REVITALISING THE CBD – LIVERPOOL

by Robert Morris

What is the CBD?

The central business district (CBD) is the focal point of a city and is often referred to as the city centre or town centre. It is the commercial, office, retail and cultural centre of the city and is usually the node for transport networks. Classic urban land use models such as those by Burgess and Hoyt show the CBD as the fulcrum of the city (Figure 1). Historically, the CBD developed as a market place in medieval towns. On market days, farmers, merchants and consumers would gather in the middle of the town to exchange, buy and sell goods.

As cities grew and developed, CBDs became fixed locations where retail and commercial activities took place. The CBD is typically at or near the oldest part of the city and is often near a major transport feature which originally provided the site for the city's location, such as a river, railway or a crossroads.

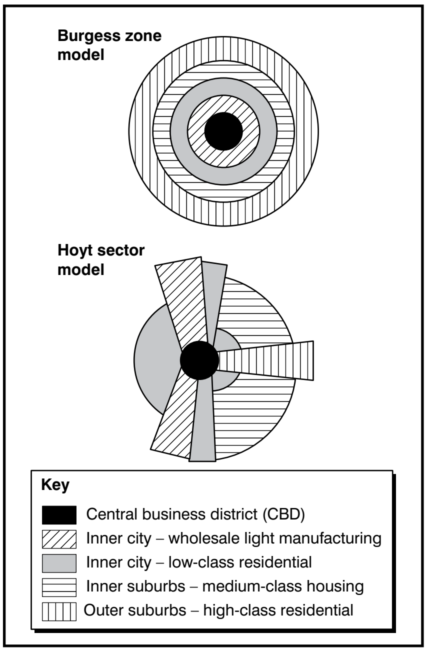

Figure 1: **Classic urban land use models of Burgess and Hoyt**

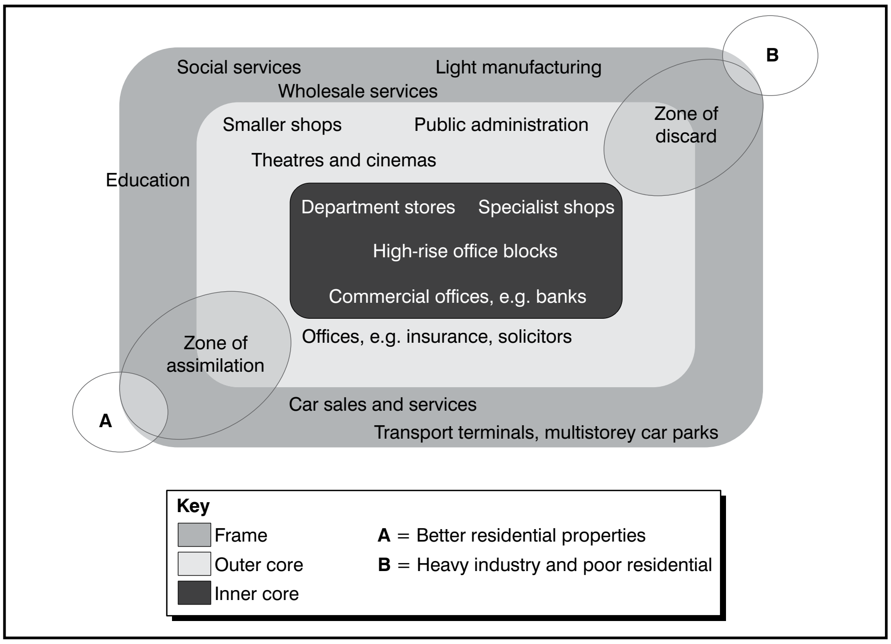

Figure 2: **A model of land use in the CBD**

Over time, the CBD developed into a centre of finance and control or government as well as office space. In the early 1900s, European and American cities had CBDs that featured primarily retail and commercial cores. In the late 20th century, the CBD expanded to include office space and commercial businesses while retail became less important and certain types of retailers moved out of the CBD. There was an increase in high-rise buildings in CBDs, making them more and more dense.

The changing CBD

The CBD is not static; it expands and contracts over the years producing a complex mosaic of very different types of land use (Figure 2).

- A **zone of discard** is the area that was once a part of the CBD but is now in decline and characterised by low-status shops and warehouses, and vacant property.
- A **zone of assimilation** is the area that is now part of the CBD as it is being expanded and developed. It is characterised by new locations for shopping and leisure.

Why has the CBD changed in the UK?

There are two main ways that the CBD in British towns and cities changed during the second half of the 20th century:

- **Decentralisation:** the movement of people, industry, shopping and office activities away from city centres to the suburbs or edge-of-city locations. People moved out in the 19th century, and manufacturing industries moved out from the city centre to the cheaper suburban sites. In the 1970s and 1980s retailing began to leave the city centres and move to shopping centres in the suburbs and

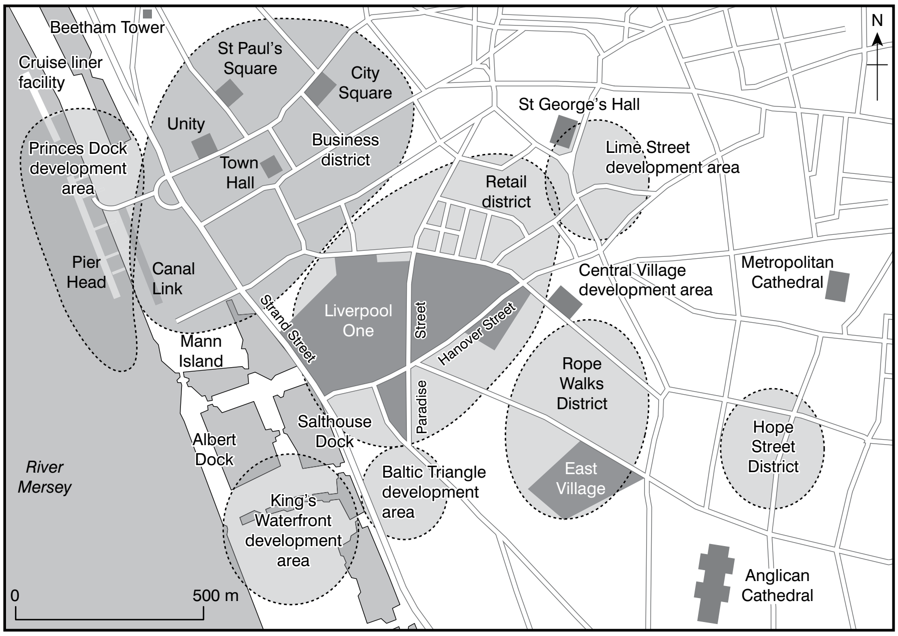

Figure 3: **Liverpool CBD**

Figure 4: **The Albert Dock**

then hypermarkets and superstores, e.g. Merry Hill near Dudley and Meadowhall in Sheffield. The final wave of decentralisation saw the movement of offices away from CBDs to office parks on the edge of urban areas, such as Stockley Park near Heathrow Airport.

- **De-urbanisation:** the movement of people and employment away from large dominant cities to smaller, more dispersed towns and cities. Some moved outside the city to smaller towns where there was more room, lower rents, less congestion and less pollution. In Liverpool, the population of the city declined from nearly 850, 000 in 1931 to fewer than 450,000 in 2001. Many moved to the suburbs that lie in other local authorities, e.g. Knowsley, surrounding towns like Ormskirk and new towns such as Skelmersdale and Runcorn.

As a result of decentralisation and de-urbanisation, many cities are trying to regenerate and renew their city centres in order to re-establish the attraction and competitiveness of city centres. More recently, the combination of gentrification (improving the quality of inner city housing) and development of shopping centres as venues for leisure and entertainment have given the CBD new life. The central parts of some cities have boomed (London) while others have been changed by massive investment in hotels, conference centres, retailing and leisure developments (Bristol, Birmingham, Manchester).

Revitalising Liverpool

The Waterfront

Liverpool has been a focus for **urban regeneration** since the 1980s. The Toxteth riots in 1981 were the original catalyst for regeneration in Liverpool. The Albert Dock was the first **flagship project** in Liverpool (Figure 3).

After the area was abandoned as a working dock it lay derelict for 15 years until it was renovated and opened as a tourist destination in 1988. Today over 4 million tourists a year visit the Dock's attractions including museums, art galleries, shops, bars and restaurants, hotels, luxury apartments and TV studios (Figure 4).

In 2004, Liverpool's waterfront was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site, reflecting the area's historic importance as a trading port. A £19 million liner terminal has been built in the Princes Dock area, as Liverpool has become a popular destination on the itineraries of cruise liners, while south of this the area known as Pier Head, where the Mersey ferries run from, has been revitalised by a new ferry terminal, an extension of the Leeds–Liverpool canal from Stanley Dock, and the re-building of the Museum of Liverpool Life costing over £70 million and scheduled to open in 2011.

Directly to the south of the Albert Dock is the newly developed King's Waterfront, covering nearly 15 hectares and which for some time was the largest undeveloped site in the city centre. The centrepiece of the development is the Liverpool Arena and Convention Centre, comprising the BT Convention Centre and Liverpool Echo Arena, a state-of-the-art 11,000-seater arena which has hosted many events since opening in early 2008, including the 'BBC Sports Personality of the Year' in December 2008. Adjoining this development are two new hotels, retail outlets, riverside apartments, offices and a 1,600-space multistorey car park.

In recent years, Liverpool has had around 8–10 million tourists visiting each year, from the UK, elsewhere in Europe (helped by the budget airlines such as EasyJet and Ryanair which use Liverpool John Lennon Airport) and much further afield, especially Japan and the USA . These tourists have made Liverpool the tenth most visited destination in the UK.

Figure 5: **Liverpool One**

Liverpool – the 2008 European City of Culture

Sporting and cultural events are often used by cities to create a new image and act as a catalyst or process for new development and urban change. Liverpool is no exception, as its status as the 2008 European Capital of Culture provided the impetus for major investment in the city centre. The European Capital of Culture is a city designated by the EU for a period of one year during which it showcases its cultural life. Liverpool is known worldwide as a cultural centre, with a particularly rich history in popular music (e.g. the Beatles), performing and visual arts. In addition to nearly £4 billion that has been invested in the regeneration of the city, estimates show that Liverpool's role as Capital of Culture generated over £800 million for the city and surrounding areas in 2008 alone. It has also been estimated that more than 15 million visitors came to the city to visit an attraction or to view one of 7,000 cultural events. Visitor number records were broken at all of Liverpool's visitor attractions and attendances were up by over 30% at the Albert Dock.

Revitalising Liverpool's CBD

Much of the regeneration of the city centre has been led by Liverpool Vision, an urban regeneration company formed to redevelop the city centre. It works with other organisations in the public sector – such as Liverpool City Council, the North West Regional Development Agency and English Partnerships – and in the private sector with companies like JP Morgan, Barclays Wealth Management, Peel Holdings and the Grosvenor Group, to attract the £4 billion needed for the regeneration of the city.

In the late 1960s, Liverpool was the third most visited shopping centre in the UK behind London's West End and Glasgow. By 2002, it had dropped to 17th place, with near neighbours Manchester (10th) and Chester (5th) well above it in the popularity stakes. In 2008, it was estimated that shoppers in Liverpool would spend more money than in any other UK centre apart from London, Birmingham, Glasgow and Manchester. Within 30 minutes' drive, Liverpool has a potential catchment of 1.8 million people with a further 3 million within 60 minutes' drive.

Liverpool One

The Liverpool One shopping centre has been one of Liverpool's largest flagship regeneration projects (Figure 5). It started life at the end of the 1990s when the city council decided to redevelop the area around the Paradise Street bus station (Figure 6). This was a 17-hectare site of mixed uses – transport, retail, warehousing and some housing. The city council appointed the Grosvenor Group (owned by the Duke of Westminster, one of the richest people in the UK) as the principal developer of the Paradise Project, as it was then known.

Over the next few years a development plan was put together, a public consultation was held and negotiations began with potential development partners and other organisations such as the tenants of the anchor stores Debenhams and John Lewis. After a lengthy consultation process, various archaeological digs and the compulsory purchase of the land, work on the project started in autumn 2004.

The Paradise Project was re-branded as the Liverpool One shopping centre in November 2005 and the first phase opened in May 2008 in time for Capital of Culture year, with further phases opening in October 2008 and January 2009.

The original cost of the Liverpool One project was around £750 million, but in the event it cost over £1 billion, all of which was raised from the private sector. In its first 12 months Liverpool One had a footfall of 22 million shoppers and monthly visitor figures now top over 2 million. This has made Liverpool city centre (and Liverpool One in particular) fifth among the UK's most desirable retail and leisure destinations.

Figure 6: **Paradise Street**

Activities

1 Explain what you think each of the following terms means:

- CBD
- Zone of discard
- Zone of assimilation
- Decentralisation
- De-urbanisation
- Urban regeneration
- Flagship project

2 Explain why CBDs grew particularly after the 1800s.

3 Give examples of the types of shop that have left CBDs and moved to out-of-town shopping centres.

4 Using the data in Figure 7, draw a graph to show Liverpool's changing fortunes as a leading shopping destination. On the *x* axis show positions 1 to 20 and on the *y* axis show the years 1971, 1989, 2002 and 2004. You may wish to show the positions of four other cities to show their changing fortunes.

5 Why was the European Capital of Culture important for Liverpool? Explain how it brought lots of money into the city.

6 What attractions are there for visitors to Liverpool on the waterfront? Using the Visit Liverpool website (www.visitliverpool.com/) do some research to plan a day visiting Liverpool city centre.

7 Use the information in Figure 8 to construct a pie chart or a graph showing the different types of shops in Liverpool One.

8 Looking at the range of shops on your graph (activity 7), explain why certain types of shop tend to locate in new prestige centres such as Liverpool One. Is this the case for a town that you know?

Rank	1971	1989	2002	2004
1	London/West End	London/West End	London/West End	London/West End
2	Glasgow	Glasgow	Glasgow	Glasgow
3	**Liverpool**	Birmingham	Leeds	Birmingham
4	Birmingham	Manchester	Nottingham	Leeds
5	Edinburgh	Edinburgh	Chester	Nottingham
6	Manchester	Leeds	Cardiff	Manchester
7	Newcastle upon Tyne	Nottingham	Southampton	Southampton
8	Leeds	Cardiff	Norwich	Cardiff
9	Croydon	Newcastle upon Tyne	Reading	Norwich
10	Sheffield	Chester	Manchester	Bluewater
11	Nottingham	Croydon	Bluewater	Chester
12	Cardiff	Cambridge	Edinburgh	Reading
13	Leicester	**Liverpool**	Kingston upon Thames	**Liverpool**
14	Bristol	Southampton	Merry Hill	Newcastle upon Tyne
15	Southampton	Brighton	Birmingham	Leicester
16	Wolverhampton	Sheffield	Guildford	Edinburgh
17	Kingston upon Thames	Bath	**Liverpool**	Kingston upon Thames
18	Kingston upon Hull	Bristol	Leicester	Brighton
19	Reading	Plymouth	Newcastle upon Tyne	Merry Hill
20	Plymouth	Southend-on-Sea	Bristol	Meadowhall

Figure 7: **Leading shopping destinations, 1971–2004**
Source: Experian

Category	Number	Examples
Clothes shops (men's and women's)	53	Ted Baker, Tie Rack, Bench
Footwear	8	Dune, Faith, Foot Asylum
Jewellery and accessories	11	Accessorize, H Samuel, Oakley
Health and beauty	6	The Body Shop, Superdrug
Homewear	4	Habitat, Lakeland
Toys	3	Build a Bear, The Disney Store
Sport and leisure	6	Liverpool FC Store, Nike, Adidas
Technology and media	9	Apple, O2, HMV
Books and stationery	4	Waterstones, WH Smith
Specialist shops	7	Optical Express, Mamas & Papas
Department stores and supermarkets	3	Debenhams, John Lewis, Tesco
Food, drink, restaurants and cafés	30	Nandos, PizzaHut, YO! Sushi
Banks	2	NatWest, Barclays
Hotels	2	Hilton, Novotel

Figure 8: **Shops and other occupiers of Liverpool One, by category**

9 Using the website for Liverpool One (www.liverpool-one.com/website/), design a poster to attract shoppers to the shopping centre.

