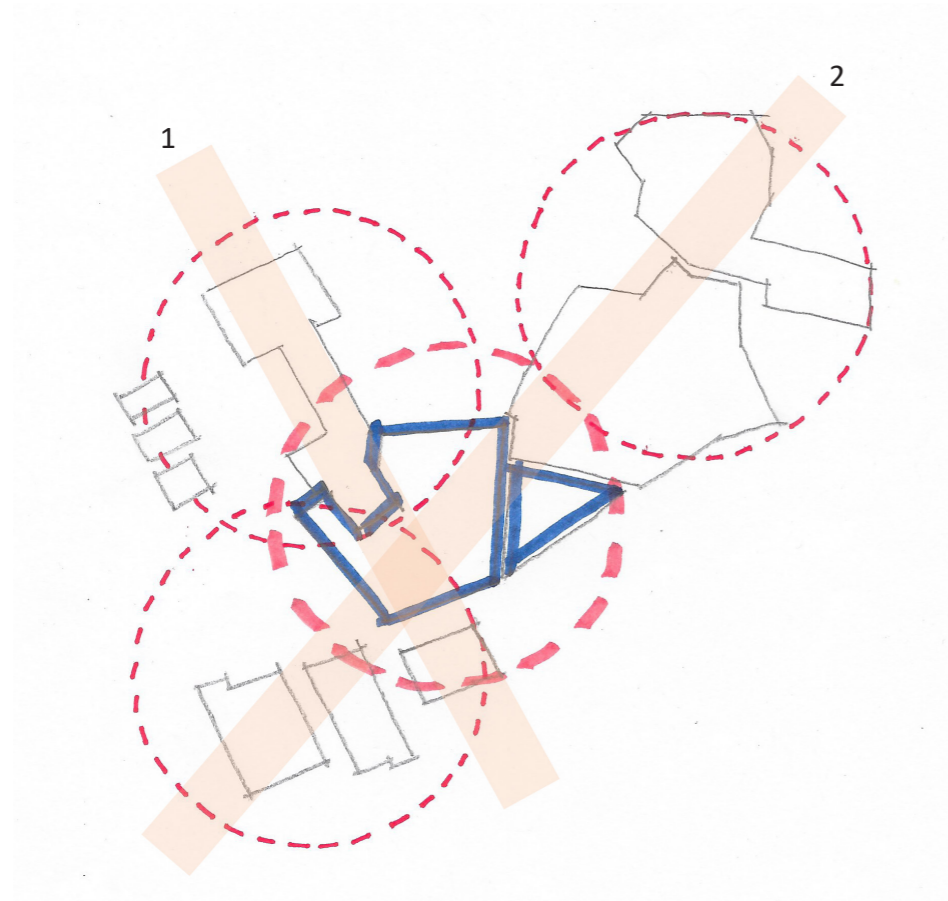
the Arts and Humanities Research Association, to explore the form, role and design attributes of public space through a network of more than 20 academics and practitioners (including participants from France, Italy and Turkey). The bid, due for submission late 2018, includes Grosvenor as a key partner.

METHOD   The study draws on the literature review of public/private space written for Grosvenor by Littlefield and Devereux (February 2017) as well as further literature on malls, cities and shopping sourced subsequently which was considered especially pertinent to the close study of Liverpool One itself.

The study also draws on on-the-record interviews with three key stakeholders affiliated with Liverpool One: Marcus Magee, manager of the Hilton Hotel; Mark Blundell, manager of the adjacent John Lewis department store; and Bill Addy, director of the Liverpool BID Company. These interviews were deliberately semi-structured, in that they were "conversational", enabling the interviewees the opportunity to think aloud, and respond to subsidiary questions as they arose. While all three participants were questioned on broadly the same subject matter (definitions of public space, and the role of Liverpool One within the wider city of Liverpool) each interview explored the particular perspective of each participant. The format and conduct of these interviews was approved by the UWE Research Ethics Committee (UREC), which required all participants to sign an interview consent form. The UREC approval letter, Participant Information Sheet and a blank copy of the Consent Form are attached to this report as Appendices 3, 4 and 5. The authors have retained the signed copies of the Consent Forms.

Key to the method which underpins this study was a) the drawing of two transects across and beyond Liverpool One, b) and identifying the boundary, and c) deep analysis of these spaces through walking. This fieldwork method draws on the thinking of Marc Augé, who considers the "anthropological place" to be a geometric construction composed of "the line, the intersection of lines, and the point of intersection" [Augé, p46].

"Concretely, in the everyday geography more familiar to us, they correspond to routes, axes or paths that lead from one place to another and have been traced by people; to crossroads and open spaces where people pass, meet and gather, and which sometimes (in the case of markets, for example) are made very large to satisfy the needs of economic exchange; and lastly, to centres of more or less monumental type, religious or political, constructed by certain men and therefore defining a space and frontiers beyond which other men are defined as others, in relation with other centres and other spaces." [p46]

The use of transects to consider urban conditions is well-established; examples of this method can be found in the USA in the study of urban fragmentation and land ecology, and in South Africa in assessing informal settlements and social justice [Zhang 2013; Felt 2018; Short Gianotti 2016; Adegun 2017]. The transect captures "uneven development characteristics" [Zhang] which, in the case of this study, traverses the boundaries of ownership; further, the transects cross the single development site of Liverpool One as well as the incremental changes which characterise the city on either side. Such an approach was designed to enable the researchers to observe points of difference or fluctuation along the transect lines, not just at the boundary of the Liverpool One site but within the estate itself.

Within the terms of this study, the two transects record different directional attributes. Transect 1 describes a line (approximately west-east) across the city centre from within the Albert Dock, through Liverpool One and the Main Retail Area toward Lime Street railway station; Transect 2 (approximately north-south) embodies more of a civic condition, running from City Hall, down Castle Street and Derby Square, through the Law Courts and across to the bus and Police stations. These transects plot a wide variety of conditions through central Liverpool, crossing legal boundaries, tracking shifts in use and character, and highlighting dramatic changes to the urban form of Liverpool since the 1930s.

Studies of historic maps show a reasonable degree of continuity between 1850 and 1930. That said, the infilling of George's Dock to make way for the "Three Graces" Pierhead buildings during the Edwardian period is a notable exception; the replacement of a church with the Victoria monument in Derby Square is also noteworthy. However, the effect of World War II bombing is immediately visible - the loss of the Custom House being the chief architectural change. War damage and post-war rebuilding caused the loss of entire streets (such Cable, Thomas, Atherton and King streets, which once occupied the space between the present South John and Paradise streets), the appearance of Chavasse Park and a series of further buildings, some of which were demolished to make way for Liverpool One itself. The site of Liverpool One represents, then, a place of remarkable urban change. Key thoroughfares remain (Paradise Street, Hanover Street and an entirely reimagined South John Street), while the form, contours and massing, as well as the advent of a largely pedestrianised retail zone, has created a very different place from that of 80 years ago. This is especially notable when observing the largely unchanged street patterns of the adjacent Albert Dock and Ropewalks.

In addition to the two transectional studies, the researchers paid special attention to boundary of the Liverpool One estate. Thus this report is embedded not just in analysing the moments of linear transition between territories, but in exploring the edge conditions that bound the estate. The researchers listed above in relation to the use of transectional urban analysis will often, in fact, combine this technique with a study of concentric circles – tracking changes along both a linear path *and* as they arc through a series of rings centred on a defined point.

This study shares something of this dual approach, though with just one peripheral route, not a series of concentric rings. We considered that this close attention to the site boundary – the meeting point of Grosvenor and non-Grosvenor – would be the most illuminating "circular" route within the terms of this study. Any sense of integration between Liverpool One and the adjoining city will depend on the attributes and legibility of the one meeting the other.

Importantly, these studies – transactional and peripheral – were undertaken through the analysis of maps and graphics, and through site visits. Specifically, these sites visits were conducted as walks. Walking through the city has considerable academic pedigree. In the UK, walking as a mode of enquiry has its roots in the work of antiquarians such as John Stowe and John Aubrey. The more contemporary act of walking as critical practice arguably begins with the self-conscious, disinterested observer role of the *flâneur*, developed by Charles Baudelaire in the 19th century. The *derive* wanderings of French urban theorists from the 1950s lent a political, radical, edge to urban walks. The more recent psychogeographic wanderings of writers such as Iain Sinclair and the Italian "transurbance" Stalker group introduced a certain narrative invention and even nostalgia to walking the city, mixed with an interest in local micro-histories and

"Yes, I want to walk around the orbital motorway: in the belief that this nowhere, this edge, is the place that will offer fresh narratives."

Iain Sinclair,
London Orbital,
[Penguin 2003. P16]

Liverpool 1890 (black) and 1980 (red). The city changed little during this period, in spite of WWII damage. The Pierhead buildings have appeared, while the area focused on what is now Liverpool One is significantly different. This is largely the city plan on which which the Grosvenor development was predicated: the Courts of Law and Police HQ are key civic "bookends" to the development; the street pattern of the Ropewalks and Lord/Church Street, and the form of the Albert Dock are recognisable across the centuries. So, too, the key Liverpool One thoroughfares, Paradise Street and Hanover Street. [Source: Digimap]

Liverpool One represents a dramatic shift to the centre of Liverpool, yet retains an urban memory through names, patterns and scale.

special attention to neglected or peripheral sites [Wiley 2010; Bassett 2004; Bonnett 2009].

Our walks through Liverpool had more in common with Baudelaire and Walter Benjamin (who examined the Parisian arcades in the 1920s) than the more dreamlike events of the French Situationists or the spatial biographical musings of psychogeographers. Our fieldwork visits were, in fact, undertaken in a spirit to similar that deployed by academic geographers Gini Lee, Lisa Diedrich and Ellen Braae, who described the processes of recording the "narrative, ephemeral, and dynamic qualities of places" in their 2014 investigation of the landscapes of Tenerife. In their deployment of the transect method, these geographers placed great emphasis on directly experiencing a site, rather than analysing it only remotely. Not only does this group "abandon the distant point of view" [p2] but it acknowledges the role of intuition and the need to respond to a place as found, rather than always as planned:

"The transareal transect method enables designers to focus and reflect on site qualities as a mobile form of on-site exploration, complementary to the in-studio study of documented site conditions such as statistics, cadaster and topographic maps, Google searches, and other pragmatic diagramming techniques. This fieldwork method seeks to reveal interactions with the site in identifying the dynamic and changing qualities of places and their environmental contexts, where the site contributes as a maker of experience rather than simply as a bearer of recorded meaning…

"… the organizing transect line must necessarily deviate from the imposed path - the topography, site conditions, time, and serendipity remake the linear journey into a potentially deviant excursion. The scientific ordering implied by the transect line becomes the designerly open work of twists and turns, circling, double-backs, and altered agendas." [Diedrich et al 2014]

Our exploration of the transects through Liverpool One was similarly iterative. The transects across the study site became zones for exploration rather than geometrically exact. The study zones revealed themselves to be composed of visual moments and experiences that cannot be recorded on a conventional map. Our own investigation of the site was one of walking, noticing, recording and spending considerable periods of time at points which, to anyone else, might appear unremarkable. It is a way of experiencing and analysing the city which goes beyond the designed architectural intention, or the framing of official photography. Architect Christine Hawley describes much the same approach in her research paper "Urban Collage", in which she studied Peckham in South London through close attention to surface, scale and time:

"Contemporary architectural drawings have often been referred to as displaying a 'crisis of reduction' where the tyranny of the line is used as a ubiquitous form of communication. Instead, [the Urban Collage] project deliberately uses objects and techniques that are able to develop rich layers of information and suggestion." [Hawley 2012, p18]

EMERGING THEMES

This determination to directly experience and know the site, as well as to consider it in cartographic and theoretical terms, enabled many subtleties of place to emerge. Liverpool One might be considered as a legal entity – that is,

everything found within a red line demarcating ownership. Equally, the estate might be considered as a semiotic space – that is, the *idea* of a place, where personal and group identities and associations are played out. These perspectives do not neatly overlap. There are, for example, particular sites which lie outside the legal boundary which share many of the characteristics of the estate (such as high quality architecture and standards of maintenance, and a degree of urban branding). Equally, Liverpool One also contains zones which do not share such a high standard of urbanism. Visitors, therefore, may believe themselves to be "inside" Liverpool One when, in fact, they are not. The reverse is also true. This ambiguity is reinforced by what we have termed "deep thresholds" by which the legal and branded boundaries can be separated by some considerable distance. The ambiguity is further reinforced by graphics and hand-held maps which simplify urban boundaries and omit inconvenient details.

The legal entity and the place that is Liverpool One are different things, often revealed through analysis of boundary conditions. Anecdotally, this ambiguity is recognised by different user groups; during the authors' AHRC walks in November 2017, participants had little or no sense where the legal boundary of Liverpool One was situated, even when standing on it. Homeless people and other unofficial street sellers, however, are acutely aware of the boundary and position themselves outside the Grosvenor-controlled line with care. These un/perceived boundaries combine with a range of pedestrian access points (through what we have termed primary, secondary and tertiary gateways) and the practical necessities of servicing (car parking, deliveries, waste disposal etc) to create a complex series of edge conditions. These conditions variously contrive to assist and thwart integration with the city beyond.

The points at which the transects of this study meet the site boundary are therefore given special consideration in this report, as are further sub-themes which emerged from walking the site and conducting the interviews. These include the role and experience of views, and the function of estate management and branding. Additionally, the role of time emerged as an important theme – not so much as a series of short cycles (day/night or season-to-season) as Liverpool One appears to remain active across the natural rhythms of the year, however longer-term change does suggest itself as an important theme. Architectural and infrastructural change beyond the boundary of Liverpool One will no doubt exert some influence on the estate over time, as will well-reported pressures on the "High Street" caused, for example, by the dramatic shift towards online shopping. The contraction and closure of high profile retailers, as well as a shift for some retailers to become showrooms and prompts for internet sales rather than the actual point of purchase, is clearly a strategic challenge for Grosvenor. The extent to which the retail-led development of Liverpool One can respond to such changes will be key to any continued integration with the wider city, so it is important to consider the scope for adaptability and responsiveness that may be found within what might be termed the "hard-wired" design of the site. These themes are developed in the sections below. In brief, then, investigating the question of integration via the transactional and boundary studies generated a series of sub-questions, or themes, concerning:

- the presence of legal and brand boundaries;

- the hierarchy of "gateways" (primary, secondary and tertiary);

- the extension of the perceived boundary into non-Grosvenor-owned zones (and the contraction of some perceived boundaries to deep within the site);

- the role of sightlines and views;

- the formulation of Liverpool One as a single, heterogeneous estate, with many of the "edgelands" which accompany such estates (or even entire cities);

- the extent to which the estate is considered as a single place and marketable commodity;

- the role of time/change, and the extent to which Liverpool One is "hard-wired" into a particular functionality, with the accompanying restrictions to adaptation that hard-wiring implies.

These themes are dealt with, below. Above all, however, there is a further important question: "how much integration between Liverpool One and the wider city is, in fact, desired?" Integration can, of course, be considered in terms of urban form, design language, society, economy, culture and other frameworks. As a piece of the urban fabric, Liverpool One can be said to have an ambiguous relationship with neighbouring quarters. Some streets traverse the entire site more or less uninterrupted (Paradise Street, Hanover Street) and users often cross the legal boundaries without a thought. Are shoppers especially aware they are in Liverpool One and not elsewhere? "I don't think they know. They just come shopping," says John Lewis' Mark Blundell. Other user groups, such as homeless people and informal street vendors, are very aware of the legal boundary. The super-abundance of brand-related graphics and (in places) a clear uplift in estate management standards compared with neighbouring zones suggests that Liverpool One is, in some respects, deliberately not integrated. There is something of a balance to be struck, then, between Liverpool One as an identifiably unique place, and Liverpool One as simply one part of a diverse city.

Finally, in our literature review on public/private space (2017) we captured the range of definitions by which public space is considered. These include categorisation by typology (eg parks, plazas, circulation), function (retail, memorial, civic) and user feelings (everyday space, spectacular space, memorial or exalted space). Further, the study uncovered the design cues which imply access, or suggest a certain social filtration: CCTV, security guards, the presence of particular brand names and iconography (which can suggest inclusiveness or exclusivity).

"Three decades ago Gehl… argued that streets ought to be considered as social spaces rather than just channels for movement. This view is echoed by Mehta… who writes that streets must be spaces for people to 'stop, gather and linger'."
[Littlefield and Devereux, p23]

In the light of this study, it is appropriate to consider Liverpool One in terms of its "publicness" as well as any desired integration. Quite apart from the obvious fact that the estate is publicly accessible, it is worth Grosvenor considering what *sort* of public place it has created, or aspires of it. Any retail-led development may be more or less attractive to particular consumers, while city centres might be said to embrace all citizens. To some extent, Liverpool One performs both roles. The balance between commercial appeal and civic virtue, then, is a relevant question – especially when considering the role of integration in social terms. Further questions raised in the literature review are repeated here. While this report is not an attempt to answer them all, these questions have been useful prompts and points of reference in the course of this project:

- how is public space defined?

- do all public spaces have to serve all publics? Is there a danger that, in seeking to be open to all social groups, public spaces might satisfy nobody?

- do the boundary conditions clearly demarcate the public/private interface, or is the threshold zone more fuzzy and indeterminate? How does a user know where they are? Does the user need to know anything of the ownership of the space they are in?

- is there a distinction between private and civic space?

- how does society guide and moderate behaviours, and how does the control of these behaviours vary (if at all) between the public and private sectors?

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BOUNDARIES AND VIEWS

"The fascination of boundaries lies in their ambivalent role of dividing and connecting at the same time. They mark the transition between different modes of existence".
[Richter and Peitgen 1985, p 571-572]

Cities are made up of boundaries, all of which are important in our reading of urban place. These boundaries overlap each other and come in many forms. Batty [1994] sees them as marking a change from one regime to another – legal (land ownership,) political (voting, representation,) administrative (city management,) cultural and social (the historic quarter, the theatre quarter etc…) functional (transport, leisure, retail, office etc…) and so on. He also sees them as not simply a linear construct, but as zones of change. In urban areas boundaries are unlikely to be smooth as cities are traditionally the product of organic, piecemeal development over centuries with a resulting complicated set of internal boundaries. The more we zoom in on the boundary the more intricate it becomes. At one scale, the Liverpool One land registry title shows an almost uniform, uncomplicated block of land with a clear boundary; at slightly more detail, the Liverpool City Centre Visitor Map shows a very simplified set of boundaries separating the city into 'quarters,' 'shops,' ' car parks,' 'hotels;' but on the ground at a detailed scale, the reality of Liverpool One is a complicated, intricate set of thresholds butting up against the wider city. Yet it is this complicated arrangement that is most apparent to the public.

With that in mind from the start, Liverpool One had as its ambition to fit relatively seamlessly into an established pattern of complex tangible and intangible boundaries already established in the city. "The ambition was for a massive extension to what Liverpool already offered, but of higher quality, broader appeal, better served and integrated into what was already there" [Littlefield 2009, p47]. In urban design terms, the devil of the boundary condition at Liverpool One is in this detailed, forensic scale. For the purpose of this study, we have explored the Liverpool One boundary in the following ways: zone; edgelands; external and internal thresholds; and the visual boundary.

Boundaries (as Batty, above notes) are not simply linear constructs. The area around the Liverpool One development represents a zone of transition. That zone is outside Grosvenor's title but presents those approaching or leaving Liverpool One with an association to the development. The zone is the location of street sellers, the homeless and (as the Manager of John Lewis pointed out) the criminal (direct access to the interior of the store.) It can be dirty (Lord Street / Hanover Street,) busy and off putting (The Strand,) and under/poorly designed (Bus Station.) It can also provide the opportunity to excite (School Lane / Bluecoat) and entice (Derby Square). What becomes clear when visiting the boundary is the lack of control that the Liverpool One management team have over this 'zone.' Whilst the Liverpool BID Company recognises the lack of city management in the area immediately surrounding Liverpool One that they seek to improve, Grosvenor is not part of that initiative and, despite having police and street cleaning staff the BID Company has not yet had a significantly noticeable impact on the curation and management of the 'zone' to ensure that the approaches to Liverpool One and the transition into it are attractive.

In their book *Edgelands*, Michael Symmons Roberts and Paul Farley [2011]

bring home to the reader just how much urban infrastructure and detritus is (by necessity) located on the urban edge – sewage works, substations, lorry parks etc…As cities have developed in an organic way and as their centres developed in an era before the internal combustion engine, these unattractive twentieth and twenty-first century requirements where inevitably pushed to the edge – the outer suburbs and beyond. Liverpool One is an extensive and modern intervention into an already existing urban fabric. In itself it is bigger in retail floorspace than most towns. As a new development, contrary to the normal pattern of urban organic development, much of the infrastructure required has been hard-wired into the new development. What is striking is that it mimics the traditional pattern of development by being pushed to the edge of this new inner city 'town'. Delivery yards, bin stores, car parks and miscellaneous service spaces dominate the outer parts of Liverpool One to the detriment of a more civic and agreeable reading of the city space. This juxtaposition of infrastructure and visitor experience is at times successfully negotiated (underground servicing via the Law Court access road) but at others it detracts from the boundary and a desired seamless integration of the old and new. Car parks (John Lewis / Hanover Street) the Bus Station (immediately next to the Hilton Hotel) and imposing service spaces (rear Harvey Nichols) present a daunting and fortress like visual and arrival sequence.

A border requires crossing points and entrances (or exits) and Liverpool One is no exception. These crossing points can be seen, in terms of their use, presence and width / height street ratios, as being primary (South John Street & Paradise Street –School Lane – Lord Street; Albert Dock – Thomas Steers Way); secondary (College Lane) and tertiary (Manesty's Lane – Paradise Street). These thresholds are marked on the ground in a number of ways: road studs, bollards, flagpoles, change of floor surface. All of these, to some extent or other, make the boundary visible to the street user. There is no consistency in the way these territorial markers are deployed. At times their use is unsynchronised, such as at the junction of School Lane / Paradise Street (a primary entrance) where 21 metres separate road studs (Grosvenor's legal ownership) and Liverpool City Council road signage (LCC's control) from the Liverpool One flagpoles and bollards (marketing and estate management boundary.) Whilst this might be the outcome of historic surface access rights and the like it leaves an unambiguous 'no man's land' in which the casual visitor is neither in nor out of Liverpool One and the result is an untidy adjacency between the city and Grosvenor's interests. That untidiness is made all the more apparent by the way in which non-casual users (homeless, Big Issue sellers and the like) clearly read the extremity of Grosvenor's ownership and stay encamped just outside.

It is very reminiscent of the intra – extra muros condition of many European cities in the nineteenth century, with the privileged inside and the less privileged outside the city gates. Care (and action) must be taken to ensure that this does not become so obviously a visible internal urban demarcation zone if it is to integrate with the wider city.

Sometimes (eg Canning Place, Paradise Street,) the entrance-exit threshold is marked by such a confusion of bollards and markers it makes reading the city difficult and simply adds to the visual fatigue brought about by an copious sprawl of unnecessary street furniture. At others, (Albert Dock-Thomas Steers Way) there is an over-abundance of corporate signing that, whilst it directs the visitor towards John Lewis, doesn't contribute to urban integration. At others (Bluecoat) Liverpool One advertises itself (on the ground and on plan) as stretching out beyond its legal ownership to culturally appropriate the historically significant

art centre and its curtilage.

Some of the lower ranked thresholds (tertiary in particular) are foreboding and off-putting. Those off Hanover Street are not even named on the Liverpool City Centre map. Gates (even if opened) signal control and are uninviting. Visitors are not drawn in, yet some of the spaces revealed once the threshold is passed are amongst the most interesting in terms of urban streetscape and fabric within Liverpool One. Oddly one of the most successful entrances, that adjoining the law courts, is also one of the smallest. The landscape treatment, the view of the cathedral and the rise in topography contribute to a sense of arrival and progression through the gateway cut out of the ground floor of the law courts from Derby Square. It is also one of the least signed entrances to the development.

Each threshold could be the subject of further study; but the hierarchy, the entrance sequence and the physical paraphernalia that serves to announce arrival and to divide Liverpool One from the city should be considered as having an almost bigger (and contradictory) impact than much of the urban design endeavour that went into integrating the development into the city. In an era of city management and marketing, when Liverpool sells itself as a city of 'quarters' – business, cultural, leisure, entertainment, retail etc… it is perhaps inevitable and no bad thing that Liverpool One distinguishes itself as a destination with clear boundaries, as a theme park or National Trust property would. As contexts have changed over ten years, if that is now to be the approach, it counters the original intention to integrate; but it demands a high level of attention be paid to the boundary and also to decisions about who the development is trying to attract.

Internal boundaries within Liverpool One are also worthy of note. The modernist architectural movement of the twentieth century has, through its use of steel and plate glass, removed borders from the street, only for retailers to re-impose them in their treatment of the shopfront. No amount of intention to integrate will (nor should) overcome the fact that Liverpool One is of an architectural language distinct from the streets around; but the external-internal building threshold that modernist architecture has sought to remove has clearly been reintroduced. Entrances are clearly identified to attract customers but their window displays control those customers, forming a cultural border, filtering them by age, sex, tastes etc… Shop windrows present an opaque border between shop and street. Kramer's observation holds true for much of the internal space of Liverpool One:

"Place-making and design can be and has been as much about keeping others out as inviting others in." [Kramer 2017, p1]

In an age of changing retail expectations the internal thresholds are confining. If Liverpool One is to respond to competition from on-line and elsewhere within the city, consideration of how internal thresholds serve to exclude as much as include will be important. John Lewis, for example, are looking to increase the shopping experience. However, with limited entrances and imposing, dominant window displays it still feels as though the visitor needs a specific purpose to enter and will therefore not experience John Lewis by chance – which, if it were to happen, would be an advantage over on-line shopping. The Liverpool One Shopfront Guide [2011] might have been a useful servant to the original intention of an ordered, corporate streetscape, responding to an age that had not encountered on line shopping, but it now needs some revisiting to reconsider threshold impacts within the development. These thresholds are not simply horizontal (into / out of the shop) but also vertical (ground to upper level) within Liverpool One as visually there is little linking South John Street (and elsewhere) with the cafés
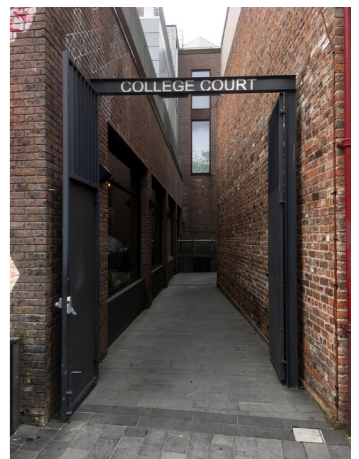
and restaurants of Chavasse Park for example.

The visually exhausting plethora of bollards, flags and road markings has been discussed already, as has the physical presence of service yards and the like; but no investigation of the boundary condition would be complete without a word on the wider visual impact of Liverpool One as it butts up to the city. The boundary to the original development had little impact on Lord Street, except for the South John Street entrance, which is handled calmly by smoothing the frontages and controlling heights. Retail in Liverpool One adjoins the wider retail environment here and does the city no harm. At times opportunities are lost (the blank façade on the School Lane boundary, for example) and at times the whole development seems closed and overbearing (rear of John Lewis, ground floor of One Park West / Chavasse Park.) The most successful visual integration occurs when existing buildings form part of the street frontage. Here the demands of design control seem to have restrained ambition and the nineteenth century and earlier rhythm of building has made the outcome have a more human scale. Where the edge has been more undefined (entrance to the Hilton, frontage to The Strand, rear of John Lewis) the outcome has tended to reinforce separation and forcefully separates city from Grosvenor's intervention.

This chapter began by remarking on the multi-definitional nature of the boundary concept. It has then explored Liverpool One using some of the conditions of boundaries and borders to contextualise what is found on the ground. Additionally, boundaries can be considered in three further ways: layered; temporal; and psychological**.**

Boundaries are a layered construct and if a new development is to integrate into its host city it needs to consider impact in terms of such things as politics, culture and ownership. Most of Liverpool One sits within firmly within Central Electoral Ward which runs from the Albert Dock inland to beyond the university. The southern boundary of Central Ward, though, runs through Canning Place dividing the police station (outside) from Liverpool One (inside) up Hanover Street dividing Novotel (outside) from Liverpool One (inside). If development (eg Police Station) takes place beyond that southern boundary it will bring in different residential business and political voices to the debate. How those on the other side of the boundary are seen and who they see the boundary and beyond from their side other side will be important – will they be likely consumers of Liverpool One, will they view it as an enclave of consumerism beyond their reach or will Liverpool one reach out to them and seek to include them and their political representatives in debates and decisions? The boundary condition will be more sensitive here than elsewhere in Central Ward where already established neighbours are in place.

Boundaries are a temporal construct and Liverpool One sought to recognise that by retaining and celebrating some of the area's history. The Old Wet Dock is a major piece of that history and sits below the site. The boundary to it is a vertical one – it can be viewed casually from above via a narrow viewing point and by visiting as part of a guided tour. It has not been incorporated into the development but instead sits on the other side of a temporal boundary almost entirely oblivious to the activity above. Perhaps a chance has been missed to use the redevelopment to link past and present more closely. Liverpool One therefore sits as an entirely 2008 construct, with no reference to the past except for the coincidence of the street pattern being mainly that of the pre-development landscape.

Boundaries are a psychological construct [Escallier, 2006]. Setting up a boundary

condition through architecture, urban design, urban semiotics and marketing creates an expectancy. The expectation of the visitor is reinforced as the boundary is crossed. A feeling of security, cleanliness and of being removed from day-to-day life to indulge in social activity within an urban (cosmopolitan) setting is achieved in Liverpool One, so long as that expectation does not extend into the realm of culture, or indeed any sort of non-consumerist activity. The psychological boundary that is crossed is one from the civic (the City of Liverpool) to the consumerist (Liverpool One). To the extent that Liverpool One sets itself up to be an encounter with blatant consumerism it might well be appropriate for the outside of the boundary to remain noticeably different, for the consumerist district to be unashamedly just that, and for a clear boundary distinction to be experienced as the threshold is crossed – the person crossing it needs (from a consumerist point of view) to feel that he or she has left behind one world (the ordinary) and entered another (the extraordinary). The ambiguity of the Liverpool One boundary, though, is perhaps that this dichotomy has not been addressed head-on, the boundary is too ambiguous and subjective at times, perhaps it literally sits on the fence. As the future of retail and urban consumerism evolves the role that the Liverpool One boundary should play in the design and functioning of the development might become more evident. Seamless integration, the original objective, might not be necessary nor suitable if visitors are to be invited to participate in a sanitised urban experience in the way they might in a more family leisure-based, almost Disneyesque, day out. They need to know they have left the mundane behind for a few hours.

The boundary is important, it is impossible to eliminate the boundary (in all its guises) between Liverpool One and the city. The simple technique of extending an existing two dimensional street pattern on a masterplan into the new development does not remove the threshold that is experience going from established to new, from the spontaneous to the curated and manicured. Perhaps that threshold should be given more status than it has been. Salingores puts it well: "How can we make spaces that are more accommodating to human uses and psychological needs? The key is to design their boundaries" [Salingores 2016, p1].

"The human being is constantly aware of his position in the environment, that he feels the need for a sense of place and that this sense of identity is coupled with an awareness of elsewhere." [Cullen, 1961, p12]   VIEWS

The awareness referred to by Cullen is, to a large extent, visual. We locate ourselves in our spatial environment by reference to optical clues. There is a visual encounter with the city. Any visitor, whether on business, leisure, shopping or simply passing through takes away an impression of the place [García et al, 2007]. A large new urban regeneration scheme has the opportunity to craft that impression, and indeed to brand a revised interpretation of a city on the visitor. A major element in that potential transformation is the way in which the main parameters of urban design, dealt with at the masterplan stage of any new development, emerge into reality.

"Looking at cities can give a special pleasure, however commonplace the sight may be. Like a piece of architecture, the city is a construction in space, but one of vast scale, a thing perceived only in the course of long spans of time. City design is therefore a temporal art… At every instant, there is more than the eye can see,

more than the ear can hear, a setting or a view waiting to be explored. Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surrounding, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences." [Lynch 1960, p1]

Ten years on, Liverpool One demonstrates that it has had a very positive impact on the city fabric and has clearly enabled a much improved visual encounter with the city.

In visual terms Liverpool is probably best known for its outstanding collection of riverfront buildings (Liver, Cunard and Mersey Dock & Harbour Board and the Albert Dock), the two cathedrals and St John's Tower, as well as nineteenth century cultural collections (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool Museum, St George's Hall, Picton Library etc). The aforementioned are all imposing. Less visually imposing, yet perhaps equally important in terms of the local urban scene, are The Bluecoat (cupola) and Town Hall. Alongside these can be added urban spaces that contribute to the reading of the city centre in and around Liverpool One; Derby Square, Chavasse Park, Castle Street etc…The question for any major redevelopment proposal is the extent to which these exterior elements, so important to a city's identity, are integrated into the new development. This is what Kevin Lynch [1960] would have referred to as the 'legibility' of the city. In principal, the more they are integrated the more the new development feels it belongs to the city and to its citizens.

Protected views, viewing corridors and sightlines are common urban design terms and in their various ways they have all been used as a basis for framing new development. They have been used in San Francisco, Vancouver, London and more recently in Oxford (the city of spires) to ensure no visual harm is done to an existing urban asset, often a skyline [Hollis, 2015]. In the case of Liverpool One there is a perceived acknowledgement of the importance of the local visual cues, but the situation was (and still is) somewhat different from the other cities mentioned. At Liverpool One there was never too much concern that key views of the city would be destroyed. The few key views there are were "factored into the plans, ensuring that local landmarks like the Liver Buildings and the Albert Dock were framed by new buildings" [Littlefield 2009, p65]. In any case, the major riverfront buildings are best viewed from the river and pre-development views of them from the site of Liverpool One were very limited. The same limited impact applies to the other views and urban spaces listed above. What the new development in Liverpool had the chance to do was to improve the visual experience of the city and to benefit from it. It could use the city as a backdrop to itself and in so doing embed itself into the city.

After a decade Liverpool One has to a large extent done what it set out to do in terms of protecting views to the Albert Dock. In fact the raising of the ground level in Chavasse Park has allowed for the full extent of The Albert Dock to be seen and there is certainly an improved visual link between these two leisure-retail zones. They will feel even better integrated should the city council's proposed lane narrowing and tree lining of The Strand go ahead as planned over the next few years.*

The Albert Dock view is visually important in locating Liverpool One into the waterfront visitor experience but really only works at the higher level of Chavasse Park where the arcs of the Cesar Pelli-designed park focus visitors' towards the Albert Dock roofscape. At ground (grade) level it is difficult to form a visual relationship between the two, and the over busy boulevard of flags along Thomas Steers Way, whilst attempting to link the two, feels visually oppressive

and overdone (see chapter on Branding and Estate Management). Better integration might be found by using the ground (grade) level walk between the two developments for a more active frontage. As things stand, from John Lewis to the Albert Dock there is little in the way of visual interruption or amusement. Views left and right along Thomas Steers Way are passive rather than active and no number of flags can change that. There might be opportunity here for more small scale, but bespoke and well maintained active visual stimuli. Jane Jacobs remarked on the need to enclose public space: "the presence of buildings around a park is important in design. They enclose it. They make a definite shape out of the space, so that it appears as an important event in the city scene, a positive feature, rather than a no-account leftover" [Jacobs 1961, p116].

Of the other major views available, those to the Liver Building and cathedrals have been considered but perhaps only exploited to a limited extent. The Cesar Pelli arcs recognised the northern view (though only a glimpse) available to the Liver Building and delivered it, but the subsequent tree planting obscures the view in summer when the park from which it can be obtained is at its busiest. From within the development any other views of the Liver Building are somewhat contrived and exclusive – from the John Lewis café/restaurant or high above Paradise Street (over the Wall Street bridge) - and not generally available to the casual visitor. The density of the urban fabric outside Liverpool One makes any ground (grade) level view to this important landmark impossible to achieve in any meaningful way. The two cathedrals make a brief appearance into the visual experience of Liverpool One from limited corners of Chavasse Park. The crown of the Catholic Cathedral is just visible between The Terrace and John Lewis. The Anglican Cathedral is seen likewise from Chavasse Park where its tower is cut in half by the protruding canopies of the Terrace Level. The best (and really quite appealing) use of external views to link the development to the city is that given by the narrow walkway from Derby Square upwards into Chavasse Park that frames the Anglican Cathedral, until it again is cut in half by a canopy at the Terrace Level. One more visible anchor into the city comes from the 138m high St John's Beacon which can be seen from a number of places on the higher (Terrace) level. That is the most successful external orientation marker for visitors, simply because it can't be missed protruding above the building line when looking inland from Chavasse Park.

A careful audit of interrupted views such as these might allow for a relatively easy reconfiguration of decorative infrastructure that would enable the maximum benefit to be gained, and for the better visual integration of the development to the city's iconic landmarks.

One important aspect of the Liverpool One masterplan and subsequent detailed design decisions was the recognition that 'smaller' views could prove important in binding the development into the urban fabric beyond. This has had a fair degree of success; for example, the oblique vertical view of the Bluecoat cupola from College Lane works well as a novelty and does help to visually integrate the new with the old. Similar oblique views of important Liverpool landmarks (Mersey Tunnel ventilation shaft etc…) can be obtained but they tend to be available only from high level and even then, from restricted points.

One successful view out at ground level is achieved by the framed exit to adjacent to the law courts. Here the pedestrian is funnelled through a narrow corridor but one with a surprisingly rich civic view beyond (see right). This view serves as an example of all that Gordon Cullen [1961] was looking for when he referred to serial vision – the way in which views are sequenced in a town – as the citizen

The great Port of Liverpool began here, on the Quayside of the Old Dock
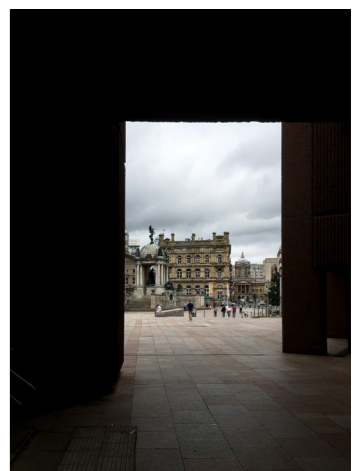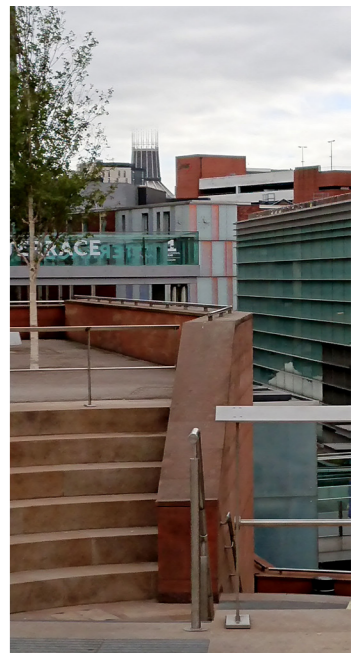
links existing views to emerging views and transitions between them. "It is easy to see how the whole city becomes a plastic experience, a journey through pressures and vacuums, a sequence of exposures and enclosures, of constraint and relief" [Cullen, 1961 p10].

The pathway through the law courts reveals a view of Derby Square and the Queen Victoria monument with Castle Street and the Town Hall as a backdrop beyond. This is the heart of nineteenth century commercial Liverpool and has much to be admired, yet Liverpool One (perhaps wanting to be seen as the contemporary opposite) downplays this visual link to the past. The area immediately beyond Liverpool One at this location is a World Heritage Site, and working with those responsible for that to improve the urban / landscape design of Derby Square could be a very useful piece of urban planning at relatively little cost or effort. It would help to form a better continuous urban / civic space between the city and Liverpool One and in so doing key the World Heritage Site into the Liverpool One development more than is presently the case.

Whilst the range of views throughout the site – wide vistas (eg Albert Dock) closed views (eg Paradise Street towards John Lewis) glimpsed views (eg cathedrals) and emerging views (eg Crown Courts) – is impressive they tend to be downplayed and interrupted. Others, however, are more disappointing. Views to the south (especially from Chavasse Park) take in the heavily massed and functional John Lewis car park as well as the low level canopies of the bus station in the foreground, looking towards a background that fades away with little of visual civic value to its credit. The aspect outwards to the south could certainly benefit from visual closure. Another view, this time perhaps in more urgent need of rethinking than that to the south, is the view down School Lane towards the Liver Building. This internationally famous building, the focus of a World Heritage Site, is seen cut in half across a service yard. Most visitors arriving from the east down School Lane will take this initial impression of Liverpool One away with them. The ground level approaches via Paradise Street and North / South John Street are limited in their contribution to views. They neither upset nor contribute to a memorable vista, but they do feel relatively internal and enclosed, once inside Liverpool One, on either of these axes, the visitor has little visual contact with the city beyond.

This section of the account of Liverpool One has focussed on views, but it is worth a word or two on the wider urban design intentions and their realisation ten years on from opening. At around the time of Liverpool One opening, masterplanning as a method of producing a liveable city had its critics: "Whereas masterplanning is generally a top-down approach by experts, often clearing out existing activities, creating large single use areas of private or ambiguous ownership. It also promotes the scheme as a product" [Giddings & Hopwood 2006, p8].

Masterplanning was being seen as producing elitist, non-sustainable outcomes. Liverpool One was conceived to avoid such criticism, and at the urban design scale it mirrors and sits within Liverpool very successfully. On plan, the urban network of streets – mainly a grid that criss-crosses the city at this point - has been respected. That ensured that there was no feeling of physical disjuncture. In section, the street widths and building heights reflect that of the city beyond. Where the scale needed to be more modest (eg Manesty's Lane) it is, and where grander was needed the design responds with a more commercial and prosperous offering worthy of the provincial city that saw itself as the "second city of the empire" [Nottingham University, 2006] and which still retains the architectural infrastructure to support such a claim.

In taking an overview of urban design intentions, it is as well to note that: "Significantly the decision was also taken very early on in the concept phases of the project to divide the development into distinct urban districts… Carefully crafting the scale of this development was always important to Grosvenor, which was adamant it would not build a 'monolithic' scheme" [Littlefield 2009, p67].

These 'distinct urban districts' are more problematic, more so the case as the development at street level is almost exclusively retail. For Norberg-Schulz the street, "in the past . . . was a "small universe' where the character of the district and of the town as a whole was presented in condensed form to the visitor. The street represented, so to speak, a section of life – history had shaped its details." [Norberg-Schulz 1971, p81].

Although the present day visitor plan of Liverpool One clearly shows the intended 'quarters' and the discerning visitor can relate that plan to architectural intent there is less obviously a distinct difference in the 'streets' in the way that Norberg-Schulz might infer to reflect the change from one district to another – all streets clearly belong to the Liverpool One retail family. Frontages are then inevitably relatively uniform and ubiquitous and, in particular at ground (grade) level shops (and thereby the frontages) are closed at night time. That said, as a retail development it matches the adjoining Lord Street and Church Street townscape. These are predominantly, almost exclusively, retail ground floor frontages. In terms of functional integration the masterplan delivers the assimilation of Liverpool One into the wider city almost seamlessly. The degree to which that urban masterplan can be adapted to cope with a changing retail environment and the degree to which such change might bring more diversification into Liverpool One is certainly a present consideration but a relaxing of homogeneity and a more diverse range of ground floor activities might allow for the more evening and night time uses typical of city centres (see chapter, *Time and Adaptation*).

After ten years, it is a credit to the architects, planners and others involved in the development of Liverpool One and its subsequent management that the condition of the open spaces, infrastructure and building stock seems to be standing the test of time. The area still maintains a sense of quality and urban luxury. This, in many ways, makes it stand out against the surrounding streets which, although blessed with a rich architecture, are often characterised by a noticeable degree of neglect.

The early urban design and masterplan decisions to focus on a traditional street pattern, to open the development to the elements and to restrict the public space to a single, well sized but relatively easily managed park seems to have been appropriate. The scope for dereliction and social problems to extend from the wider city into Liverpool One are reduced, albeit by giving Liverpool One a sense of sitting somewhat aloof of the rest of the city's problems.

"Some town authorities, in an effort to save a traditional centre and compete with out-of town shopping, improved urban roads, built multi-storeyed car parks and massive shopping malls, so destroying fine streets and squares, the very lifeblood of a lively sustainable town centre." [Moughtin 2003, p278]

As Moughtin suggests, cities are not static creations. There was a time, not that long ago, when the view from what is now Liverpool One towards the Albert Dock was cut clumsily in half by the Overhead Railway that ran the whole length of the now redundant dock system. That same railway also cut the Liver

BOUNDARIES & VIEWS:
THE DYNAMIC CITY

Building and its neighbours in half, destroying any inland view of the historic set of waterfront building. It created a major physical barrier to movement and urban integration. The removal of the railway allowed for the views of the waterfront to be exploited and for the waterfront to be integrated into the city centre once there was a developer willing to take on the Paradise Street – Chavasse Park district. Grosvenor took on that task: it has not harmed any pre-development views; it has recognised the major landmarks of the city, including those on the other side of what was the overhead railway line, and has ensured they play a role in the development. There are moments that have been a little downplayed, especially by cutting the view, such as views to the two cathedrals and others that are there but might have been better exploited, such as the Liver Building from Chavasse Park or School Lane. The urban design approach and masterplan, so important ten years ago, have ensured a development that sits into the city plan far more comfortably than many large scale retail developments in other UK (and beyond) cities. Liverpool One did not destroy 'fine streets and squares, the very lifeblood of a lively sustainable town centre' [Moughtin 2003, p278]. Instead it brought new streets and parks to a fine town centre, and in urban design terms it has proven itself sustainable over the last ten years.

The deep threshold on Paradise Street. The top-most yellow line represents the legal boundary (revealed by metal studs); the middle line represents a branded boundary, of banners; the lower line represents a further branded boundary, of bollards.

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BRANDING AND ESTATE MANAGEMENT

"In many contexts today people are more likely to mention the names of cities than of the countries where they are located."
Marc Augé, *Non-Places: an introduction to super-modernity* [p20 - Introduction]

Q Park, David Lewis Street

The majority of the applied branding throughout Liverpool One announces the name of the estate rather than the owner/developer. "Grosvenor" is rarely found. An interesting moment of Grosvenor's role in the city is found in two discreet public art projects affixed to the building occupied by Q Park and Tesco on Hanover Street.

The first is a map and short history of Mr Seel's garden, located on the Seel Street side of the building, containing both the red "One" logo and Grosvenor name with wheatsheaf motif. The second is found at the rear of the building on David Lewis Street. It is an odd little installation, essentially two adjacent panels, the left of which contains a short poetic story in quotation marks (though no attribution); the right-hand panel depicts an abstracted architectural space with a quote from Carl Jung's 1933 work *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*:

"The least of things with a meaning is worth more in life than the greatest of things without it."

This is an arresting artefact to encounter, at the rear of what might be termed an outpost of Liverpool One. The poem, quote and image are delightfully unexpected, but quite what they are doing here – around the corner from Tesco and the staff entrance to Abacus Sexual Health Services – is intriguing.

Liverpool One is a branded* place. Upon its unveiling in 2008, it was felt important to give this regeneration project a name. Evidently, this name is no mere label (to be used, say, as a piece of professional jargon) but an asset of the estate as a destination. Thus, "Liverpool One" and "1" is to be found throughout the estate, especially at the periphery, as well as other branding statements such as "Live Life". Branding is also reinforced through way-finding and graphics, including printed "maps", location guides and consistent use of the colour red.

BRANDING

Marie-Paule Macdonald, writing in "Curating Architecture and the City" [Chaplin and Stara, 2009], queries the purpose of urban branding and its role in re-presenting urban centres. "What is urban branding? Why has it been perceived as a tool in urban design? Branding appears to treat cities, districts, neighbourhoods, museums and mass-produced goods similarly, as a marketing concept" [p209]. Macdonald describes such branding as an indication that architecture and urban design have become commodified – and are, then, simply examples of the reach of capitalism and the related phenomenon of the "Society of the Spectacle". The implication is that architecture, planning and urban design are diminished as endeavours, and that branding can make up for any deficiencies – that what design might lack in quality can be compensated for via a low-cost veneer of colour and corporate messaging.

Philip Boland, writing for the *Town Planning Review* [2013], also questions the role of branding. Focusing on Liverpool in particular, Boland argues that the branding of a city ought not to provide cover for a neo-liberal economic system which privileges terms such as "world class" and "destination" (and which might be inter-changeable between any large cities). Further, he argues that any authentic branding will acknowledge the true economic and social differences at work across the city, celebrating values and difference rather than repeating hyperbole. While he does reference Liverpool One, Boland is not especially critical of the development in itself, nor of other individual developments and events (Kings Dock, Albert Dock, European City of Culture); what he does critique is the image-making of a city region which does not reflect the social and economic realities of many inhabitants.

"The hyperbole of Liverpool's image transformation collides dramatically with the material realities of local people. In analysing relevant socioeconomic datasets, it shows how the spectacular narrative of a 'world class city' does not fit the lived reality of significant numbers of Liverpool's residents. The evidence suggests that a more appropriate label is a polarised and deprived city because large numbers of the population suffer unemployment, poverty, disadvantage and areas of the city contain some of the worst indices of multiple deprivation in the entire country." [Boland 2013, p267]

In this case, argues Boland, city branding needs to be treated with "extreme caution" [p267] unless it reflects the "lived experience" [p268] of its inhabitants. The extent to which Liverpool One makes room for *all* Liverpool's citizens,

Liverpool One is given a variety of graphic treatments on local maps and diagrams. The bottom image removes the Paradise Street service yard, and gives the same visual weight to external space (accessible and restricted) and buildings.

beyond high-value shopping, is an interesting discussion point – especially with reference to the question of integration. Branding is, however, aspirational, and any *framing* of a place will not necessarily be its statistical match. However, it is arguably reasonable to create a brand which the majority of citizens (included the socio-economically disadvantaged) would recognise, or assimilate as part of a shared identity.

There is also a question over the extent to which Liverpool One *ought* to be branded (if it is to be branded at all) which is a further consideration within any assessment of integration. If the estate is to be truly integrated, it might be argued that there is no requirement for branding at all. That said, Liverpool does appear to be becoming a *city of quarters*, in that there are identifiable and discreet zones for business, culture, retail and heritage. Bill Addy, chief executive of the Liverpool BID Company, comments that these quarters have been steadily evolving since the 1990s, as an initiative of Liverpool Vision. Addy comments that the boundary between quarters should not, "in theory", be entirely clear, but he lists "in your face" branding (including the uniforms of staff), street maintenance standards, occupants' behaviours, and the "control" that goes with site ownership as factors which differentiate Liverpool One. Addy envies the ability of Grosvenor to determine the ambience of its spaces, while the BID struggles to restrain or moderate public behaviours (such as street vending, busking and rough sleeping), or match Grosvenor's standards with regard to street cleaning.

"You can do whatever you like in Church Street, within reason – actually, without reason. It's all about the control," reported Addy. "The free-for-all, laissez-faire attitude that pervades Liverpool City Centre outside Liverpool One is not working."

Within these terms, Liverpool One is a distinct quarter simply by virtue of the controls that private ownership enables. The brand associated with Liverpool One as a place is, therefore, strongly associated with ownership. Associations with private ownership are not always seen positively (a theme developed in the earlier literature review, by Devereux and Littlefield, 2017; see also Coleman et al, [2005]. Addy clearly sees it as a virtue in terms of providing public spaces which can be perceived as welcoming and safe. Closer ties between the BID and Grosvenor might, he says, blur the boundaries at particular sites, such as Paradise Street: "Perhaps you take some of the grittiness into Liverpool One and some of the serenity out of Liverpool One and into the city." Such a view is predicated on a particular consideration of the boundary; as developed elsewhere in this paper, sites adjacent to Liverpool One (but outside of it) might already be said to embody a certain serenity, while other sites (inside the estate, but not necessarily perceived as such) would qualify as "gritty". The Bluecoat and rear boundaries of the two above-ground car parks are two such examples.

As a graphic presence, the "Liverpool City Centre Visitor Map" (branded by Liverpool One and the Liverpool BID Company) signposts Liverpool One in the same way that the "Cavern Quarter", "St George's Quarter" or "Ropewalks" are signalled – no boundary is indicated, and the map suggests that each quarter is an approximate zone rather than a defined territory. It is interesting that the map contains no explicit reference to "retail quarter" beyond the scope of Liverpool One, although such a quarter is perhaps hinted at through the indication of pedestrianised streets.

The "Restaurants & Bars Guide", however, does include the red line boundary of the estate superimposed onto the wider map, and further differentiates the

Liverpool One label by highlighting it in red. The "Store Guide", also a freely-distributed paper resource (and repeated on glass-mounted street signage) presents a further graphic account of the estate. The development is divided into six colour-coded zones, highlighting only premises within the development. There is a certain ambiguity embodied in this document, however. The guide includes the Bluecoat arts centre, which resides within Liverpool One only geographically, though not legally. Further (presumably because it is not a store) the Information Centre on Wall Street is not colour-coded, giving it the same neutral graphic treatment as retail outlets which lie outside of the estate, such as the Halifax and McDonalds. This guide also, incidentally, omits the Paradise Street service-yard giving the graphic impression that the Halifax and JD Sports share a party wall, while giving the same visual weight to key thoroughfares (such as Paradise Street) and small gated alleyways (College Court and Blundell Lane). Further, the guide does reference some key urban markers, such as the bus station and the Epstein Theatre, but makes no reference to the largest architectural condition at the site's periphery – the Law Courts – nor the neighbouring, and significant, Victoria memorial in Derby Square. These peripheral conditions are explored more fully in the section "Boundaries", including the potential for Derby Square to perform a more significant gateway role than at present.

The branding and graphic interpretation/presentation of Liverpool One is therefore considerable, though variable and selective. It is also the subject of much variety in *scale*. The site perimeter is often (though not always) defined by branded bollards and vertical banners, while a monumental shopping bag emblazoned with the "Live Life" motif and retailers' logos is positioned at one of the estate's primary gateways, adjacent to the Hilton hotel. As reported in the Introduction, the authors of this study were surprised to find that participants in the public walks conducted in November 2017, part of the "Being Human" series of AHRC-funded events, could not identify the boundary of Liverpool One even when stood at one of its most significant gateways – the junction of School Lane and Paradise Street. Just as anecdotally, a street vendor at this junction (careful to remain on the non-Grosvenor side of the legal boundary) related to the authors of this study how he was often asked by passers-by the way to Liverpool One.

The effectiveness of Liverpool One's branding is probably beyond the scope of this study, but we consider it appropriate to question the deeper purpose of that branding. "What are the consequences of branding? Do the results have anything to do with the intent? … How can one demonstrate that urban branding brings a particular result?" [Macdonald 2009, p209]. In terms of intent, one might reasonably assume that the branding is designed to curate an overall mood or spirit of place to the development: this is perhaps summed up with the large Chavasse Park banner "I think I'm gonna like it here", or the Store Guide slogan "Gimme, gimme, gimme". Further, this visual branding signals that Liverpool One is a distinct spatial entity, separate from and different to the surrounding city.

Brands set up expectations. Marcus Magee, general manager of Liverpool's Hilton Hotel, is acutely aware that the brand (and even name) of the hotel might also function as a boundary or social filter, suggestive of "expensive, bourgeois". Magee is content that the Hilton and Liverpool One, both private enterprises, are well integrated (although he expresses some doubt concerning the physical barrier of the "Orchard" and usefulness of the adjacent bus station), and he further believes the estate to integrate well into Liverpool itself. This sense of integration spans a number of categories: urban, commercial and perception.

"I see Liverpool One as the arterial link between the city and the dock area, and

The private ownership of public space has received a good deal of media and academic attention, not all of it positive (see Littlefield and Devereux's literature review, commissioned by Grosvenor). By way of example, Coleman et al are critical of: "privatised spaces for high-earner consumption, the unleashing of zero-tolerance initiatives and targeted surveillance – such as CCTV – and the development of powerful and insidious discourses aimed at re-imaging cities within a vernacular of 'renaissance'."

we can see the value of footfall that comes through Liverpool One – how critical it is to joining and creating this focal point where people can meet… It is safe, clean, it gives the impression it is protected… There is a sense you're in a safe environment.

"What we try to do is integrate… collectively we are a visitor economy. What we try to do is ensure is ensure that the commodity is of a quality, that it is of a price, that will attract everyone. We need to understand the demographic of the city to understand what we need to focus and target to generate footfall."

Magee echoes Addy in terms of the way in which Liverpool One provides a perception of safety and welcome. It is very much a balancing act, and the Hilton does operate as something of a microcosm of the estate more widely. "It is absolutely critical that people who visit the city see us as a public venue", says Magee, which can be equally said of Liverpool One. Magee (like Mark Blundell at John Lewis) also has to navigate a middle way between global/national trends, and local distinctiveness; the brand will suggest expectation and a certain demographic segmentation, while aspiring to inclusivity; and public access has to be assimilated with private-sector values.

Hotels are, in fact, fascinating and peculiar institutions in that members of the public (private individuals) can access a private space (not their own) and behave in ways, or associate with others, they may not do within that most private of places – their home. No branding makes this explicit, however; it is the role of individuals to look for and decode the signs (the concept of a hotel, the brand, the location, the architecture, the liberties associated with price) which are implied. What are the messages, beyond the freedom to shop, encoded within the branding of Liverpool One?

TRANSECT STUDIES

Located along transect 1 (running from City Hall to the Police Station) an elegant little pedestrianised route, Queen Avenue, opens at Castle Street, looping around to link with Dale Street. Lacking the scale that its name suggests, Queen Avenue is highly curated, and no doubt strict codes of practice regulate signage and other storefront matters. Neat, clean, one might even describe it as manicured, Queen Street is entirely different from the grit and bustle of Castle Street; indeed, its condition instantly suggests a shift in ownership, or at least that it is maintained to a different standard compared with its neighbours. Confirmation of a difference in ownership is not obvious, however, and one has to look for it. Above the entrance (which conceals, in fact, a roller security shutter) juts a sign containing the street name, followed by a curious, oversized full stop in red, with the word "bruntwood" in lower case, also in red, lower down. It is a very subtle and easily missed stamp of legal ownership – it is the condition of the street itself which suggests that there is something different or even special about this place.

Michel de Certeau, considering the difference between a space and a place, wrote of relationships, "vectors of direction", "the ensemble of movements", and the practices enacted upon "the street geometrically defined by urban planning" [Doherty, pp 118-119]. Such elements inform the semiotics of the street, which are legible to users who *read* the urban form without the need for physical signage to explain or interpret where they are. In short, Queen Street needs no labelling to inform the visitor that it is a different sort of place from surrounding streets. The semiotics of difference are embedded in the street itself: order, rhythm,

cleanliness, scale, light, surface.

At the start of transect 2 (running from the Mersey through to Church Street), the Albert Dock estate presents itself through similarly restrained branding. Bounded by a formidable wall and water, this site announces its difference through urban form and location alone. Thus the banner flying at its principal entrance states "Welcome" without the necessity of clarifying a place name, although "albertdock.com" is listed almost as a footnote at the base of the banner. Attached to the railings nearby on either side of the entrance are three signs: to the left, as one enters, a pay-and-display notice declaring "Private Land"; to the right, two smaller signs. Of these two signs, one contains the text "ALBERT DOCK" with a cautionary note concerning the need to take care on uneven cobbled surfaces; the other, smaller still, picks up the private ownership theme and reminds visitors that they benefit from no implied right of way.

Owned by Aberdeen Asset Management, the Albert Dock has a similar legal status to Liverpool One in that it is a privately-owned, publicly accessible, mixed-use estate in the city centre. Yet it is (perhaps curiously) understated in terms of branding; possibly its heritage status and the presence of key cultural institutions such as Tate Liverpool make any conscious attempt at branding unnecessary. (Note, the Apple Store is similarly understated, see right).

Turning one's back on the Albert Dock, crossing the Strand and facing Liverpool One towards Thomas Steers Way**, visitors encounter a landscape cluttered with street furniture bearing the "1" logo. Largely, this is in the form of vertical banners suspended from both permanent and temporary posts, a monumental shopping bag carrying the "Live life" slogan, and a branded street information display stand. Macdonald comments that "branding a downtown is no substitute for a well-rounded, sensitive, socially and ecologically relevant urban design intervention" [p217]. There is much to recommend the vista framed between the Hilton Hotel and One Park West (see chapter on "Boundaries and Views"), and the qualities of this space might well meet the terms listed by Macdonald here.

Does the presence of quite so much branding material suggest that the quality of place is not in itself sufficient to communicate the shift from one place to another? Does the branding perform a broader role, advertising the "here" and "there" nature of one territory meeting another? Might visitors feel any palpable sense of arrival or satisfaction knowing they are on one side of a boundary, or another? We suggest that Grosvenor consider the scale and purpose of the branding which characterises Liverpool One, especially at key entrance points such as that which faces the Albert Dock.

These questions address the matter of integration. Liverpool One as an estate and brand overlaps, of course, with L1, the postcode for Liverpool City Centre. Indeed, L1 far exceeds the territory of Liverpool One. There is an ambiguity, then, between brand and place, and the extent to which Liverpool One *belongs within* or in fact *is* the city centre. Identifying Liverpool One as the city centre could be read as an act of appropriation and something of a challenge to other city centre districts which also have a claim to being part of "the centre" - either by virtue of their scale and function (Lord Street) or through sharing a postcode (FACT Liverpool; the Philharmonic Hall). This Grosvenor estate was conceived as an integrated part of the city centre, and we suggest that, a decade after completion, it would be useful to consider the intent and consequences of Liverpool One as a brand, a territory and its relationship with the city centre as a place.

The Apple Store is an interesting case study concerning brand. The company has successfully managed to integrate a familiar design code into its brand so that potential customers will recognise the store without the need for an explicit label. In Liverpool One, as illustrated here, the store adopts the widespread practice of a restrained materials palette and finely-tuned composition, allied with the familiar logo, to announce itself. It is interesting to note that certified Apple affiliates (such as resellers) are urged not to adopt similar design practices in their own stores. In fact, Apple requests that stainless steel, for example, is not used in facades by affiliates: "Stainless steel is part of the proprietary look and feel of an Apple Store" [Apple p38]. The Liverpool One store comprises a façade of unadorned glazing, framed by a deep and equally austere threshold. Of course, an Apple Store would be harder to locate if all retailers adopted a similarly restrained brand presence; but for now this entirely understated approach to brand signifies corporate confidence and a faith in the design literacy of the shopping public. [Note: the colourful bunting seen in this image is a reflection of external decoration over South John Street.]

Apple Identity Guidelines For Channel Affiliates and Apple-Certified Individuals

"The management of public space is a prevalent responsibility of local authorities. In order to be discharged successfully, this role requires the active collaboration of citizens, civil society and the private sector." [UN Charter of Public Space, para. 32]

At the scale of the city, much has been written about the division of space into territories and the way in which these places invariably create an insider-outsider distinction and a subsequent need for control to be exercised [Taylor et al 1981, Smith 2017]. The question is then, who exercises that control, why and how? The answer to the question must be given against a changing urban context in which the city has become more a place of leisure than ever before and city marketing and branding has become an activity in its own right. Ideas such as ' the cultural city,' 'the creative city' and the like suggest a need for curation and management. In these terms Liverpool has turned itself from being a declining Atlantic port to something of a cultural capital [European Capital of Culture 2008] and, in particular a diverse multi-cultural one that sees itself as something unique:

Liverpool is 'the capital of itself, deeply insular, yet essentially outward looking' [Du Noyer 2002, p5]

Yet, at a general level, this tendency towards the increasingly overt curation and management of public space has far reaching implications for architects, designers and land owners. It questions our 'collective expectation of the public domain' and recognises the complexity of balancing physical space and public life [Bravo 2017].

Public space must be the place where citizenship rights are guaranteed for everybody and differences are respected and appreciated. [UN Charter of Public Space, para. 3].

That physical public space now competes with digital space; the latter presenting a clean, controlled and fully managed environment against which the physical city now needs to compete. That dichotomy is becoming all the more relevant and prevalent with the rapidly changing retail / high street environment. Place management practitioners need to develop active management strategies to keep town centres attractive [Stefaniak, 2015].

In the case of Liverpool One there has been a deliberate attempt since the outset to ensure that there is a visible, identifiable and proactive management regime in place, regardless of what the city council might (or might not) offer in the way of overseeing the urban realm. That is clear at street level along the transects used in this study, with uniformed staff, signage and CCTV as well as a general cleanliness and curated image, especially compared to most of the city beyond. At a commercial and ownership level it comes across strongly in the occupiers' handbook and shop front guide.

'We aim to be the destination of choice by delivering a clean, safe, secure and attractive environment' [Occupiers' Handbook].

What has emerged over the ten years since opening is a carefully managed, family orientated space, which exudes a sense of unity and safety. There is no graffiti nor litter, streets and spaces are regularly cleaned and staff are almost invariably visible, even in outside spaces. (Not all is managed to the same standard: see images, left). At times, this cleaning and arguably *over management* reduces any sense of ownership the population at large might have; here, visitors are treated very much as guests. It is clear that this is not space in which anything

other than safe, benign and neutral activity can occur. That contrasts sharply with the surrounding areas in which there is a wider mix of urban activity, where nightlife is more edgy and where city management (cleansing, 'policing' and uniformity of urban appearance) is less overtly present. Within Liverpool One street entertainment, street selling, the movement of visitors is all controlled, and obviously so. Beyond Liverpool One, the city might officially be governed by the same level of control as inside Liverpool One, but in practice in the wider city the Big Issue sellers (with and without megaphones) and the homeless are able to exist side by side, but are not to be seen inside Liverpool one. There is clearly a different set of priorities and management regime inside Liverpool One compared with outside. Perhaps this is not all to be frowned upon; as Brower points out:

'Some spaces are meant to be seen and are regularly cleaned and decorated, others are treated as if they are invisible and are used to store surplus and waste. Just to be seen in some spaces can be an honor, in others it can mean instant disgrace. To be removed from some spaces can be a blessing, from others a cause for grief.' [Brower 1980, p179]

As a commercial investment it stands to reason that an investor / developer would want to ensure the good management of its asset; the successful integration of that asset into the city depends, though, on what is happening in the wider city centre. Outside of Liverpool one, land falls into two main categories. That owned by the city council and that not. In the case of the former, the city council's intention as expressed in Chapter 13 EP8 of the current Unitary Development Plan [2002] is clear, namely to ensure its ownership is kept litter and graffiti clear, as is their intention to control street vending and trading. This is re-emphasised in the emerging planning documents: "An attractive shopping environment is of fundamental importance to the economic health and retail vitality of centres" [Liverpool City Council Local Plan 2013-2033, para 9.13].

The reality, however, is somewhat different. The lack of city cleansing and policing has provoked the creation of the Liverpool BID Company. The BID company's raison d'être: to create a 'Managed District' with street rangers, cleansing teams, BID ambassadors, two sponsored police officers, marketing and business support in that part of the city immediately adjoining Liverpool One serves to demonstrate just how neglected the immediate neighbourhood is (Liverpool BID Company website).

That in turn further serves to highlight the distinction felt on entering Liverpool One along the transects and elsewhere. If the integration of Liverpool One into the city is to be promoted then it is vital that Liverpool One plays as strong a role as possible in encouraging and helping the BID company to achieve its goals. Without its success Liverpool One risks the possibility of becoming more and more of an anomaly – an enclave of some other world – surrounded by a declining, unattractive urban fabric. That must have long term implications for success. The difficulty for the city council and the BID company (both of whom express similar good intentions) is that much of the land they seek to manage is in the hands of disparate private ownerships with their own equally disparate agendas. Presenting a unified and integrated image into which Liverpool One can seamlessly fit is not easily achieved and perhaps there's something to be said for Liverpool One to become / remain that enclave, with the proviso that there is probably a threshold of wider urban decline below which even the most attractive enclave ceases to be able to act as a commercial draw.

A contemporary sign of the twenty first century managed estate is what Lippert

[2009] terms the 'surveillant assemblage.' CCTV and their associated signage are a major physical manifestation of this 'assemblage.' The transects of Liverpool One reveal a low key approach to surveillance; so does a wider view in case those transects were fortunately avoiding such infrastructure. This surveillance does not make Liverpool One any different to both city controlled and publically controlled land of the wider city. Most shoppers pass by un-noticing; to the observant shopper it most likely serves as a reassuring symbol of security; to vagrants, street traders and criminals it has enough of a presence and immediacy of 'official' reaction to any transgression of normal behaviour, that it is an effective deterrent - such people preferring to remain in equally surveilled space but with a laxer management regime

Estate management extends beyond cleansing, CCTV and the like to controlling new interventions and additions to the fabric of Liverpool One. For the most part these have, and still do, take the form of new shop fronts (that invariably have a corporate branding element to them) and pavilions, kiosks and such at both street level and on the edges of Chavasse Park. As the Shopfront Guide [2011] makes clear: "It should be noted that full planning permission is required for any new shopfronts. The Liverpool One Management Team must sign off the designs as the landlord, but tenants must obtain planning permission directly from Liverpool City Council before the work is carried out." [p25]

That guide sets out clear principles but expresses its intention in a uniform way and tends to produce a safe urban street front, though leaving little room for challenge. The document approaches shopfronts in a formulaic objective manner and leaves little, if any, room for individual identity. Even if it treats each of the five 'quarters' differently from each other, there is a uniformity that gives a corporate finish to Liverpool One. Such an impression on the visitor might be desired and indeed appropriate but it does prevent visual integration with the wider city.

Other interventions over and above the original scheme are more abrupt and harsh on the visual amenity of the area. The pavilions around Chavasse Park are not architecturally convincing, given the effort that went into the original masterplan and building designs, it seems odd that they sit here upsetting the urban context of Liverpool One. If increased leisure / drinking premises are required, perhaps Grosvenor could consider their architectural integration into the wider development and the city beyond to avoid them being anomalous to both these contexts.

There are some noticeable instances around the Liverpool One estate of poor quality control over the visitor experience. These are noticeable because they can't easily be addressed by a rota of street cleaning or the presence of staff in red coats. They are more significantly the result of 'left over' or 'misjudged' spaces from the original masterplan. They include visible service yards (with transparent barred gates, eg bottom of School Lane) or streets with little active frontage (used a service access eg off Hanover St) and the 'backs' of important buildings (presenting an un-curated face eg: Debenhams and Chavasse Park Pavilion service spaces.) These spaces could benefit from some investigation and an approach to better integrating them into the wider visual and cleanliness paradigms at play in Liverpool One.

Overall, the estate management approach is producing a benign, safe shopping environment with associated leisure facilities. It is not 'over policed' like some equivalent centres elsewhere. There are arguably fewer signs limiting behaviour than are seen outside Liverpool One. Anecdotally, people seemed free to play football in the park, and stand on the rotunda over the car park (one can imagine this being prevented in publicly-owned places); but as time moves on from the opening ten years ago, some parts, like the zig-zag staircase appear dated and slightly neglected / under-used and might need to be re-thought.

The care and management of the Liverpool One estate does create a noticeably different part of Liverpool, and one which Grosvenor might be keen to enhance. The hard work that has gone into managing the estate has produced a quality threshold between Liverpool One and the city of Liverpool. In terms of integration, the balance to be achieved is between physical integration (streets / buildings) and management integration (cleanliness/uniformity/corporate image.) The former, to a large extent, is hard wired into the masterplan; the latter is more of a day to day matter. Integration should not be found by emulating the management of the surroundings, but by trying to bring them up to the standard of Liverpool One.

* Branding here is used very much in the sense of applied marketing imagery, graphics, logos, colour and standardised visual sign-making. Branding does, of course, extend to other media and methods. A customer's experience can be a part of a brand; so too the sharing of such experience from customer to customer. Therefore factors such as services levels, cleanliness, architectural language and materiality, and even matters such as bustle, safety, noise and reliability can form part of a brand. For the purposes of this section, brand is used largely in considering of visual impact – signage, way-finding and use of logos.

** Thomas Steers Way is not represented in the Liverpool City Centre Visitor Map, which seeks to highlight the pedestrianised zone, published/sponsored by Liverpool One and the Liverpool BID Company. This is possibly due to the 3D graphic representing the Hilton Hotel, which obscures this key pedestrian route.

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TIME AND ADAPTATION

"There is a strange dichotomy between the present architecture and planning professions. On the one hand, the architects are in the habit of creating completely mad idealistic utopias. These utopias often have little meaning, they are unlikely to be implemented; often no one in his right mind would want to implement them. They are personal dreams, not anchored in reality. Archigram's city on legs is an extreme example.

"On the other hand, the current generation of city and regional planners – and the regional scientists are included – have established a tradition of boring attention to detailed facts, and extrapolation from these facts. The future, as seen by planners, is merely a tidier version of the present. While architects dream of utterly unimaginable futures, the planners talk about piece-meal incremental planning. The visionary architecture is imaginative, daring but completely mad. The planners' plans are utterly and boringly sane; though based on facts, they offer no comprehensive vision of a better future."

Christopher Alexander, 1969 [Blowers et al, 1974 *The Future of Cities*, p259]

That Liverpool One is a retail-led, mixed-use development is uncontroversial. Further, the estate was planned as an integrated zone within the city of Liverpool with active frontages, street continuity, permeable edges and a recognition of the surrounding "zones of influence". Additionally, there are examples of design which demonstrate efforts to respond to the context of the city, such as the retention of a park, the framing of distant views and a respect for scale.

It is worth noting Grosvenor's original brief to architects: "The fundamental approach is to treat the Paradise Street Development Area as a series of related development opportunities, fully integrated with the existing city centre" [Littlefield 2008, p68]. As such, Liverpool One is not a mall, although there are shared characteristics. The estate is, though, very much a reflection of the retail model of the early 2000s.

When one reviews the history of shopping, it becomes clear that present retail challenges are merely the latest in a long series of pressures which have shaped retail over the last two centuries. In the *The Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping* [Koolhaas et al 2001] Chuihua Judy Chung provides an interesting survey of retail since the 1830s, describing the advent of the department store, the relationship between women and shopping, and the (increasing) regularity with which the sector has responded to social and economic change. She recounts the advent of the department store and its role as a public amenity (commenting, incidentally, that department stores were among the first urban institutions to provide women with lavatories), and goes on to describe the post-war condition of shopping "reconceived as an extension of housework… the professional home-maker was portrayed as an expert in determining the correct items to buy for specific household tasks" [Koolhaas 2001, pp513-514]. The 1950s expansion of the suburbs and the advent of the "housewife" concept, combined with increased car use and the value placed on convenience, led to both the supermarket and indoor shopping centre. The appearance and replication of large-scale shopping malls, followed by "the oversized big-box store" on the urban periphery, created a set of spatial conditions which by the 1990s became identified as a serious planning problem (and a focus of Environment Secretary John Gummer in the UK, part of the Conservative administration).

"Until the 1990s the pattern of extraction toward the suburbs was particularly strong, eventually reducing cities into wastelands depleted of the necessary bustle for urban life… suburban public space was rendered more purposely diffuse than at its inception. In comparison to the agglomeration of urban centres, suburban commercial formats appeared as if they were environmental mistakes: too overpowering in their natural surroundings, too detached from any built substance to form a semblance of cohesion." [Koolhaas et al 2001, pp515-516]

The retail response, in Chung's persuasive narrative, was to emphasise the *experience* of shopping, adding leisure and family-centred activities to retail while acknowledging that many women were no longer the expert shoppers of the 1950s. Women had become income-earners in their own right - shopping was no longer their 'job'. In fact, since the '50s retail appears to have undergone virtually decade-by-decade change; by the 1990s shopping centres were fast becoming shopping / eating / entertainment destinations with an emphasis on variety and service. Moreover, such destinations were becoming inner-city places as part of what was termed, in the UK, the Urban Renaissance. In a sense this goes some way towards fulfilling Victor Gruen's vision that a shopping-led centre would eventually become *the* centre: "The shopping center which can do more than fulfill practical shopping needs, the one that will afford an opportunity for cultural, social, civic and recreational activities will reap the greatest benefits" [Koolhaas 2001, p385].

Liverpool One emerged – as a necessity and a piece of design – at this advanced point in the timeline, informed very much by late 1990s politics and principles. This particular retail model has (as has been pointed out elsewhere in this study) been *hard-wired* into Liverpool One, in the sense that a retail-centric leisure and entertainment district, factored around two department stores and other key spaces, has been enabled by a very particular approach to planning and architecture. Liverpool One's signature buildings are functionally specific and therefore not easy to adapt to new uses, or sub-divide. The two department stores are particular cases in point: deep in plan, arranged around generous circulation cores and primary entrances, these buildings present an interesting challenge to any design team tasked with adapting or even reinventing them.

If one compares Liverpool One with Rob Shield's 1989 reading of the then-new West Edmonton Mall in Canada, the differences are stark. The West Edmonton Mall, then the world's largest, is an interior space with many of the trappings of the funfair or carnival, including architectural references to (or even facsimiles of) Paris and New Orleans.

"To be a user of a shopping mall such as the West Edmonton Mall entails having quite different expectations, understandings and spatial competence from, for example, the set of understandings involved in shopping on a British high street. In the high street, there is a much more clearly marked separation between public pavement, where certain types of behaviour and 'crowd practice' are acceptable, and the privately controlled store area where the same behaviour is not. Being in the tightly policed, semiprivate interior of a mall is quite different from being 'on the street'…. Certain types of comportment are expected." [Shields 1989, pp148-9]

Shields goes on to comment that the services provided by the West Edmonton Mall were wrapped in a "plainly commercial style of the building envelope" which served to underline the "staged nature of the Mall… a pseudo-experience of a true urban vitality" [p150]. Such critique is typical of assessments of the classic shopping mall, with comment focused in particular at characteristics such as security and surveillance, control and order, access and even mood music. It is these conditions that both Grosvenor and Liverpool City Council aimed to avoid when Liverpool One was conceived.

There are, however, a number of characteristics which lend Liverpool One mall-like qualities, encompassing both architectural and estate management factors. There is, in fact, a discernible edge to the development (more pronounced in some places rather than others); the estate is largely pedestrian; it is highly branded; and it is planned with similar retail hierarchies that characterise a typical mall (anchor stores linked by smaller franchises, clustered into zones, with few independent retailers). The estate is designed to appeal to what Shields refers to as the "consumption community" [p159], a comment reinforced by Mark Blundell who referred to purchasing power as a "passport" to the John Lewis store in our interview. Shields is critical of the privileging of consumption and its rituals which "have almost overtaken the importance of being a citizen" [p159]. What Shields critiques is the absence of a mall's *civic function*.

Shields also comments on the user profile of consumers, joining other commentators such as Margaret Kohn who has written that mall users enjoy the "illusion of a harmonious world" due to the exclusion of socially disadvantaged people [Kohn 2001, p76]. Shields critiques the malls as places which force consumers to adopt a certain "social docility" or else assert themselves through "minor modes of rebellion" [pp 160-1] such as loitering or sitting in undesignated spaces. Liverpool One can also be read in this way, at least in the sense that Kohn's homeless and "pan-handlers" are kept at bay via boundaries that make the legal shift in ownership very clear to those who need it pointing out to them. In this sense, Liverpool One is demarcated from the wider city, in much the same way as a retail interior is separated from the street.

Liverpool One also bears some similarities not just to the mall, but to that most branded of estates, the Disney theme park. Florida's Magic Kingdom, for example, is demarcated by an identifiable border, clear points of entry, unseen service routes below ground, zoning, strictly applied design codes and branding that includes simplified colour-coded map/diagrams. The term "Disneyfication" is often used negatively, however the spatial characteristics listed here are not meant in that spirit; Disney's estate in Florida is a world-class destination with astonishing visitor numbers, and its role as a "city planning laboratory" (though influenced by the development of the shopping mall in the 1950s) ought not be under-estimated [Koolhaas et al 2001, p284]. Chung writes that the similarities between Disney estates and the ideas of the pioneer of the modern shopping mall, Victor Gruen, are "astounding".

"All are commercially oriented, fully pedestrianised environments, providing the functions of the traditional city, with its supporting components arranged in a pinwheel relationship to the center… But, most appealing to retailers is the formula that Walt finds and builds into his properties, the correlation between enjoyment and spending." [Koolhaas et al 2001, p284-292]

Just as Liverpool One is not the West Edmonton Mall, neither is it Disneyland. However, the trajectory of shopping since the mid-20th century, which blurs the necessity to purchase with ideas of leisure and entertainment, does make the comparison worthwhile. Liverpool One embodies not just enlightened attitudes towards the idea of place and urban design, but also the characteristics of a particular retail model. Conceived at the dawn of internet shopping, Liverpool

General visitors, perhaps, have little conception of the legal boundary of Liverpool One. Homeless people and informal street vendors appear to have a very strong sense of the boundary. This *Big Issue* vendor is standing outside (though close to) the boundary line, but broadcasting into the site.

One and its tenants are clearly reliant on footfall and turnover; provision for entertainment and leisure (cinemas and opportunities for eating/drinking) assist the retail focus of the development, as do the residential and hotel elements. Like a conventional mall, the fortunes of the estate are strongly linked to the retail and leisure economy. This "hard-wiring" of the development not only leaves other principal activities to other parts of the city, but might even make it challenging to adapt if the need arises. Might the fact that the development is an exemplary model for retail-led development be a potential weakness?

Of course, Liverpool One also functions beyond the role of retail destination – it is an urban connector, enabling and shaping *patterns* of movement and behaviour throughout the city centre. As a public space, not every occupant is a consumer. Says Bill Addy, of the BID Company: "The public, in the main, are the people who use Liverpool One – the people who eat, drink, buy things. Also the people who use the Liverpool One to transit, to go from one area of the city centre to another. They are all the public."

Stillerman and Salcedo's [2012] study of malls in Santiago, Chile, is useful in this regard. In Santiago, unlike in the USA, shopping malls tend to perform a similar role to Liverpool One (although perhaps not intentionally) in that they are not isolated entities but just another type of urban experience alongside others (such as street markets). In observing visitor behaviours in these malls, Stillerman and Salcedo find that two particular groups (the young and the elderly) spend little money but like to linger there nonetheless. In fact, across all social groups, they find, malls are frequently used for non-commercial purposes such as meeting points and pedestrian shortcuts, as well as "to express and enrich family, friendship and romantic ties… based on the assumption that others will respect their privacy in public settings" [p329]. This research also confirms the findings of earlier research (such as that of Erving Goffman's studies in the 1960s and '70s) that people may not always adapt their behaviours to different architectural settings as markedly as one might think. When perceived as a natural extension to the city, some distinct settings, especially those with open spaces, encourage social interaction and the cultural boundaries between one place and another are often weaker than expected. "Consumers adroitly utilize malls to achieve their goals. Some of these practices generate profits, but others challenge mall administrators' control of these settings. Malls are permeable, diverse, and unpredictable social settings rather than engineered stage sets" [p330].

LOCAL CONTEXT

Liverpool One: remaking a city centre [Littlefield 2009] describes the rationale for the retail-focused character of this city-centre development. The pre-existing Main Retail Area had become restricted to a narrow ribbon, containing fewer shops than comparable cities, many of which were paying less rent for prime pitch sites; meanwhile key retailers were (quietly) considering closing or moving elsewhere, and by common consent Liverpool's retail zone had was becoming low quality, poorly maintained, unwelcoming and even unsafe. Studies demonstrated, however, that the city could sustain an expanded retail district, not least because locals who had begun shopping elsewhere would once again spend in Liverpool if conditions were right [Littlefield 2009, pp 42-48].

"Shopping is the UK's national past-time… It is difficult to overstate the importance of retailing to the UK's economic and social well-being," wrote one

of *Grosvenor's own directors for the British Council of Shopping Centres in 2007, a year before Liverpool One was completed."* [Littlefield 2009, p42]

At the time that report was written, internet-based sales formed just over 3% of total UK retail sales; upon the opening of Liverpool One, this figure had moved past 5% [ONS]. The figure for July 2018 was 17.1%, having touched 19.9% in November the previous year. The figures for Amazon are similarly striking: when Liverpool One began construction in 2004, Amazon's net global sales were worth $6.92 billion. Four years later, upon the project's completion, this figure had tripled to $19.17bn. Amazon's net sales for 2017 were worth $177.87bn [statistica.com]. This shift towards online shopping has played out upon the High Street in terms of store closures and the disappearance of brands which were once the bastions of the British retail experience. The news report *Department stores face fight for survival*, from drapersonline.com [10 September 2018], describes the present condition thus:

"The UK department store sector remained in turmoil this week, as question marks hung over the future of anchor stores in many shopping centres and high streets… The department store sector is very challenging at the moment," one supplier told Drapers… *"Both Debenhams and HoF have been caught in a cycle of discounting and they are struggling to compete. John Lewis – although expecting a drop in profits – has a strategy to defend its position and is investing heavily. Others have failed to do that."*

One of the interview subjects for our study, Liverpool One's John Lewis manager Mark Blundell, confirmed that these general conditions – shifting retail trends and pressures on department stores – is pertinent locally. Large retailers are becoming something more akin to curated "showrooms" rather than comprehensive points of purchase, and are therefore able to be smaller with an emphasis on customer experience and the provision of services as well as goods. Department stores were conceived, Blundell points out, to offer points of convenience – a virtue now provided by the internet for the majority of the year (Blundell observes that the weeks prior to Christmas are now the only periods when retail operates according to "old school rules"):

"We recognise that the world of retailing is changing, therefore attracting people into our brand is different from attracting people into our shop to transact, because the internet is the primary transactional area… As retailers we're opening our doors more saying 'You don't have to buy with us; you probably won't buy with us in the physical outlet. We probably expect you to buy with the brand, but we recognise that transaction may exist outside the shop itself'."

The consequence of this is that John Lewis in Liverpool could, according to Blundell, continue to trade viably if it vacated an entire storey within its building; indeed, Blundell confirmed that if the retailer were to locate to Liverpool One now, it would likely seek a mid-sized unit. Downsizing, and the creative re-use of a significant proportion of the present store, is therefore a conversation that Blundell believes John Lewis and Grosvenor need to have – not just to satisfy the retail needs of the store but to find a new use which benefits John Lewis, Liverpool One and the city in equal measure. "We need to have this as an open line of enquiry, because it's not a trade secret we've got too much space. It's not a trade secret that retail on the High Street is changing, therefore where could we find a win-win?" said Blundell.

Blundell also commented that shifting retail habits will have further consequences

Theodore Dreiser on the department store, from *Sister Carrie* (first published 1900):

At the time the department store was in its earliest form of successful operation and there were not many… The nature of these vast retail combinations, should they ever permanently disappear, will form an interesting chapter in the commercial history of our nation [the USA]. Such a flowering out of a modest trade principle the world had never witnessed up to that time. They were along the line of the most effective retail organization, with hundreds of stores coordinated into one, and laid out upon the most imposing and economic basis. They were handsome, bustling, successful affair, with a host of clerks and a swarm of patrons… Each separate counter was a show place of dazzling interest and attraction. [Dreiser 1994, pp21-22]

for urban design and the principles which underpinned Liverpool One. Internet purchasing and third party delivery of goods mean that proximity to the bus station, and even a car park, would no longer be essential in terms of servicing any new John Lewis store. Such things, once "deal-breakers", are now "nice to have" - although Blundell further notes that the adjacent bus station generates more footfall than comparable stores elsewhere, but in large part due to passengers using the shop as a sheltered walkway in poor weather. The shift in retail-urban practice in the decade since the opening of Liverpool One has therefore been profound: celebrated as a model store in 2008, Liverpool's John Lewis is now too big and served by infrastructural "edge conditions" (car park and bus station) which have become less than essential.

The Grosvenor document *Imagine Liverpool One: leasing plans Q3 2017* does contain positive trading figures, including: average retail spend is far higher than the average for other city centres; overall sales are ahead of the UK average; and that the estate continues to attract new brands. It is of course for Grosvenor to determine how this performance data may play out in the longer term, however it is a reasonable assumption that Liverpool One will not be unaffected by these deeper changes to retailing.

Considering the two transects which have informed this study, we note that Transect 1 includes (beyond the Liverpool One estate) the civic functions associated with the Town Hall, Derby Square, the Law Courts and the Police Station; Transect 2 includes further retail as well as cultural amenities represented by the Albert Dock and the World Heritage Site. In terms of integration, we suggest it would be a worthwhile exercise to consider how Liverpool One, which sits at the crossroads of these key axes, might respond to the pressure on retail and adopt a civic/culture dimension to its character. Such a move, we argue, is not such a dramatic shift as it might appear: the estate's location provides the "glue" to the city centre, providing vehicle and pedestrian routes between entirely different quarters (Albert Dock to Lime Street; the commercial district to the Ropewalks). In performing this role of "hub", it might therefore be appropriate for Liverpool One to adopt something of the character of its neighbours. The estate would therefore become less an identifiable 'territory' and more of a 'zone' where the city's quarters meet and overlap (note Bill Addy's "grittiness" and "serenity" comment here; see chapter on *Branding*).

It may be appropriate to consider, in this regard, Shields' notion of the *civic function* of cities. As a retail-led centre, Liverpool One leaves civic provision (such as a library, gallery, school or public office, even memorial space) to the rest of the city. It is worth noting that the Albert Dock, a private estate, does provide such spaces - it may even be said to be defined by them. It is interesting to consider what effect on Liverpool One the provision of such non-consumption spaces might be.

John Lewis, for example, performs a "civic" role within the development in that the building is arguably the most recognisable and distinctive piece of architecture on site (although we recognise that One Park West was originally design to perform the role of icon). The building is a stand-alone unit with a distinctive primary façade, fronted by a handsome open space which suggests a natural gathering or event place. If Liverpool One were ever to host a more conventional civic or cultural function (such as gallery, museum or learning centre) the John Lewis building is arguably an appropriate location, especially considering the brand's shift towards smaller stores.

It is also worth noting that less formal activities - such as farmers' markets, street food and events/festivals - are now beginning to define or redefine urban centres. Perhaps Grosvenor already runs, or has plans for, a schedule of events of which the authors of this report are unaware; however, it is worth stating that Liverpool One already contains spaces which could readily host such things, or benefit from special consideration. School Lane, between Paradise Street and Peters Lane suggests itself as some sort of event space (such as a market) due to its width, vehicle access and blank façade which could benefit from animating. Custom House Place, book-ended by the bus station and monumental steps, could similarly host an event which would give more purpose to the steps and the views to be had from them. It would also be instructive to study the public's use of Thomas Steers Way compared with the route adjacent to the rear of the Hilton (outside the Liverpool One boundary), which includes the oddity of retaining its pre-2004 ground condition.

Debenhams, too, would benefit from consideration in similar terms to John Lewis (we acknowledge that, at the time of writing, financial pressure on Debenhams is causing the store to reassess its property portfolio). Well-sited at the retail and civic edge of the estate, with ease of access from the below-ground car park, the architectural potential of this building is arguably underplayed at present. The park-side elevation of Debenhams has been compromised by a range of interventions which thwart the free circulation of people which was one of the original intentions of the wider masterplan. The Law Courts' gateway to Chavasse Park, for example, provides a route to Debenhams which leads to a permanently-closed entrance; a significant proportion of the façade is hidden by a service yard, breaking the continuity of an edge-of-park walk; and the advent of the Club House and associated external space has the further effect of masking the Debenhams' branding and second parkside entrance. Thus the roles which this building could perform are presently under-realised: such as providing a covered link between Lord Street and the estate's centre (the park), and generating an active park periphery. Such roles apply irrespective of whether or not Debenhams is the occupier. In the sense that integration implies connectivity and transition, Debenhams presently performs a compromised urban role; it signposts Liverpool One effectively at the Lord Street boundary, yet confounds expectation at its southern edge, compounded by an undeveloped and unresolved entrance sequence from Derby Square.

This is not an exhaustive list. However, it serves to demonstrate the temporary (event, installation) and permanent (architectural) interventions which might be considered in order to:

a) respond to shifting social and economic conditions, and;

b) sustain and strengthen Liverpool One's role as a viable public place.

These comments are not intended as negative criticism, but as opportunities to enhance the qualities of Liverpool One as a publicly-accessible, privately-owned place. The estate as presently constituted has many virtues. It is neither "mad" nor "boringly sane", to quote Christopher Alexander (see start of chapter). It is worth reflecting on Alexander's notes on planning, however, which are instructive:

"The task of city planning is… the design of culture. A culture is a system of standard situations. Each of these situations specifies certain roles, certain allowed limits of behaviour for the persons in these roles, and the requisite spatial setting for this behaviour. Each situation thus specifies a certain physical pattern

– and each pattern recurs many thousands of times in any given city. The form of the city is generated by the combination of these patterns. In this sense, the city, viewed as a purely physical system, is a direct concrete manifestation of the culture. Any attempt to change the physical organization is an indirect attempt to change the culture. That is why I say that city planning is the design of culture."
[Blowers et al 1974, p262]

In his paper "Genealogies of Social Space" [2016], Shields argues a similar point – to "know space" is not to measure it, but to understand the way it is used: "We need to know space as not just about relations and distance between elements but as a socially produced *order of difference* that can be heterogeneous in and of itself. 'Knowing space' is not enough – trigonometric formulae, engineering structures, shaping the land and dwelling on it. We need to know about 'spacing' and the spatialisations that are accomplished through everyday activities, representations and rituals" [Shields 2016, p12].

Situated at the centre of the city, Liverpool One is both a place and a conduit between other places. The behaviours and patterns of people within these many places, and the urban forms which enable them, combine to create the cultural artefact that is Liverpool. It is a temporal artefact – the city is never finished and cultures constantly shift and evolve. The architecture and planning of Liverpool One has many virtues. There are, however, some in-built weaknesses; in addition, recent history has had the effect of re-presenting strengths as vulnerabilities. Quite apart from considering the specifics of the suggestions above, it would be worthwhile considering some very broad questions: What is any city for? What is Liverpool for? What is Liverpool One for? Which situations, activities and rituals are desirable and how can those with power nurture the appropriate urban patterns for best effect? At a point in time when Liverpool One is a decade old and Grosvenor contemplates the next 10 years, we suggest the estate is reconsidered along the lines of *urban cultures*, within the scope of the themes developed in this report: boundaries, views, branding, estate management and adaptation. Specific observations, questions and recommendations are listed in the following chapter, *Conclusions and Recommendations.*

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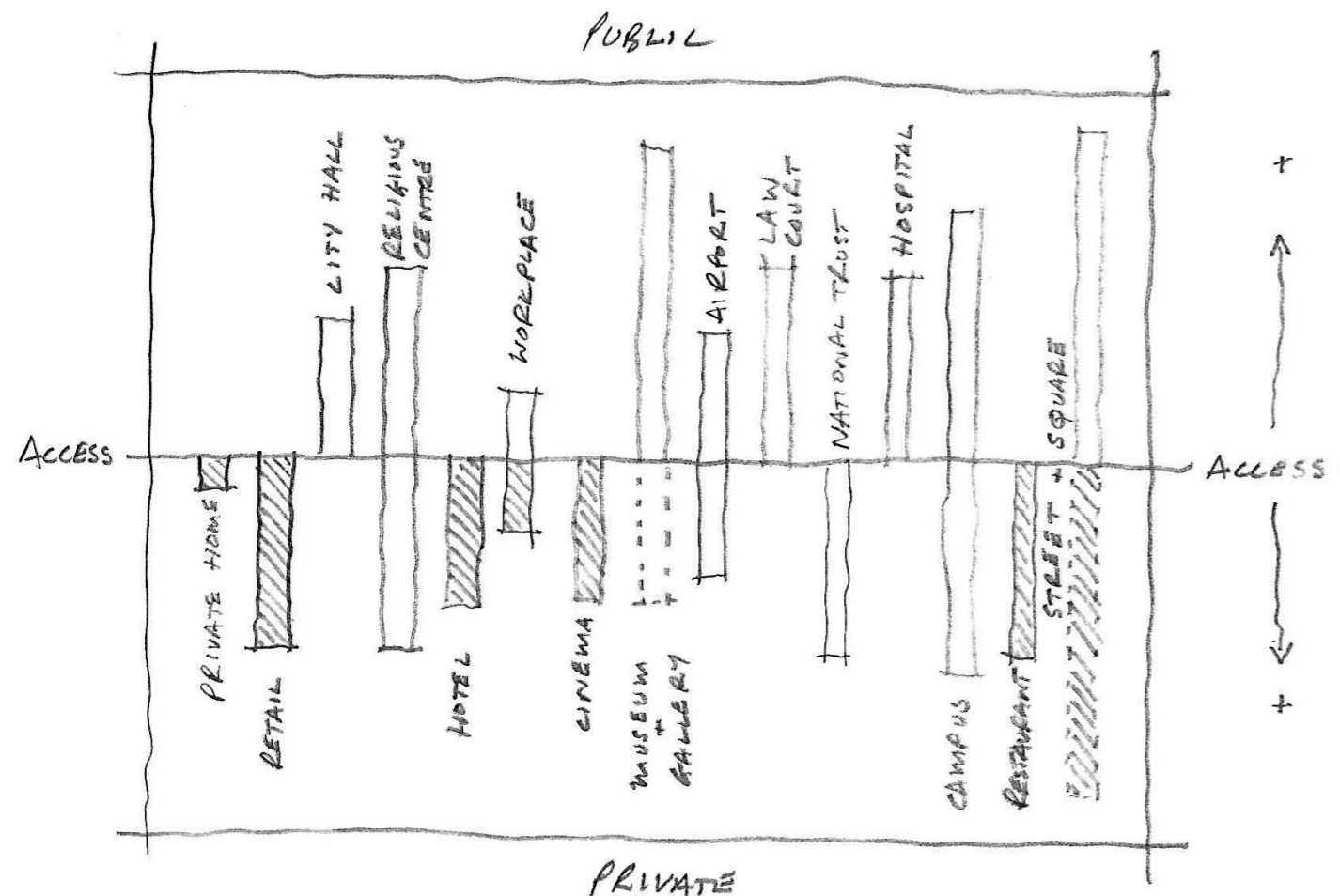

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This diagram shows the complexity of ownership and access structures. Building types with restricted access stay close to the central horizontal line; those with more generous public access are shown with extended lines. Some extended lines (and therefore the access they imply) are determined through payment. Dotted lines represent the potential for some spaces to be under private ownership, when they are typically found in the public sector. Hatched lines represent building types found in Liverpool One.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

"Liverpool ONE is not a self-contained shopping centre; we integrate seamlessly with the wider city centre and restore the link to the world famous Liverpool waterfront. Our mission is to provide a diverse, high quality mix of retail, leisure, office space and residential housing in the heart of the city. We work closely with key stakeholders to promote the city centre, enhance the appeal of Liverpool as both a retail and leisure destination, and also as a great place to live and work."
[*Occupier Handbook*, 2018 (v4.2) page 2]

Liverpool One is a publicly-accessible, privately-owned, commercially-oriented zone within the centre of Liverpool. The above quote signals that Grosvenor already considers the development to "integrate seamlessly" within the wide city; this study has sought to explore and test that proposition. In that exploration, the 18th century "Nolli plan" has proved to be a useful conceptual tool and reference point in understanding and categorising the contemporary city.

In his 1748 plan of Rome, Giambattista Nolli depicted the city by making very clear the difference between publicly-accessible space and private space. Thus external spaces such as streets and squares were shown in white, as were the interiors of buildings such as churches; private spaces (people's homes and businesses) were hatched in black. Nolli therefore presented (at ground level only) a very particular view of Rome, highlighting where people could go as public citizens. It is not a temporal map, however – some interior spaces, as well as courtyards, could presumably be locked at night or barred to the public for special events or rituals. The Nolli plan of Rome is, though, a very useful way of depicting a city (the map can be viewed at http://nolli.uoregon.edu/).

Creating a 21st century Nolli plan of any city centre would be a complex piece of work. Significantly, it would require an agreed definition of public space. The complexity of this task was demonstrated in the Grosvenor-commissioned literature review on the subject (Littlefield & Devereux, 2017). Public space might be defined as: publicly-owned space (ie, under the legal ownership of the state); or publicly accessible space (ie, a space is "public" even if privately-owned, provided a member of the public can freely enter). Matters are complicated by the fact that many publicly-owned spaces are not, in fact, publicly accessible (eg schools and offices of state), while there is a very real question concerning whether a place can be described as public if an entry fee is the condition for admission. "Publicness" also has much to do with local identity and familiarity, expectation, perceptions of safety and an internalised sense of appropriate behaviours.

A contemporary Nolli plan would need to take into account these multiple definitions, as well as time of day (such as opening times), and what might Jane Clossick terms "depth structure" – the (often invisible) thresholds within any space that people intuit as limitations. Shops or restaurants provide good examples of depth structure, where customers know (through the physicality of the design or through social conformity) they are not permitted behind the counter. Liverpool One's Hilton hotel would be an interesting test of Nolli diagramming: a private enterprise within a privately-owned development, yet publicly accessible, the building is stratified into zones whereby members of the public can freely roam (the foyer), pay for access (a room), enter with special permission (a conference suite), and never access (service spaces). By contrast, the publicly-owned Town

Hall, at the top of Transect 1, is highly restricted to all publics, while the Police Station offers access to its elevated reception and restricted access thereafter.

Similarly, at the start of Transect 2, the interior of Tate Liverpool offers a warm welcome, although the "design coding" of the space does cause the visitor to pause and consider how freely they might move around the building. On our visit, a member of staff had taken up the role of explaining which parts of the building, and which exhibitions, were available to us. The Tate, like other museums within the Albert Dock, is an interesting example of public space – located on a private estate, being inside a publicly-funded institution does somehow connote a stronger sense of "publicness" rather than being outside with sign-posted reminders of the private status of the wider estate.

It is reasonable to suggest that Liverpool One is highly integrated with the rest of the city centre in the sense that there is no physical barrier to prevent entry. Any member of the public can walk freely from Castle Street to the Ropewalks, via Chavasse Park, without pausing for thought, or even noticing the shifts of ownership. Liverpool One is certainly a permeable development. Further, its predominantly retail and leisure function is a good fit with adjacent districts (Church/Lord Street and Ropewalks), and the simple connectivity offered by key streets enables the estate to function as an urban nodal point. Its primarily retail function also goes some way to meeting the terms of publicness in the sense of access – retail is, by nature, a highly accessible urban condition (although branding can convey a sense of who is, and is not, the targeted audience).

With reference to branding, Liverpool One is itself a highly branded development. Much effort is expended on ensuring that visitors know where they are – that they are in Liverpool One and not somewhere else. The visual branding is, however, strongly tied to threshold depth, which can be very broad, narrow, misplaced, ambiguous or absent. The perceived boundary does not match the legal boundary. Further, this ambiguous boundary is often occupied by "edgelands" which define a perimeter condition more suited to an actual edge (the edge of a town) rather than the moment where one estate meets another. Thus, if a Nolli plan was to be drawn for Liverpool One, the cartographer would be faced with some choices: to depict Liverpool One in terms of the legal boundaries, or perceived ones. As explained elsewhere, there are moments when any member of the public will be forgiven for thinking they are in Liverpool One when, in fact, they are not; the reverse is also true.

Perhaps this does not matter. There is a (not unreasonable) argument that indeterminate or fuzzy borders perform a positive role in the urban integration of a development like Liverpool One. It may not matter if visitors understand that they are in Liverpool One or not. This surely runs counter to the purpose of the visual branding, however. Grosvenor clearly wants visitors to know where they are, partly in order to market the estate as a particular destination, and also to help its tenants perform as elements within a wider (but distinct) commercial enterprise. The notion of integration therefore embodies a strong tension: the need for Liverpool One to be perceived as a natural set of elements within the urban fabric of the city; and the requirement for visitors to know they are either inside, or outside, the estate. The variability of boundary conditions is testament to this tension, or ambiguity.
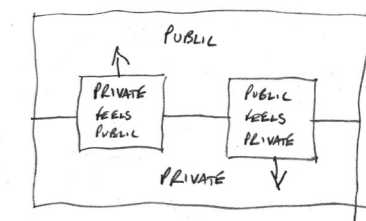
Any 21st century Nolli plan might also address themes of control, surveillance and public safety. Publicly-owned and accessible spaces which are perceived as unsafe (which was reportedly the condition of Chavasse Park pre-Grosvenor) can

reasonably be regarded not as public space, but as a semi-public "venture if you dare" zone. The high quality lighting, CCTV, staff presence and high standard of public realm and its maintenance collectively projects an impression of security. The absence of rough sleepers, informal street vendors and others may also contribute to a sense of order, although this might also trouble the cartographer charged with coding Liverpool in terms of publicness (aside from the moral dilemmas as whether or not rough sleeping, say, ought to be considered a public right). Some of the edge conditions, however, may not be coded by a 21st century Nolli planner in quite the same manner as the spaces at the centre. Some of the spaces in the Ropewalks are curated in such a way that they embody a degree of welcome and merriment that Liverpool One lacks – indeed, some "liminal" spaces between these zones are entirely unwelcoming, although the presence of the Police Station offers some comfort.

A Nolli plan for Liverpool might well be a multi-layered resource. We suggest that the diagram offers a starting point, as well as a tool for considering the general condition of place in terms of publicness and integration. Németh and Schmidt, in their 2011 analysis of private/public space in New York deployed a graphic device comprised of a square sub-divided into four squares, representing public and private ownership and operation. We propose considering Liverpool One in similar terms, though here suggesting the public-private ownership spectrum be accompanied by an assessment of access. The diagonal corners therefore imply opposite conditions, from the very private, restricted access space (one's home) to the very public and highly accessible space (the street). On the other diagonal we find the very public but highly restricted space (a government office, for example), compared with the private but highly accessible space (such as a supermarket). As a retail and leisure-led enterprise, Liverpool One largely occupies this latter quarter – the privately-owned, publicly-accessible space, while spaces encapsulated by the other three quarters are typically found outside the estate. Interestingly, some of the spaces in the remaining three-quarters of the table lie very close to Liverpool One (eg Law Courts, Derby Square). It is worth noting the temporal qualities of some spaces: the Albert Dock, for example, was once a highly restricted place but is no longer; while the Customs House, former at the heart of what was to become Liverpool One, was a very public and yet difficult to access signature building.

In terms of a quick assessment, it is not unreasonable to describe Liverpool One as an integrated part of the city centre. The estate broadly matches the adjoining areas in terms of function, and provides unimpeded access from one adjacent zone to the other. Further, the development broadly matches historic street patterns and building massing is sensitive to site, and offers glimpses of the city from deep within the estate. Careful looking does, however, reveal a more complex set of conditions which we list here in three categories: observations; questions; and recommendations.

Ownership and access are different, though overlapping, conditions. Some public spaces are highly restricted; some private ones are characterised by free public access.

• Liverpool One is (largely) a high quality, publicly accessible space, based on a strong masterplan which effectively links neighbouring city districts;

• The estate is a single entity served by "edgelands" which service the centre (notably, car parks, service roads and gated yards);

• This estate is accessed through thresholds which exhibit a range of characteristics:
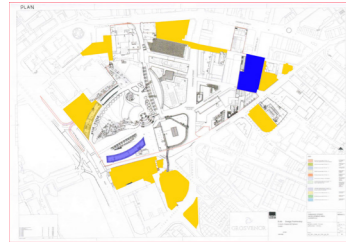
Legal, perceptual and branded differences. Areas in yellow are part of the Liverpool One estate, but are not necessarily perceived as such. Areas in blue show the reverse condition.

- a hierarchy of primary, secondary and tertiary thresholds;

- variability in threshold depth; there can be a considerable difference between legal and branded boundaries (eg north end of Paradise St.)

- *perceived* boundaries can extend into non-Grosvenor zones (eg Bluecoat);

- thresholds range from distinct to ambiguous;

- these thresholds lead to a distinct centre, giving Liverpool One a certain interiority or even introversion in places.

• Liverpool is becoming a city of branded quarters; Liverpool One is one such quarter (perhaps the most branded);

• the role of long-term social cycles and change, and the extent to which Liverpool One is "hard-wired" into a particular (retail-led) function, with the accompanying restrictions to adaptation that hard-wiring implies;

•As a retail-led zone, Liverpool One lacks civic space, yet has the potential for it.

QUESTIONS

• There is some desire from Grosvenor to see an integration between Liverpool One and the wider city. *How much* integration is, in fact, desired? What are the limits to integration, in the sense of framing Liverpool One as a distinct and identifiable place?

• There is a tangible difference between the Grosvenor-owned property which forms the legal estate, and the core Liverpool One-branded *place*. Might Grosvenor more clearly differentiate between the two? Is there is property/land under Grosvenor's ownership which may not be formally part of the Liverpool One brand? Might Liverpool One, as a place or idea, encompass non-Grosvenor land?

• Does the extent of visual branding, especially at key routes and access points, imply a desire for Liverpool One to be perceived as a separate place, with separate values and organising principles?

• Might Liverpool One be branded less in terms of visual signage, and more in terms of architectural values (form, surface, scale) and intangibles (atmosphere, maintenance standards, a curated "sense of place")? After a decade, how confident is Grosvenor that Liverpool One can be judged in terms of its value as a place?

• Liverpool One is a publicly accessible place. Which public, or publics, is it designed to attract or appeal to? What of the non-consumer? What is Grosvenor's aspiration in terms of what *sort* of public place Liverpool One might be?

• to what extent does Grosvenor wish visitors to know they are, or are not, in Liverpool One? Must boundaries be clearly demarcated? Must the user know anything of the ownership of the space?

• to what extent does Grosvenor wish to guide / control / inhibit behaviours within the estate, compared with outside the boundary line? Are perceived differences in control deliberate or accidental?

• How adaptable does Grosvenor believe Liverpool One to be, in terms of responding to shifting social and economic needs (see below)?

• We suggest that Grosvenor establish a mixed-discipline design / futures group to consider short, medium and long-term ("over the horizon") design-related matters, separate from adherence to branding and store-front guidelines;

• Liverpool One (a retail-led, mixed-use development) is architecturally "hard-wired" to privilege retail spaces. We suggest Grosvenor undertake work to consider how the both the estate and the two department stores might adapt for a less retail-centric (or point-of-sale) purpose;

• While recognising the institutional links already present with the city council and BID, links might be strengthened to develop the civic value of Liverpool One (with, perhaps, special consideration of Derby Square);

• such a study might explore the scope for including civic functions within the estate (eg heritage, learning, monumental, memorial, political);

• Grosvenor might also consider the role of events to animate less architectural spaces (School Lane) or provide additional purpose to zones such as Custom House Place or Thomas Steers Way;

• there is scope for improving views of the original wet dock, which is a ready-made (though little exploited) heritage asset; enhanced links with National Museums Liverpool will assist with the civic value of the development;

• some sightlines and views can be enhanced, including glimpses of the Liver Building (from School Lane, and Chavasse Park – presently obscured by tree cover) and the Anglican Cathedral (best framed through the park entrance via the Courts);

• in consideration of integration, further spaces for consideration include:

- John Lewis, in terms of down-sizing and secondary entrances (including the bus station entrance and asking how a more direct connection might be made between the store and the Sugar House steps);

- re-consideration of the (presently diminished) park-side elevation of Debenhams, which interrupts any perimeter park walk, or even store access;

- the boundary at the School Lane / Paradise Street intersection, including the service yard and gate;

- the heritage value and curation of Old Peters' Lane, which contains facades illustrating the warehousing tradition of the city, concluding in a blank and inaccessible façade (the rear of Harvey Nichols);

- the entrance sequences to the Hilton; and the status of the non-Grosvenor property at the rear of the hotel;

- post-Police Station futures and any effect on (re-siting?) the bus station and the wider estate;

- "edge conditions", especially the rear of the car parks.

Finally, we suggest that the tools developed here be considered as transferable methods, rather than site-specific frameworks for the analysis of Liverpool One:

- the transect (comparison of access and urban conditions along a line which transcends the estate);

- boundary analysis (including boundary depth, visibility, and overlap of legal

and branded boundary);

- recognition of edgelands;

- consideration of the difference between the place and the legal entity;

- identification of primary, secondary and tertiary gateways, and the extent to which thresholds might embody ambiguity;

- consideration of how any space might be depicted on a 21st century Nolli plan.

We suggest that such approaches will reveal much about both existing and proposed developments, providing Grosvenor with a set of measures against which design propositions can be assessed beyond formal architectural judgements or planning requirements. This, we suggest, will inform and enhance Grosvenor's *Living Cities* agenda across a number of the eight attributes, while adding depth and richness to any future use of the term "integration".

David Littlefield and Mike Devereux
UWE, Bristol
March 2019

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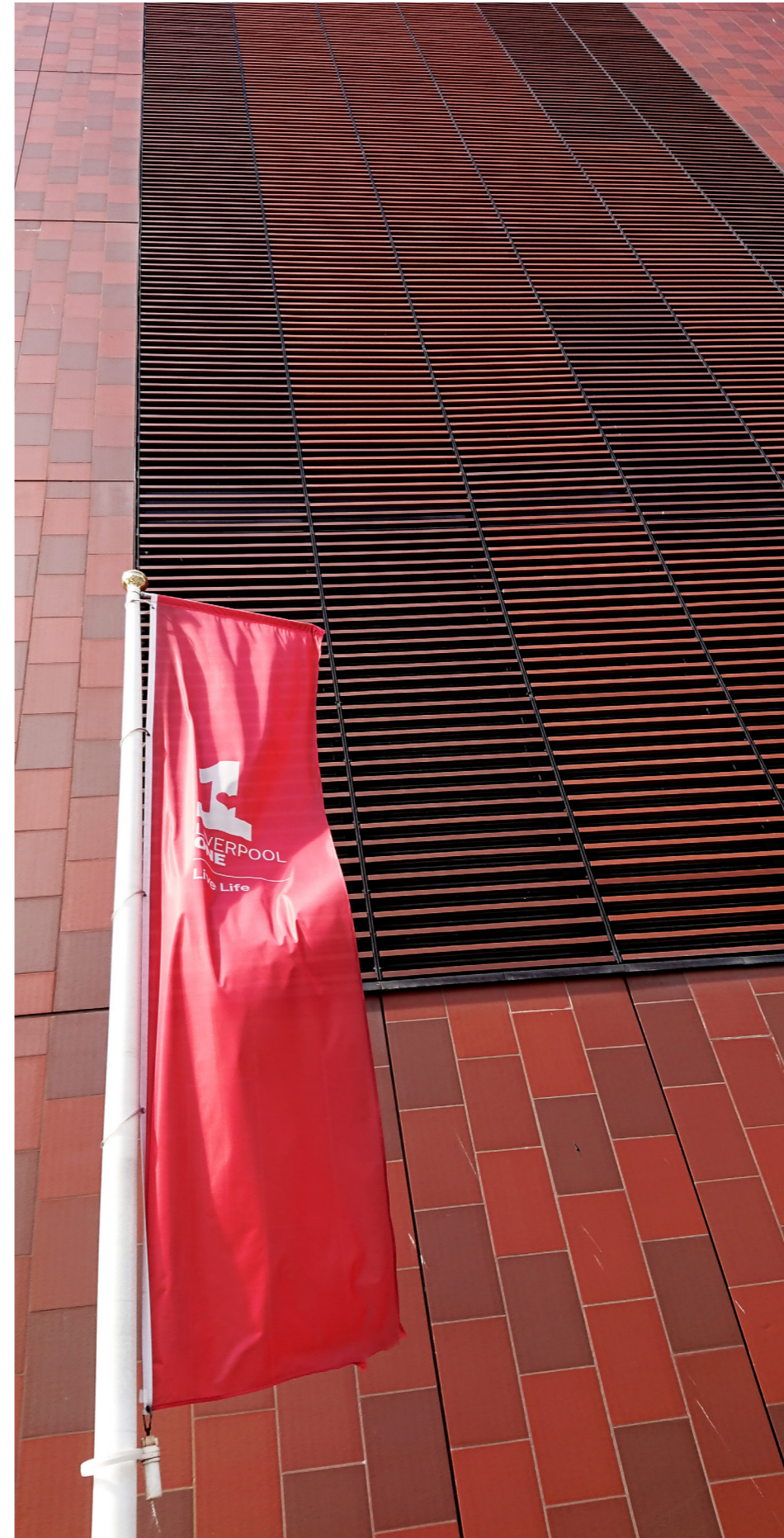
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The shift in ownership of public urban spaces, from publically to privately-owned,
is well recorded and commented upon. Certainly since the 1980s the private sector
has taken an increasing, and increasingly visible, role in this regard. This is not to say
that public spaces are disappearing (there are credible arguments that the amount
of public space is actually increasing) but the shift in ownership has triggered a series
of profound questions concerning the nature and role of public space, the difference
between public and publically-accessible space and, indeed, a definition of what the
term "public" means. Such questions have fundamental implications for planning and
design.

The private provision of public space is a difficult and contested subject. Some observ-
ers are critical of a perceived loss of public space and its replacement with a polished,
exclusive, high surveillance, bubble of homogenous corporatism in which the mid-
dle-class can exercise its rights as consumer-citizens. The concern is one of social frag-
mentation and dispersal, in which the idea of a "general public" disappears, along with
the spaces in which such a public can meet, encounter difference and exercise political
rights of speech, association, protest and simply "being there". Other commentators,
however, argue that the private sector has responded to the need for regeneration
in such a way that once low quality and/or post-industrial spaces have become both
attractive and accessible. Indeed, the point has been made that the phenomenon of
privately-owned public space is not necessarily one of a corporate take-over, but one
of the private sector creating access to space that was not accessible to begin with.
There is also some argument that cities, especially ones as large and diverse as London
and New York, are capable of sustaining a wide range of public places; that if all spaces
were designed to appeal to everyone at all times, they might appeal to nobody. This
view derives from the observation that there are many publics, each with different
needs.

The Guardian and its contributors are right to be concerned when the inhabitants of,
and visitors to, the city feel they cannot exercise the rights and freedoms they expect
– especially when they have walked inadvertently from a zone of public ownership to
one of private control. However, some critiques can be shrill and partial, missing much
of the nuance that weaves through the subject.
Some observers take a pragmatic view; commenting that some of the criticisms
levelled at private spaces also characterise publicly-owned ones. Some have pointed
out that many public spaces are so poorly maintained that they are not worthy of the
name. UCL's Matthew Carmona has written: "Ultimately, the rights and responsibilities
associated with spaces… are far more important than who owns and manages them.
How, not who, is key". Perhaps the matter is not one of ownership, but of access.

MAIN THEMES FROM LIT SLIDE

Considered in terms of practice, rather than law, a public place might include that
which is simply put to public use – if the public uses it, then it is public. Similarly, any
publicly-owned space ignored by the public (in that people fear for their safety and stay
away) might be described as not, in fact, public space at all. Further, notions of owner-
ship are not always clear-cut, and the public/private polarity can be seen, instead, as
either end of a spectrum encompassing various models of partnership and what might
be called co-production.

Ownership, in a general sense, is problematic – or at least multi-facetted. We the citi-
zen may not own the land, but we may feel a rightful sense of ownership - that a piece
of territory is our land. Consider the heritage site. Quite apart from the legal respon-
sibilities of the site owner, internationally-agreed protocols imply a very loose form of
ownership – that of a shared heritage. UNESCO's website is explicit: "World Heritage

sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located." We are all stakeholders, owners even, of spaces as diverse as the Great Wall of China and the City of Venice. Thus there is an entirely different interpretation of a public space, based not around property ownership but around ideas of cultural identity. This, in itself, is complex. A citizen might be rightfully proud of their city's architectural heritage, and the iconic status of, say, the Liver Building, the Chrysler Building, or other dreaming spires; but these spaces are in private hands, and the proud citizen will only rarely, if ever, be permitted to enter them.

Ownership embodies, then, overlapping types of understanding. There is literal ownership ("it's legally mine"). There is a sense of belonging ("I identify with this place, and feel comfortable here"). There is control ("I can make rules"), and political control ("I can make rules, even if I don't own the land"). No property owner can do as they please.

ATTRIBUTES PAGE
WiFi-enabled cafes are private enterprises which function as third party lounges, facilitating meetings, social gatherings, and informal alternatives to the workplace. Social media now complements the physical space for political activism. How do High Street coffee chains meet the definition of a public space? They are certainly more accessible and less restrictive than other interiors, such as museums and galleries. Which begs the question of paying for access: can a place be truly public if there is an entrance fee? Is a cinema a public building? A supermarket? A shopping mall? A campus, a car park? All these examples require public use, without which they would have no purpose. In each of these cases, the right to enter is implied, and while users will know that legal ownership of the site belongs to a distant corporate entity (or perhaps the Church of England, which owns far more than just churches), they will also understand their right to enter. Equally, any member of the public does NOT necessarily claim a right to enter a government building, or perhaps a school, though they may feel a certain degree of ownership over that building simply by virtue of their citizenship. BUT that same member of the public WILL feel aggrieved if denied, for no obvious reason, access to a supermarket.

The definition of "public space", then, is not at all clear; it might be defined in terms of legal ownership, cultural identification, access, or by use (members of the public use it, therefore it is public). But it is important to define it - with access to space goes an expectation of behaviour. What rights do we have in a public museum compared to a private mall? Where can we protest, collect signatures, campaign, linger and the like? Should the owners of a shopping mall have the same, or fewer, rights over their land than owners of an individual house? Perhaps land ownership, when it reaches a certain scale and degree of public access, should be accompanied by certain guarantees of citizen rights. Is there room for developing some sort of "law of place", linked to ideas of "rights to the city", in which ownership of urban sites goes hand-in-hand with an acknowledgement of citizen rights?

It is worth considering that "the public" is not, indeed, a single undifferentiated group, and that public space should also be considered as a plurality, each serving different publics. While shopping malls generate special attention from critics of private space (with their emphasis on consumption, and behavioural strictures which tends to alienate "undesirable" groups), some writers point out the broad spectrum of public spaces which range from waterfronts, parks and plazas to cafes, atria and memorial sites. Each spatial type will have its own morphology, identity, symbolism and sense of space and ownership, each appealing to different segments of society (often at different times).

The subject is clearly difficult and nuanced – and one which deserves great care when considering the implications, models and futures of privately-owned or administered places. This is not to say that the very vocal opponents of private-owned public space do not have a point – they do. Such criticism is arguably a natural and important con-

sequence of the social and economic patterns which are playing out at the interface of public and private domains. However, any generic concern on the matter begs a range of questions, outlined earlier. Such questions must be accompanied by consideration of the attributes of public spaces, and how we read or decode them. Spaces (whether publicly-owned or publicly-accessible) are semiotic structures, in that they embody a certain coding – owners may communicate, explicitly or otherwise, which members of the public they are attempting to entice (and by extension deter); while individuals may make a choice, through decoding or "reading" the space, whether they wish to occupy any given site or not.

PICS SLIDE

Margaret Kohn described "the soothing lighting, polished surfaces, pleasant temperature, and enticing displays" which contribute to the allure of the mall, along with the fantasy of "entering a world where no homeless person, panhandler, or zealot can disturb the illusion of a harmonious world." This formulation of the mall has been echoed by Malcolm Voyce, who is critical of the surveillance technologies, order, uniformity and predominance of global brands which characterise contemporary commerce. Thus, the argument goes, gates and security personnel are not the only forms of control and exclusivity - softer forms of control and exclusion such as signage, branding and the consumer choices available will attract some consumers, while deterring others. This returns to Carmona's suggestion that perhaps not all public spaces should be conceived to appeal to everyone at all times. However, a non-Western context is instructive. Ahmed Kanna has described how the shopping mall in Dubai, with its "a-historical, a-cultural, interchangeable atmosphere", appeals to local women as a comfortable, safe and neutral space compared with the male-dominated, open, street-facing spaces. Malls in in the UAE, argues Kanna, provide "a type of utopian blandness that offers symbolic security".

Pressures on public finance has served to increase the willingness of the public sector to partner with corporate interests in order to access capital. "Privately-owned public spaces" (POPS), Business Improvement Districts (BIDS), zoning exemptions and other partnerships are further manifestations of the public sector embrace of private sector resources, prompted, in turn, by a wide range of external forces. Such forces range from the decline of city centres, increased vacancy rates, the rise in internet shopping, the development of urban fringes, globalisation, inter-city and intra-city competition, and the rise of the shopping mall as a typology (and the extension of the mall into something approximating a town). The phenomena of "contracting out", private sponsorship and incentivising the commercial sector to provide public services continue to blur the boundaries between the public and private in many Western nations. In Middle Eastern and Asian contexts, state-controlled private enterprises add to the condition of complexity which envelops the public-private continuum; when one considers the enterprise of Dubai property corporations such as Jumeirah and Emaar, for example, one is really considering the work of the state.

It is incumbent upon all those implicated in the provision of public space to develop a shared understanding of the complexity and nuance which lie behind the simple terms "public" and "private". It requires them to recognise that "public space" is internal, as well as external (and that behavioural codes and expectations undergo a profound shift when moving from outside to inside – in Western cultures anyway). That public space is not necessarily civic space. Deep and honest conversations need to be had, in order that beautifully developed schemes are not trashed by thoughtless restrictions or over-zealous security measures. All participants in the development, management, curation and stewardship of public space must develop a shared vocabulary which includes the terms access, belonging, identity, ownership and expectation, and resist the temptation to reduce the subject to a binary matter of public / private.

Finally, I would argue that in order to more fully understand public space, and therefore

be better positioned to provide it, there is a strong argument for making the attempt to map it. Such a map would go beyond cartography and capture public space in all its manifestations, in order that we might begin the process of plotting phenomena such as ownership, access, identity, belonging, behaviour, ritual, attachment, language and the uses to which it is put, rights and expectations. Such a map would include subjective, as well as objective, inputs, and likely include time-based media, art and interpretation; the map would be three-dimensional, in that it would be sectional as well as plan-based, and four-dimensional in that it would describe places over time. It would likely be never-ending, in that it might start somewhere and, possibly being open access, be amended and modified by multiple users. It will no doubt be plural. All this is what a 21st century Nolli plan might look like.

THANK YOU

Does it matter who owns our city centres and the 'public' spaces within them? There is a strong case for arguing that ownership matters less than the quality of such places, the access we have to them, and what we can do once in them. The question is becoming more relevant than ever.

For some time there has been considerable disquiet over the issue of privately-owned public space (often referred to as POPS). Writers and other commentators – including Will Self, Anna Minton and Bradley Garrett – have drawn attention to the erosion of citizen rights in such "quasi-public" urban spaces, where the private owners appear to call the shots. The Guardian, too, has recorded its concern. These voices draw attention to the consequences of private ownership, in that the legal owner of an urban space has the same rights as any property owner – and if that owner does not wish activities such as protest, skateboarding, gathering of signatures, evangelising or sleeping, then the owner can simply ban them. This can be problematic when citizens do not know they are on private property, and have their expectations thwarted when told they may not, to use other examples, take photographs or gather in groups.

This is a serious and very present issue. The private ownership of publicly accessible space is not new; it is especially embedded into urban life in north America, and the phenomenon may well accelerate. Large, complex regeneration projects are often a matter of some sort of public-private partnership. Developers will understandably be keen to look after their assets; while local authorities will often queue up for the investment.
The Guardian and its contributors are right to be concerned, though, when the inhabitants of, and visitors to, the city feel they cannot exercise the freedoms they expect – especially when they have walked inadvertently from a zone of public ownership to one of private control. Cities, after all, are almost synonymous with diversity, freedom of expression and encountering the unexpected. However, the critiques can be shrill and partial, missing much of the nuance that weaves through the subject.
Concern has focused on the perceived "privatisation of public space". However, some of those worried about such a shift do not appreciate that many spaces (such as London's Kings Cross and Liverpool's Albert Dock) were privately owned in the first place; the only change, apart from redevelopment, has been the granting of public access. This important debate must avoid the polarity of "public = good" and "private = bad". Any meaningful investigation into the role and nature of POPS would benefit by embracing concepts of ownership, belonging, safety, expectation and access.

Publicly-owned spaces have rules and restrictions too. Without them, public places become insecure, unsociable spaces unusable by the majority. Indeed, many spaces within public ownership are of such poor quality that they give public space a bad name. Many publicly-owned spaces – our assemblies and other corridors of power – are highly restricted in terms of access, as are schools. The issue is not helped by diverse opinions as to what constitutes public space anyway. Is a space public only when under public ownership? Public space surely goes beyond outdoor civic squares and streets; publicly accessible spaces include interiors such as museums, galleries, theatres, cafés, cathedrals, railway stations, airport terminals and supermarkets. Many of these publicly accessible facilities are privately provided; some of them provide public amenities not otherwise available; some are open 24 hours a day; some are designed to a higher standard than is possible through public funds.

Ownership, too, requires definition. The citizen may not own the land, but might feel a rightful sense of ownership - that a piece of territory is our land. Consider the heritage site. UNESCO's website is explicit: "World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located." We are all stakeholders,

owners even, of spaces as diverse as the Great Wall of China and the City of Venice. Thus there is an entirely different interpretation of a public space, based not around property ownership but around ideas of cultural identity. This, too, is problematic. Liverpudlians might be rightfully proud of their city's architectural heritage, and the iconic status of the Liver Building; but that building is in private hands, and they will only rarely, if ever, be permitted to enter it.

Ownership embodies, then, a number of facets. There is literal ownership ("it's legally mine"). There is a sense of belonging ("I identify with this place, and feel comfortable here"). There is control ("I can make rules, even if I don't own the land"). No property owner can do as they please.
Might public space be defined as a space used by the public? Private WiFi-enabled cafes function as third party lounges, facilitating social gatherings and informal alternatives to the workplace. Social media complements physical space for political activism. High Street coffee chains are more accessible and less restrictive than other interiors, such as museums and galleries. Which begs the question: can a place be truly public if there is an entrance fee? Is a cinema a public building? A supermarket? A car park? None of these examples would last very long if members of the public ceased to use them. The right to enter these spaces is implied; indeed, the building is designed to explicitly invite people to enter.
The definition of "public space", then, is not at all clear; it might be defined in terms of ownership, or access, or even by use. But it is important to define it - with access to space goes an expectation of behaviour. Where can we protest, collect signatures, campaign, and the like? Who should decide – the owner or the state? Should the owners of a shopping mall have the same, or fewer, rights over their land than owners of an individual house? Perhaps land ownership, when it reaches a certain scale and degree of public access, should be accompanied by certain guarantees of citizen rights.

Some observers are critical of a perceived loss of public space and its replacement with a polished, exclusive, high surveillance, bubble of homogenous corporatism in which the middle-class can exercise its rights as consumer-citizens. On the other hand, the private sector responds to the need for regeneration in such a way that once low quality and/or post-industrial spaces have become both attractive and accessible. UCL's Matthew Carmona has argued strongly that how spaces are managed, rather than who manages them, is the key. And the "how" of managing public space is actually a relatively simple matter. As the terms of any development are negotiated, there is nothing to stop a local authority from insisting that any development is governed by covenants and conditions favourable to the public. Carmona also argues that if all spaces were designed to appeal to everyone at all times, they might appeal to nobody. There are surely many publics, each with different needs.

These important and contested issues are a consequence of shifting social and economic patterns playing out across public and private domains. Globalisation, branding of cities, decline of the traditional High Street, pressure on public finances, changing attitudes towards leisure and many other factors are forcing society to think about what public space is for and who it serves. The subject is not as simple as some would like to think. Cities have always been a patchwork of changing ownership models; the extent of public access and interaction has always been one of negotiation within shifting behavioural norms, cultural and legal codes, and measures of expectation. The question of what constitutes public space in the 21st century city is a pressing one.

How might the architecture profession respond? For a start, architects would do well to consider that "public space" is internal, as well as external (and that behavioural codes and expectations undergo a profound shift when moving from outside to inside – in Western cultures anyway). That public space is not necessarily civic space. That it may be appropriate to make legible, in design terms, any shift in legal ownership; alternatively, that such legibility may be entirely inappropriate if the overall intention is

to create a sense of integration and continuity with the wider context. This requires a deep and honest conversation with the client, who might trash a beautifully integrated scheme with thoughtless restrictions or over-zealous security measures.

In the USA, critiques of POPS have often focused on the shopping mall. But malls are no longer strictly interior spaces; they are becoming exterior, integrated with the wider street pattern. The boundary between the city and the "mall" is not always visible. Should it be visible? If designed as a seamless piece of urbanism, such projects need to embody a consistency which spans design and estate management. In order to do this, it is incumbent upon all those implicated in the provision of public space to develop a shared understanding of the complexity and nuance which lie behind the simple terms "public" and "private".

David Littlefield and Mike Devereux are Senior Lecturers in the Department of Architecture and the Built Environment at the University of the West of England, Bristol. They are co-directors of a masters degree in design and place.

UWE REC REF No: FET.18.04.038

9th May 2018

David Littlefield
Department of Architecture & the Built Environment
University of the West of England
Bristol
BS16 1QY

Dear David

Application title: 'Liverpool One – a study of integration'

I am writing to confirm that the Faculty Research Ethics Committee are satisfied that you have addressed all the conditions relating to our previous letter sent on 2nd May 2018 and the study has been given ethical approval to proceed.

Please note that any information sheets and consent forms should have the UWE logo. Further guidance is available on the webhttps://intranet.uwe.ac.uk/tasks-guides/Guide/writing-and-creating-documents-in-the-uwe-bristol-brand

The following standard conditions also apply to all research given ethical approval by a UWE Research Ethics Committee:

1. You must notify the relevant UWE Research Ethics Committee in advance if you wish to make significant amendments to the original application: these include any changes to the study protocol which have an ethical dimension. Please note that any changes approved by an external research ethics committee must also be communicated to the relevant UWE committee.
   http://www1.uwe.ac.uk/research/researchethics/applyingforapproval.aspx

2. You must notify the University Research Ethics Committee if you terminate your research before completion;

3. You must notify the University Research Ethics Committee if there are any serious events or developments in the research that have an ethical dimension.

Please note: The UREC is required to monitor and audit the ethical conduct of research involving human participants, data and tissue conducted by academic staff, students and researchers. Your project may be selected for audit from the research projects submitted to and approved by the UREC and its committees.

We wish you well with your research.

"Liverpool One – a study of integration" / PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (2 pages)

This document is to help you understand why we have requested an interview with you and to explain the status of the interview. It forms part of a best practice approach to undertaking academic research.

Summary
As part of an investigation into the degree of integration of Liverpool One into the wider city of Liverpool, UWE researchers David Littlefield and Mike Devereux are conducting a series of interviews with key stakeholders, such as yourself. The interviews will last one hour, and will be on-the-record, unless you tell the researchers otherwise. ***These interviews are voluntary***, and you may withdraw from the process at any time.

Research project
David Littlefield and Mike Devereux, both Senior Lecturers at the University of the West of England, Bristol, have been commissioned by Grosvenor (principal contact: Miles Dunnett) to undertake a study of the integration of the Liverpool One development into the wider context of the city. The work builds on research by Littlefield and Devereux already completed for Grosvenor on the subject of privately-owned public spaces. The present research project on Liverpool One will further consider the nature of public/private spaces, and forms the background for the interviews, in which you have kindly agreed to participate.

Liverpool One deliberately set out to be part of the city in which it found itself. This project sets out to explore the degree to which it has achieved that goal, in the decade since completion. The ways in which different stakeholders perceive Liverpool One to have performed over the last decade will help us complete our research. The research project draws on contemporary discussions which include the questions: what is public? what is public space? does it matter who provides public space? who is "the public"? The project is due to end in August/September. It will conclude with a presentation and written report for Grosvenor, and a paper for an academic journal.

Topic guide
Littlefield and Devereux propose to spend one hour with you, discussing topics focused on the nature of public and private spaces, access, the design and management dimensions to creating and facilitating successful public spaces, and the challenges of operating within the public realm.

We do not expect you to reveal the names of individuals, private or sensitive information or any data that is not already in the public domain. We are looking for your comment on the issues concerning "publicness", based on your experience of working within your own institution. We do not have a list of specific questions; neither will the interview take the form of completing a questionnaire. We anticipate the interview being focused on the notion of public space (and the public's access to private space) via a series of open questions. The conversation might become quite wide-ranging.

The creation of privately-owned public space (POPS) has taken on special meaning in recent years. There are two main themes in this regard. First, there are many examples of the private sector providing public spaces. Second, public expectation of the availability, quality and access to such spaces has undergone a dramatic change. In short, the way cities and their spaces are used is far more managed, controlled and sophisticated than previously was the case. We seek to discuss these themes with you.

DL & MD 2/5/18 v2

Informed consent form

"Liverpool One: a study of integration".
NOTE: participation in this research project is purely voluntary

This consent form should be read in parallel with the document

"Liverpool One: participant information sheet"

1. Taking part in the study

I have read and understood the study information dated 24/04/2018, or it has been read to me. I have been able to ask questions about the study and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study and understand that I can refuse to answer questions and I can withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason.

I understand that taking part in the study involves a one-hour interview with researchers David Littlefield and Mike Devereux.

The interview will be recorded and the content of the interview will be used to inform the research project. Some direct quotations may be used in published outputs from the research, such as an academic journal paper and project report, or presentation. Some written notes will be taken during the interview, but direct quotes will be sourced from the recording. The recording will be kept on a password-protected computer and/or UWE's secure OneDrive system. Only the most relevant elements of the interview will be transcribed, such as words the researchers may wish to use as direct, attributed quotes. The recording will then be destroyed.

2. Use of the information in the study

I understand that information I provide will be used to enhance the project examining the integration of Liverpool One into the wider city, and that this information will inform the writing of a paper, report and verbal presentation.

I understand that personal information collected about me that can identify me, such as where I live, will not be shared beyond the study team.

I agree that my information can be quoted in research outputs.

I agree that my real name can be used for quotes.

3. Future use and reuse of the information by others

I give permission for any quotes I provide, located within written outputs, to be deposited in the UWE Research Repository (http://eprints.uwe.ac.uk/) so they can be used for future research and learning.

DL & MD 2/5/18 v2

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