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Media Impact Assessment (part II): Evolving press and broadcast narratives on Liverpool from 1996 to 2009

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Executive Summary

The city of Liverpool has attracted high levels of negative UK national media coverage for much of the second half of the 20th Century. However, since its nomination as European Capital of Culture (ECoC) in 2003, it is possible to detect some remarkable changing trends in the approach to national, local as well as international media coverage about the city. This suggests that the award has had a positive direct impact on Liverpool's media representation.

Overall, the most remarkable change in trend since the mid 1990s has been a reduction in the polarisation of stories across extremely negative or positive lines and a growth of coverage on increasingly diverse contemporary issues. The traditional contrast between negative reporting on social issues (e.g. crime, violence, health issues) and positive stories on fixed city icons (the Beatles legacy, football, popular culture) has been replaced by a wealth of stories on the city's contemporary cultural offer and wider image renaissance. By the end of 2008, this has led to a much more nuanced view of the city with a balanced proportion of positive, negative and neutral coverage across a greater range of themes than was the case a decade ago.

Liverpool's media profile since becoming European Capital of Culture (ECoC)

The ECoC nomination has had a short to medium term impact on the city's image, at a local as well as a national and international level. The most notable impact has been in terms of thematic emphasis, evidenced by a significant growth in the volume of coverage about Liverpool's contemporary culture and arts scene. Nationally, the UK press produced 211% more stories on culture and the arts in 2008 than was the case in 1996 (120% growth since the title was awarded in 2003). Locally, there has been a 135% growth in culture stories between 2003 and 2008. Of these, up to 11% national and 30% local stories on Liverpool's cultural offer included an explicit reference to the ECoC. The ECoC has also made a contribution to positive perceptions of the city thanks to the strengthened profile of Liverpool as a cultural and creative centre: during the event year in 2008, positive stories on the city's cultural assets dominated over the traditional emphasis on (negative) social issues both at a national and local level. Further, since nomination, over 65% of UK national stories and close to 80% of local stories on the city's cultural and arts offer have been of a positive nature. From an international perspective, the ECoC has contributed to a growth in references to the city's visual arts offer and its wider image renaissance, including its ongoing physical regeneration, as opposed to the traditional focus on its music scene and the Beatles heritage as the only recognised cultural references.

Throughout the last decade, sustained positive media associations relating to Liverpool at a local as well as national level include the city's football clubs; its galleries and visual arts scene; its music scene; the growth in quality and range of cultural events; the city's changing image; the profile of its media and entertainment personalities; and, particularly from a local point of view, the city's business and investment growth. Locally, there has also been considerable growth in positive coverage about the city's approach to tackling traditionally challenging social issues such as neighbourhood cohesion and residents health/well-being.

Following a similar trend to other UK cities, sustained negative media stories focus on crime, health and other social issues (from poverty to shortages in educational levels). However, in 2007, most high-profile crime-related stories were presented as a national/UK rather than just a Liverpool-specific problem, and there was a growth in positive reporting about local measures to tackle crime and improve health and well-being. As already noted, in 2008, for the first time since the mid 1990s, coverage on social issues came behind coverage on culture and the arts which remained the dominant theme within national and local papers throughout the year.

The nature of ECoC-specific coverage

Coverage of the Liverpool ECoC has been overwhelmingly positive between 2003 and end of 2008. Nationally, positive coverage peaked in 2003, with 74% of all published stories on the ECoC being positive; locally, the peak has been in 2008, with 70% of stories being positive. Events delivered under the Liverpool ECoC brand received over 90% positive or neutral coverage throughout this period.

Between 2003 and the end of 2008, national press stories about the ECoC more than doubled and were over 63% positive on average (over 75% positive or neutral). Locally, attitudes to ECoC stories have grown from 53% positive in 2003 to 70% positive in 2008. This has been achieved despite the simultaneous growth of controversial stories regarding ECoC funding and management issues. Overall, since the award in 2003, coverage of (positive) culture-related ECoC stories has predominated over (negative) managerial issues, particularly at a national level.

In 2008 itself, the city attracted an unprecedented volume of national as well as international media coverage. The ECoC 'Opening Weekend' in January brought 308 visiting journalists to the city, a third of whom represented multi-national or overseas agencies. Further, the number of national press and broadcast stories on the ECoC in the first half of 2008 alone was double the total UK coverage in 2007.

Nationally, the Liverpool ECoC has been mainly associated with the city's cultural and arts offer and the wider city's renaissance, in particular its renewed (enhanced) image. Locally, the main associations have been with its cultural offer, followed by the city's physical regeneration. These associations have changed considerably since nomination in 2003: nationally, coverage on the ECoC was initially dominated by image-related stories (over 50%) while this theme was below 30% of all coverage in 2008. Locally, coverage was originally dominated by references to the city's physical regeneration (35% of ECoC stories), while this was below 7% of stories in 2008. Both locally and nationally the area of coverage that has grown the most and became completely dominant in 2008 was culture and the arts, and particularly, as expected, coverage on specific ECoC events such as the Opening Weekend and the arrival of the Spider/La Princesse, followed by the Paul McCartney concert and Klimt exhibition at Tate Liverpool (nationally), and the Superlambanana parade (locally).

From an international point of view, most ECoC coverage has also focused on the city's cultural and arts offer, followed by its image renaissance and established icons, such as the Beatles heritage. International papers have been over 75% positive throughout late 2007 and 2008. The ECoC events attracting the largest international profile have been the Opening Weekend, general listings of '08 highlights', the Paul McCartney concert and also, contrasting with local and UK national papers, the film 'Of Time and the City'.

Differences in narrative across local, national and international press media

Local, national and international reporting on Liverpool in the lead up to and during 2008 shows some interesting commonalities as well as distinct differences.

Thematically, discussion on the city's '*image renaissance*' and established icons tends to dominate within national and international papers, while this is a secondary issue locally.

- Locally, reporting on the city's image is less dominant but more diverse, balancing reflection on the city's heritage, improved hospitality offer and discussion on enhanced perceptions about the local population.
- Nationally, tabloids have been particularly interested in local Liverpool celebrities such as footballer's partners (so-called WAGS – wives and girlfriends), while broadsheets have paid increasing attention to wider changes in the city's contemporary offer, such as improvements in its hospitality, as well as ongoing discussion on city icons such as the Beatles legacy.
- Internationally, reporting on this area has focused mainly on the Beatles legacy.

Reporting on *culture and the arts* has grown across all media, however, with a different emphasis:

- Locally, the prevalent focus has been on grassroots cultural activity, heritage issues (particularly, the city's maritime heritage), established city events and free mass participation events.
- Nationally, the focus is on high arts activity, particularly within the visual arts, with growing attention being paid to the Biennial. During the ECoC year, the focus has mainly been on high profile arts and media events rather than grassroots activity.
- Internationally, the main focus remains the city's music scene and, in the context of the ECoC, high profile events such as major concerts.
- All media types have dedicated similar volumes of coverage to the city's popular music scene and, both nationally and locally, have paid more attention to the city's fashion scene since late 2007. Internationally, the main area of growth has been the city's visual arts scene.

Reporting on *social issues* remains dominant for generic Liverpool reporting across all media, it tends to focus on crime/violence stories and is mainly negative. However it is treated quite differently in the context of ECoC stories depending on the location of papers.

- Locally, social issues related to the ECoC have been significant, particularly in 2008, and are presented in a more positive light than within UK papers, with a focus on event participation as well as youth inclusion and local inclusion specifically.
- Nationally, there has been little reporting on the social dimension of the ECoC. However, in 2008, there was some minority reporting on crime and violence issues interfering with ECoC events – this was particularly the case at the time of the Opening Weekend in January. Coverage on other aspects, such as youth inclusion, has been positive.
- Internationally, social issues are the main source of negative coverage about Liverpool, but are not reported on in the context of the ECoC.

Other issues have attracted quite diverse levels of attention depending on the geographic scope of papers:

- Liverpool's *physical regeneration* over the past decade has been a clear focus of attention for local papers, and has been strongly associated with the ECoC hosting process from the outset. International papers have also linked these processes with the ECoC. In contrast, this has not been significant for UK papers.
- The *city's economy* is a significant focus for local papers within general city reporting, while this is a minority issue for UK papers and is not an area picked up by international papers. UK papers have, however, increased their reporting on the city's economy in the context of ECoC stories, particularly towards the end of 2008. Local papers are more positive on the city's economic development than national papers.
- Finally, discussion on the city's *leadership, management and policy* issues is a minority area of reporting on Liverpool in general but has been at the heart of ECoC related debates, particularly for the local press. Local and national papers have focused on the debate about public leadership within the city, mainly from a negative angle, followed by discussion on event/ECoC leadership, which has become increasingly positive, from late 2007 onwards. The international press has focused on the ECoC leadership issue (particularly, its artistic vision) and has treated it mainly from a negative point of view.

From an attitudinal point of view, the main differences are as follows:

- Local papers show the most significant positive growth in coverage about the city at large since 2003 (from 39% to 56%) while negative city coverage was at its lowest in 2008. The main change in trends has been a growth of positive reporting on social issues. Overall, local papers have shown the greatest proportion of positive coverage in 2008, above UK national as well as international papers. However, tellingly, local papers also produce a higher volume of negative stories, which is indicative of a continued trend towards polarisation in the local press while, nationally and internationally, neutral or descriptive stories balance other attitudinal extremes.
- National papers have become more nuanced in their reporting about Liverpool, with a dramatic growth of neutral or descriptive reporting since 2005. 2007 was a year attracting low levels of positive reporting on Liverpool, but this changed significantly by 2008, which presented 71% more positive stories on the city.

Reporting on the ECoC has been consistently positive since the bid stage. The areas generating the most significant growth in positive national coverage are culture and the arts.

- International papers are the most positive on the ECoC (over 75% of all stories) and the least negative on Liverpool in general (only 13.5% of stories are negative, while UK national and local papers are over 30% negative)

Differences in press and broadcast reporting

The analysis of broadcast coverage on Liverpool and the ECoC has followed a different sampling method from the press analysis presented in this report, so findings are not strictly comparable. However, there are some overarching similarities and differences in narrative approach that could be seen as significant.

From a thematic point of view, local and national broadcasters have focused on culture/arts stories over all other themes, including the city's image. Further, the proportion of coverage on management / policy issues tends to be higher than is the case for the press. From an attitudinal point of view, broadcasters tend to present a higher proportion of positive stories than the press media.

There have also been some noticeable changing trends in broadcast coverage about Liverpool in 2008 as opposed to 2007, which resemble the trend in press coverage: firstly, there has been a marked growth in national coverage about the city, particularly within television, and this coverage has been much more positive than in previous years, both nationally and locally. Peaks in national broadcast coverage occurred in January, June, August and September, coinciding with the most iconic ECoC events (Opening weekend, McCartney concert, Spider/La Princesse). Coverage has been less focused on social issues and more on culture and the arts (all of it positive); it has also been much less negative on management and policy issues than was the case in previous years. Further, in 2008, there has been less emphasis on physical change as the main focus of stories.

In terms of national versus local broadcast differences, national broadcasters have offered greater emphasis on the city's changing image, while local broadcasters, particularly radio stations, have focused more on social issues, management and policy related stories.

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1. Introduction

This report presents the results of the longitudinal media content analysis that Impacts 08 has conducted on Liverpool generic and specific European Capital of Culture (ECoC) coverage from the mid 1990s to January 2009. Analysis of local and national press coverage has been undertaken in 1996 and 2000 (before the bidding process), 2003 (bid and nomination), 2005 and 2007 (event preparations) and from January 2008 to January 2009 to cover the official start and end of the Liverpool ECoC. Analysis of local and national broadcast coverage has been focused on the January 2007 to January 2009 period, while analysis of international press coverage covers the period from October 2007 to April 2009.

The analysis of media coverage on Liverpool provides a basis to determine evolving narratives about the city and their likely influence on the perceptions of local residents, regional visitors and tourists from the rest of the UK and abroad. This analysis has informed other Impacts 08 research and provided a basis to shape key questions within survey questionnaires, personal interviews and focus groups. The analysis has also contributed to the assessment of less easily quantifiable cultural impacts such as improvements in local confidence and the effectiveness of city marketing/branding messages locally, nationally and internationally.

The Impacts 08 approach to media impact assessment has relied on a wide variety of sources over more than a decade, and this has resulted in a wealth of interrelated findings that can be interpreted from many different angles. This report has been structured in a way that maximises opportunities to identify changing trends in media narratives and the possible influence of the Liverpool ECoC title in such changes.

After this brief introduction and a methodological section, the main findings are presented in sections three and four. Section three depicts the key changing press media trends through time at a national as well as local level. UK national press stories on Liverpool as a city have been monitored from 1996 until January 2009 (see section 3.1), whilst Liverpool's local press has been monitored from 2003 onwards. This is contrasted with an analysis of national and local media stories on the Liverpool ECoC specifically, starting at the year of nomination, 2003 (section 3.2).

Section four identifies the changing trends in representation according to the geographical focus of selected media (local, national or international) or the typology of media (press versus broadcast coverage). The emphasis for this section are stories produced in late 2007 and 2008 itself and results are presented in three subsections with a focus on, firstly, local and national press coverage in 2008 (section 4.1), secondly, international press coverage in late 2007, 2008 and early 2009 (4.2) and finally, local plus national broadcast coverage in 2008, with brief reference to how this compares with 2007 broadcasts (4.3).

The concluding section summarises the key findings in the report and considers to what extent the Liverpool ECoC has altered current media narratives about the city.

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2. Methodology

The Impacts 08 approach to media content analysis has relied mainly on the identification of themes and attitudes emerging from selected media clippings over time and across differing geographical environments. This methodology provides a key image change indicator and is a critical data source for the assessment of the cultural (soft) or symbolic impacts of a major event on its host city.

Content analysis has been defined as an approach to the analysis of documents and text that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner. Traditionally, the technique has focused on the objective and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. However, a limitation of this approach is the focus on counting text rather than analysing content. In order to address this limitation, Impacts 08 has combined established quantitative techniques for media analysis (centred in coding objective states such as date of publication or broadcast, type of media source and so forth) with a qualitative approach, focused in the identification of themes and attitudes. The latter has required interpretation on the part of coders and an understanding of the social and cultural context for the items under analysis. This is explained in more detail below in the 'Coding approach' (section 2.3) and at Appendix 1. Before then, there is an overview of the data collection process and a justification of the time periods selected for analysis (2.1), followed by an explanation of the sampling techniques (2.2).

2.1. Data collection process

This research has assessed the nature of international, UK national and Liverpool local coverage about the city of Liverpool as well as the Liverpool ECoC specifically in a selected number of years between 1996 and January 2009. Studying the nature of articles referring to Liverpool in general as a distinct data sample, and establishing a different sample for articles on the Liverpool ECoC has been deemed important to gain a broader and more representative understanding of the impact of the ECoC 2008 on media narratives about the city. This has been particularly relevant in the assessment of UK national and international media coverage, as it has offered an indication of whether the themes and tone of stories about Liverpool beyond its immediate metropolitan or regional environments are significantly different when explicitly related to the ECoC title and thus, to infer whether current narratives of the city may have been influenced and/or changed by the decision to bid for, win and subsequently host this title.

Depending on the availability of media sources, the research has focused on the full calendar years of 1996, 2000, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008 and also January 2009. The justification for this selection is as follows:

- **Pre-bid period – 1996, 2000:** This period has been included to assess UK national coverage before the city decided to bid. Stories published in 1996 present the city in a considerably different political, social, economic and cultural climate. This provides a baseline from which to assess change in media attitudes, thematic emphasis, length and diversity of articles about the city after it became ECoC. 2000 was the first year when discussions about a potential ECoC bid emerged.
- **Bid and announcement - 2003:** Over this period we can identify the initial impact of associating Liverpool with the ECoC title. ECoC related stories over the bid period placed Liverpool in the context of other candidate cities in the UK and established comparisons. The nomination and announcement allows us to identify key national media reactions and their effect on other Liverpool-related stories.
- **Pre-event period – 2005, 2007:** This can be considered an interim period in the progression towards 2008. Direct references to the Liverpool ECoC within the national media decreased as there were no specific events or activities to report on. In this context, it has been relevant to identify whether non-ECoC related representations of the city were significantly different from the pre-bidding period.

- **Event period - 2008 to January 2009:** This period has been characterised by a dramatic increase in coverage about the event itself and the reporting of activities as they occurred. The analysis of stories on the Liverpool ECoC spans up to the end of January 2009 as this was the time of the official Liverpool ECoC closing events and a month during which a wide array of year overview stories were published.

Future analysis recommendation:

- **Post-event period - 2009 and early 2010:** Additional data collection and analysis over this period would allow an assessment of variations in media references after the event is over. This period should be characterised by the retrospective approach taken by journalists towards event issues and their effect on Liverpool, and should offer a first indication of image legacies in the medium to long term. This research has not been possible within the remits of the Impacts 08 programme.

2.2. Sampling key media sources

Media clippings have been selected according to source groupings: national press, Liverpool local press, international press, national broadcasts, Liverpool local broadcasts and other local / regional broadcasts. Accessing each of these media types has followed a slightly different sampling process.

2.2.1. Press sampling

The research team has relied on the electronic database Lexis Nexis to access all local, national and international press coverage. Relying on a generic database rather than a specific Liverpool-built press resource, such as the clippings regularly collected by the Liverpool City Council or the Liverpool Culture Company has allowed access to all material published on Liverpool, rather than be limited to stories specifically relevant to City Council portfolios or the European Capital of Culture hosting process. However, such a wide approach ran the risk of producing an unmanageable sample and has thus required thorough testing of the validity and relevance of articles identified.

Similar but slightly adapted techniques have been utilised in order to refine and access the most appropriate sample nationally, locally and internationally. This has been particularly important in order to narrow down the sample of generic Liverpool stories and ensure that selected clippings are as relevant as possible for the purposes of this research.

National and local press sampling

In order to narrow the search as much as possible, all stories on Liverpool dedicated to football or sport have been excluded, as they take up between 70% and 80% of all published stories. The research team also identified and excluded stories including references to the word 'Liverpool' that were not related to the city itself.

The following search query has been used to filter irrelevant press clippings:

- "Liverpool" as major mention, OR "Liverpool" mentioned three or more times,
- NOT "sport" OR "football" OR "soccer" OR "Liverpool FC" OR "Everton" OR "Reds" OR "FA Cup" OR "Manchester United" OR "Liverpool Victoria" OR "Liverpool Street" OR "Liverpool Road" anywhere.
- In addition, the industry term ("sports & athletics") was excluded from searches.

Searches have focused on the English edition of available UK national papers (including broadsheets and tabloids) in the period 1996 to January 2009, and Liverpool local papers in the period 2003 to January 2009.

Figure 1 shows the titles of papers available via Lexis Nexis that have been used for this analysis.

Figure 1 - National and local newspapers

UK National broadsheets		National tabloids / popular press		Liverpool local press
Daily editions	Sunday editions	Daily editions	Sunday editions	
The Guardian The Independent Daily Telegraph The Times	The Observer Independent on Sunday Sunday Telegraph Sunday Times	Daily Mirror Daily Express Daily Mail Daily Star Sun Metro Morning Star	Sunday Mirror Sunday Express Mail on Sunday The People/Sunday P Sunday Post Sunday Mail News of the World	Liverpool Daily Post Liverpool Echo

Searches for national press coverage referring to Liverpool in general (excluding football stories) in the selected years brought up a total of 14,453 articles. One in nine articles as they appeared chronologically were selected for analysis. After sampling and excluding irrelevant articles and repetitions, a total of 1,625 national articles have been coded. Searches for national press coverage about the Liverpool ECoC specifically between 2003 and the end of 2008 brought up a total of 1,138 stories and these were all coded.

Locally, the focus of searches were the two main city newspapers, the Liverpool Daily Post and the Echo, however, none of the papers were easily accessible for searches prior to 2003 and the Liverpool Echo was not accessible via Lexis Nexis for full searches in the years 2003 and 2005. As such, the analysis of changing trends through time has focused on the Daily Post exclusively for the period 2003 to end of 2008. This has brought a total of 31,275 suitable stories on Liverpool in general, of which 695 were coded (one in 45, on average). Searches on the Liverpool ECoC specifically were not conducted until 2007 and 2008, this time including both the Daily Post and Liverpool Echo. The total ECoC stories results for both years were 5,811 stories, of which one in five have been analysed (1,155). The total article distributions per year are shown in Figures 2 and 3 below:

Figure 2 - Total search results and coded sample on Liverpool (general)

National papers								Local papers (Daily Post only) ¹				
	Total	1996	2000	2003	2005	2007	2008	Total	2003	2005	2007	2008
Total search (N)	14,453	864	1798	2522	2358	3306	3605	31,275	5760	7740	7965	9810
Coded sample (N)	1,625	88	203	299	263	367	405	695	128	172	177	218
Coded sample (%)	11.2	10.2	11.3	11.9	11.2	11.1	11.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2

Figure 3 - Total search results and coded sample on the Liverpool ECoC

National papers ²								Local papers (Daily Post & Echo)				
	Total	1996	2000	2003	2005	2007	2008	Total	2003	2005	2007	2008
Total search (N)	1,138	NA	NA	234	100	257	547	5,811	NA	NA	2158	3653
Coded sample (N)	1,138	NA	NA	234	100	257	547	1,155	NA	NA	425	730
Coded sample (%)	100	NA	NA	100	100	100	100	19.9	NA	NA	19.7	20.0

¹ Note that Lexis Nexis did not offer access to the Liverpool Echo newspaper for the years 2003 and 2005 at the time of conducting this research. As such, within section 3 of this report, findings related to 'local coverage' (2003 to 2008) only include Daily Post stories. Section 4, focusing on the analysis of press stories in 2008, includes both Daily Post and Liverpool Echo stories.

² All national UK stories on the Liverpool ECoC have been analysed

International press sampling

As already noted, this research also relied on the Lexis Nexis electronic database to access international newspapers. Searches were conducted in the appropriate languages within papers available in the countries listed in Figure 4.

Figure 4 - Number of papers available by searched countries³

English Speaking		Non English speaking	
Country	Papers available	Country	Papers available
USA	306	Germany	15
Canada	100	Austria	2
Ireland	35	Switzerland	9
Australia	64	France	26
New Zealand	17	Spain	16
<i>India</i>	<i>5</i>	Netherlands	50
<i>South Africa</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>Belgium</i>	<i>2</i>
		<i>Italy</i>	<i>6</i>

As in the case of Liverpool local and UK national papers, searches were conducted with two different foci: international coverage about Liverpool in general (excluding football stories) and stories referring to the Liverpool ECoC specifically. Similar keywords were used to exclude irrelevant stories, but these had to be adapted to account for different languages. See a full listing in Appendix 2.

The following countries showed results against both Liverpool general and Liverpool ECoC related searches: USA, Canada, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Germany, Austria, Netherlands, Switzerland, France, Spain. The analysis of international press narratives on the Liverpool ECoC has thus focused on the material that has emerged from accessible newspapers in these countries only.

The final coded sample has amounted to 730 articles about Liverpool in general (ten percent of all suitable articles found), and 523 articles about the Liverpool ECoC specifically (all suitable articles found).

2.2.2. Broadcast sampling

The analysis of broadcast coverage on Liverpool and the ECoC has relied on a different sampling process, conducted by Liverpool City Council's News Room with a focus on the identification of stories that relate to the Council's portfolios (from social issues to economic regeneration and culture). As such, the stories that form part of the analysis presented here are not divided between generic Liverpool city and specific ECoC coverage. Instead, they are all stories that in some way touch on areas considered of particular interest to Liverpool City Council stakeholders. These include, naturally, all ECoC related stories and an effort has been made to identify what percentage of stories are specifically about the European Capital of Culture hosting process.

Figure 5 identifies the broadcast sources have been included in the analysis. In total, 416 national plus 2,038 local or regional broadcast stories have been identified and analysed in 2008.

³ In italics, countries that have not been included in our analysis as they did not present results to our Liverpool ECoC specific searches.

Figure 5 - National and local broadcast sources

Liverpool local radio BBC Radio Merseyside (generic code) Specific codes for frequent programmes such as: Roger Philips; Merseyside Breakfast/Tony Snell; Morning Merseyside, Merseyside Tonight; Drivetime; Claire Hamilton CityTalk , 105.9FM (generic code) Specific codes: Dean Sullivan Show; Paul Jacobs Radio City 96.7/Magic 1548/ City FM Juice 107.6, Liverpool music KCR 106.7, The rocket- Knowsley, East Liverpool Buzz 97.1, Wirral	UK National radio BBC Radio One BBC Radio Two BBC Radio Three BBC Radio Four (generic code) Specific codes for : Today programme BBC Radio Five Live Other national radio Other multiple national radio channels		
Regional radio/ other local radio North West region-wide Century FM, 105.4 ,North West North West local / city stations Rest of the UK (regional) Rest of the UK (local) Other – multiple regional channels	National & international Television <table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="815 600 1129 936"> BBC One (generic code) Specific codes: Breakfast, Six o clock news, Ten o clock news BBC Two BBC Four BBC News 24 BBC TV other </td> <td data-bbox="1133 600 1433 936"> ITV Channel Four Channel Five Sky News Other – international Other – multiple national television channels Other – multiple regional television channels </td> </tr> </table>	BBC One (generic code) Specific codes: Breakfast, Six o clock news, Ten o clock news BBC Two BBC Four BBC News 24 BBC TV other	ITV Channel Four Channel Five Sky News Other – international Other – multiple national television channels Other – multiple regional television channels
BBC One (generic code) Specific codes: Breakfast, Six o clock news, Ten o clock news BBC Two BBC Four BBC News 24 BBC TV other	ITV Channel Four Channel Five Sky News Other – international Other – multiple national television channels Other – multiple regional television channels		
Local, regional Television BBC North West Specific codes for: News; Today; Tonight Granada (generic code) Also: ITV, Granada Reports, NW news	Teletext/ other BBC Ceefax ; BBC Ceefax North West ITV Teletext; ITV Teletext North West Other Teletext Other - internet		

2.3. Coding approach

Following established methods of content analysis all selected clippings have been individually coded according to a series of categories that reflect key indicators to measure image change.⁴ These include both objective/profile categories and qualitative categories.

Objective/profile categories:

- Date of publication or broadcast;
- Media title (eg. The Guardian, BBC Radio 1, etc)
- Media type (eg. daily and Sunday broadsheet, daily and Sunday tabloids; radio, television, teletext);
- Geographic remit (Liverpool local, UK national, international – and country specific);
- Length (press column inches; broadcast minutes)
- Story format (news, editorial, opinion/comment, feature, preview, etc)

The identification of qualitative categories such as thematic focus, paper attitudes, and the centrality of references to Liverpool as well as the degree of centrality of references to the Liverpool ECoC in the context of respective themes has required a more complex process of analysis and interpretation. The core themes have been identified before embarking on the analysis proper but have been refined over time so that they reflect the particularities of media discussions about the city and about the ECoC specifically. Building on previous

⁴ Key 'image change' indicators may vary depending on the case study. Impacts 08 has built on previous media impact analysis experience on a European Capital of Culture, such as a major study on the long term cultural legacies of Glasgow 1990, European City of Culture, which was led by Beatriz García (University of Glasgow, 2002-2005). These indicators have been further refined with Liverpool's case study, as exposed in this report and in a previous Impacts 08 report (Garcia, 2006: Media Impact Assessment (part I), available at: <http://www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08/Publications/thematicreports.htm>)

research and the Impacts 08 approach to establishing a thematic framework and thematic clusters,⁵ we have identified the following core thematic categories, which are described in detail in Figure 6:

- City Image: representing Liverpool
- Economics : bringing business to Liverpool
- Physical Environment: Physical developments
- Culture & Arts: arts and cultural offer
- Social issues: social capital, inclusion and access
- Management and policy

Figure 6 - Relation between Impacts 08 thematic clusters and content analysis thematic categories⁶

Impacts 08 thematic clusters	Categories and sub-themes for media analysis
<p>Identity, image and place:</p> <p>Positioning/ repositioning of Liverpool, understanding and impression of the city by inhabitants, visitors, and media, readability, quality and influence of the public realm, strength of collective identity and sub-identities (multiple-identities), multi-culturalism/ diversity etc.</p>	<p>1 City image: representing Liverpool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Image and perceptions of the city • Promotion / place marketing • City & regions – links to the North West, England, rest of the UK • Quality of Life discussions • Liverpool people / Scouse character / accents etc • Football/Sports (for articles about the ECoC specifically) • Beatles; Music; TV/Entertainment; Celebrities (including WAGs etc) • Hospitality (quality of services, hotels, restaurants etc) • University/Research; student life • Maritime heritage (waterfront, other city iconic landmarks) • Perception issues relating to: Crime & violence; Poverty, Drugs/Alcohol; Health (eg. City league tables on these issues)
<p>Economic impacts and significance:</p> <p>jobs created, direct and indirect revenue generated, turnovers, tourism, increased levels of investment, etc.</p>	<p>2 Economics: bringing business to Liverpool:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business and Leisure tourism / visitor numbers / conferences • Business in general • Inward investment (ie. office spaces, real state) • Employment (job creation or unemployment) • Property market
<p>Public realm, physical and environmental infrastructures, sustainability:</p> <p>quality and type of the physical infrastructure of culture, physical access issues, environmental sustainability impacts</p>	<p>3 Physical Environment: physical developments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical regeneration / Infrastructural developments (general) • Cultural refurbishments/new cultural venues • Transport developments (or lack of) • Other environmental issues; Weather related issues
<p>Vitality and sustainability of the cultural system and creative economy of the city:</p> <p>strength and directions of flows and relationships, patterns of cultural creation, production and consumption, cultural value.</p>	<p>4 & 5 Culture & Arts: arts and cultural offer</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Origin of performances / origin of artists and events • ECoC bidding discussions • ECoC events and city highlights (general) • ECoC events and city highlights (specific areas and specific events) Including: Mainstream/flagship events; Free/community events; Highlight art events; Established city events • Cultural institutions (eg. NML, Biennial, FACT, TATE Liverpool, RLPO, Everyman & Playhouse Theatres, Unity Theatre, Bluecoat, etc • Art & cultural forms or activities (eg. visual arts, heritage, performing arts, popular music, film & audiovisual, poetry/literature, creative industries, sport/football)

⁵ See a full definition of core Impacts 08 thematic clusters at: <http://www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08/research-themes/researchthemes.htm>

⁶ Find an extensive overview of Impacts 08 approach to thematic coding within the appendix.

Impacts 08 thematic clusters	Categories and sub-themes for media analysis
<p>Cultural access and participation: access to opportunities and experiences, inequalities, sub-cultures and groups (defined by gender, ethnicity, age, education, socio-economic factors), etc.</p> <p>Social capital, well-being and health: impact of cultural resources on personal and community development, community cohesion, trust-building, the capacity for collective action, social inclusion and exclusion, learning outcomes, issues of 'equity', understanding diversity, etc.</p>	<p>6 Social issues: social capital, inclusion and access</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access and participation in culture (general) • Specific areas of participation: Cultural inclusion/accessibility for the people of Liverpool (inclusion/engagement); Inclusion/ Accessibility for minorities within Liverpool (ethnic and religious, diversity); Inclusion / access for young people, children; Inclusion / access for people with disability • Social issues (general) and Specific social issues: Crime, violence and safety; Drugs/ alcohol; Health / well-being; Ethnical/racial issues; Religious issues; Disability; Poverty; Housing; Neighbourhood cohesion; Education related issues
<p>Management of the process: Leadership issues, governance challenges, stakeholder relationships</p>	<p>7 Management & policy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public funding; Sponsorship and/or other private funding • Public/government leadership (City Council etc) • Event leadership (Culture Company etc) • Cultural policy developments and ECoC legacy • City Personalities (not necessarily ECoC related)

Media clippings have been coded according to their primary theme, identified through the assessment of heading, sub-heading, first paragraph, photograph and/or overall article emphasis for the press, and assessment of leading headlines for broadcast clips. When appropriate, a second theme has also been coded.

Each article has also been coded according to the attitude the journalist takes towards the key issues identified. Attitudes have been coded against the five categories outlined in Figure 7 though, for simplification purposes, this report mainly emphasises three attitudinal variations: positive, negative or neutral.

Figure 7 - Attitudinal categories

Code	Description
Neutral (neutral)	Articles with no clearly discernable attitude towards the main theme
Negative, descriptive (negdesc)	Articles that cover negative facts in a descriptive manner – this is often the case within news articles
Negative, analytical (negana)	Articles expressing a negative attitude (by the journalist / paper) towards the main theme – this tends to occur within opinion/editorial/review articles
Positive, descriptive (posdesc)	Articles that cover positive facts in a descriptive manner – (mostly, news articles)
Positive, analytical (posana)	Articles expressing a positive attitude (by the journalist / paper) towards the main theme (opinion/editorial/review articles)

3. Evolution of press coverage about Liverpool and the ECoC (1996-2008)

The city of Liverpool has attracted very high levels of negative national media coverage for much of the second half of the 20th Century. However, since the ECoC nomination in 2003, it is possible to detect some remarkable changing trends in the approach to national as well as local media coverage about the city. The following sections provide an overview of trends in generic Liverpool coverage since the mid 1990s, years before the city decided to bid and become ECoC, as well as an overview of ECoC specific coverage since the bidding and award year in 2003.

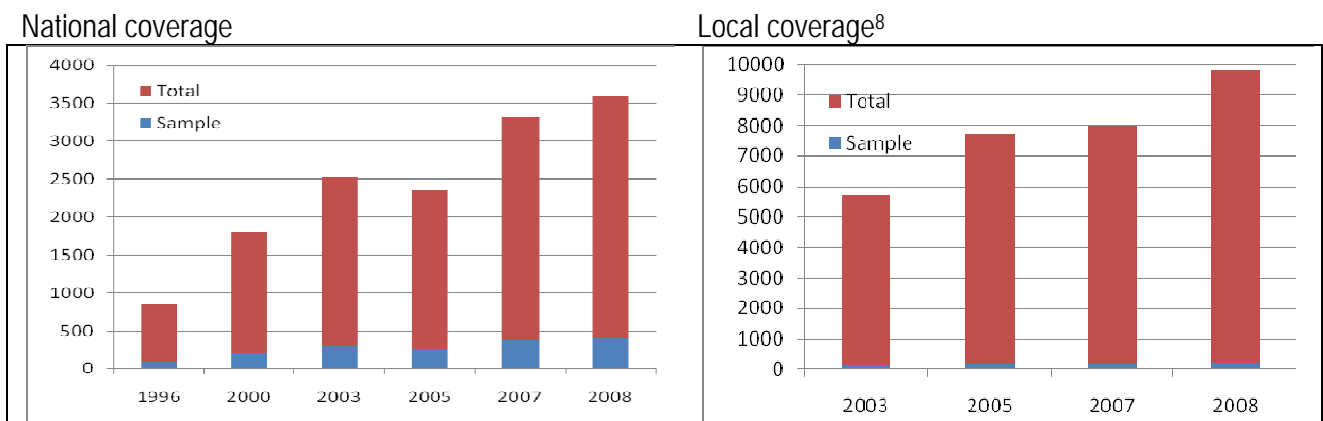
3.1. Narrating Liverpool (1996-2008)

Impacts 08 has explored the evolution of narratives on Liverpool since 1996, and a baseline study was published in 2006 to mark a decade of national press coverage and key variations within that period.⁷ This first report, focusing on the years 1996, 2003 and 2005, highlighted the growth in culture and arts related stories, as well as a growth in (positive) references to the city's economic renaissance in this period, which could in part be associated with the impact of winning the ECoC title in 2003. The report also noted that over this period, but particularly in the mid to late 1990s, there was a marked contrast between very negative stories on the one hand – mainly focused on crime and violence, social conflict, employment and health issues – and very positive stories – focused on the city's iconic landmarks, from its popular music scene to its visual arts offer. In the current report, which builds on this baseline while providing a wider trend assessment, including the years 2007, 2008 and January 2009, it is possible to identify the most sustainable changes in thematic and attitudinal media trends towards the city, as well as the impact of hosting the ECoC programme and completing a series of high profile physical regeneration initiatives by the end of 2008.

3.1.1. Volume and sources of coverage

The volume of coverage on Liverpool related stories has grown year on year in the period under study. 2003 and 2008 present two marked national peaks, which can be explained in the context of ECoC related stories (both years generated above average number of stories mentioning the ECoC). This is not detectable in local papers, which offer a similar volume of coverage throughout.

Figure 8 - Volume of press coverage per year



⁷ See: Garcia (2006) *Media Impact Assessment (Part I): Baseline findings on Liverpool press coverage before the European Capital of Culture*. Available at: <http://www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08/Publications/thematicreports.htm>

⁸ Note that Lexis Nexis did not offer access to the Liverpool Echo newspaper for the years 2003 and 2005 at the time of conducting this research so, in order to present a longitudinal analysis covering 2003 to 2008, findings related to 'local coverage' only include Daily Post stories. Section 4.1, focusing on the analysis of press stories in 2008, includes both Daily Post and Liverpool Echo stories.

Overall, there have been similar levels of total coverage from national broadsheets and tabloids, with a slight dominance of the broadsheets, particularly in the period from 1996 to 2005.

Broadsheet coverage on Liverpool has been dominated by the Guardian / Observer and The Times. The Guardian was particularly prominent in 2000, 2003 and 2008 while The Times dominated in 2007, and offered similar levels of coverage to the Guardian in 2008. The Independent has traditionally focused less attention on Liverpool, although coverage grew progressively from the mid 1990s and dominated over other broadsheets in 2005, decreasing again since, with minimal coverage being offered in 2007 and 2008, compared to The Times and The Guardian/Observer. It may be worth noting that both The Times and The Guardian/Observer agreed to run special magazine editions on the Liverpool ECoC from 2007 onwards. However, it is unlikely that such agreements would have had a noticeable impact on the total volume of Liverpool coverage.

Tabloid coverage on Liverpool has been dominated by the Daily Mirror, particularly since 2005, followed by the Daily Mail (with a marked peak in 2000) and the Sun. In 2008, the Daily Mirror offered a similar volume of coverage as The Times or The Guardian.

3.1.2. Overarching attitudes and attitudes by paper

In the period from 1996 to January 2009, all national coverage on the city of Liverpool combined has been balanced between over 36.2% positive, 35.5% negative and 28.2% neutral stories. The balance between positive and negative stories has seen some interesting changes over this time, starting with a slight dominance of negative coverage and a very low percentage of neutral stories in 1996, followed by a remarkable peak in positive coverage (46%) in 2003 (year of ECoC nomination) and a decrease in positive coverage up until 2008, when positive, negative and neutral stories balance each other out (with slight dominance of positive stories).

Figure 9 - National attitudes of Liverpool coverage by year (1996-2008)

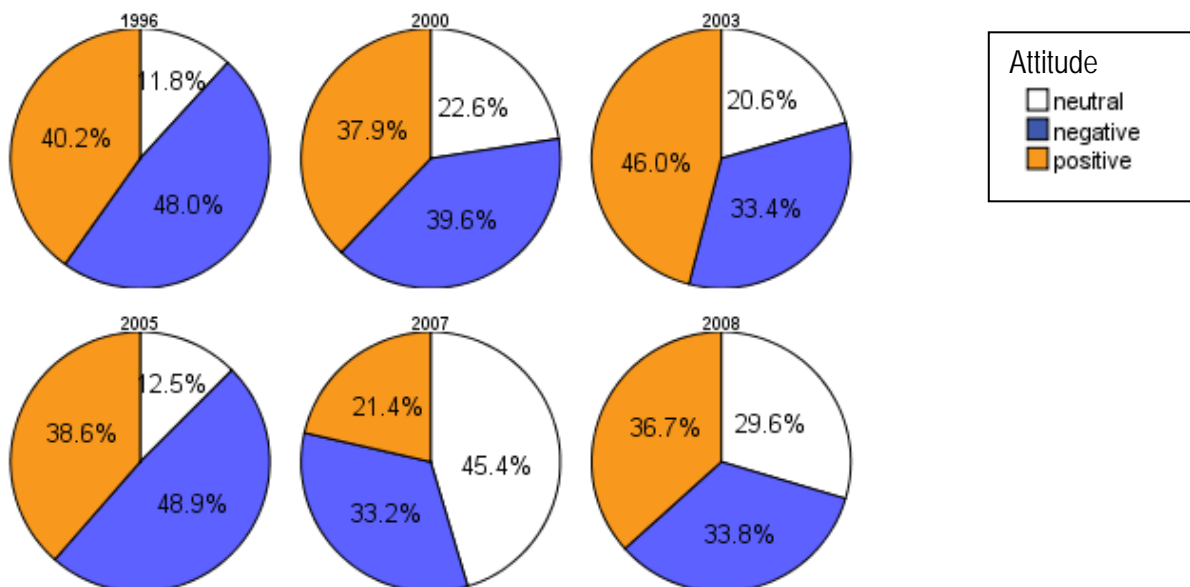
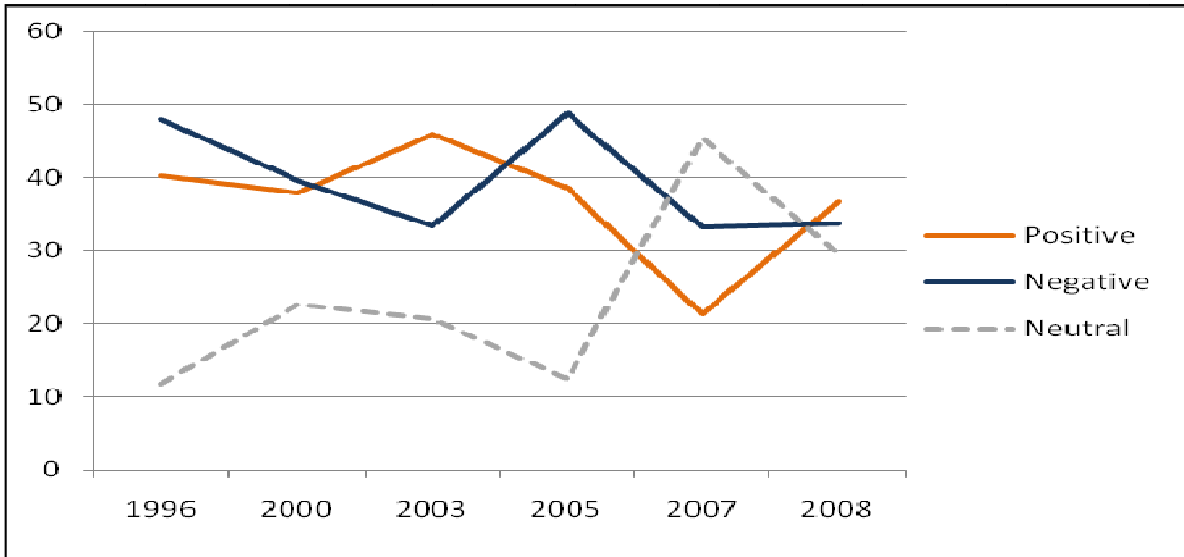


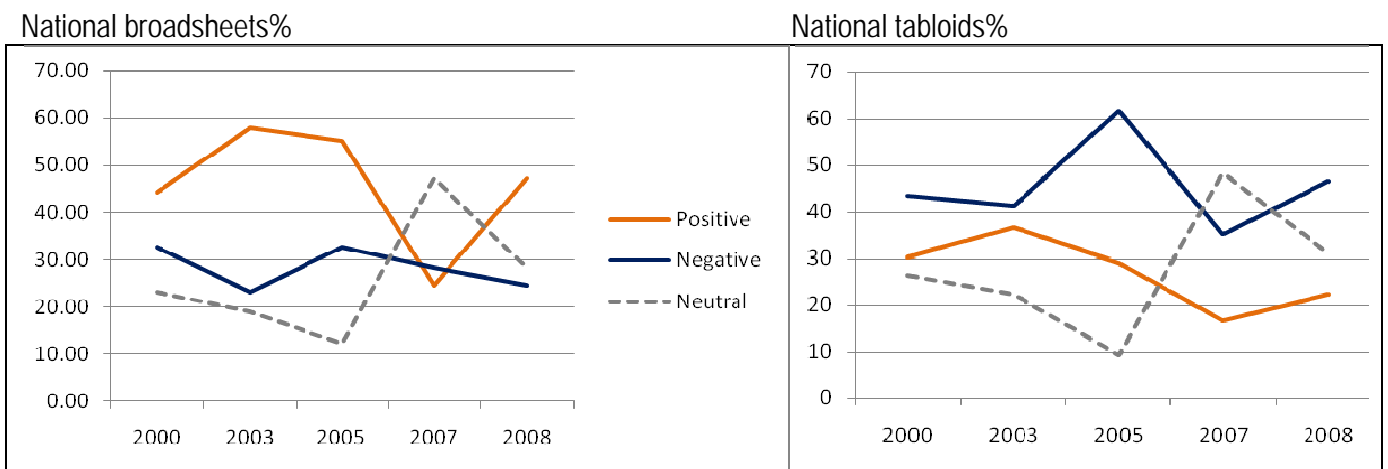
Figure 10 - National attitudes of Liverpool coverage – timeline 1996 -2008



Overall, broadsheets tend to offer higher levels of positive coverage about Liverpool than tabloids. On average, an assessment of all years combined (2003 to January 2009) indicates that 46.6% of broadsheet coverage has been positive, compared with 25% of tabloids. Local papers have been 40.6% positive in this period.⁹

As noted above, the balance of attitudes towards Liverpool has changed quite noticeably since the mid 1990s until the end of 2008. A marked trend shared by broadsheets and tabloids has been the growing number of stories that are presented as descriptive or neutral (from only 12.5% in 1996, to over 47.8% in 2007 and 30% in 2008). The distribution of positive and negative stories has been, however, very different for broadsheets and tabloids. Broadsheets have seen a dramatic growth in positive stories between 2000 and 2003; however, this was followed by a drop that went below 2000 levels in 2007, followed by yet another dramatic change of trend for 2008, returning closer to the 2003 peak positive level. Tabloids have not seen as dramatic a fluctuation but show instead a progressive decrease in overall positive coverage, in favour of neutral stories. The percentage of positive stories peaked in 2003 (36.6% of all tabloid coverage), followed by a slow drop up until 2007 (16.5% positive - almost half of the 2003 level), and a rise in 2008 (22.3%), though this was still far below 2003 levels.

Figure 11 - National broadsheet vs. tabloid attitudes (2000-2008)¹⁰

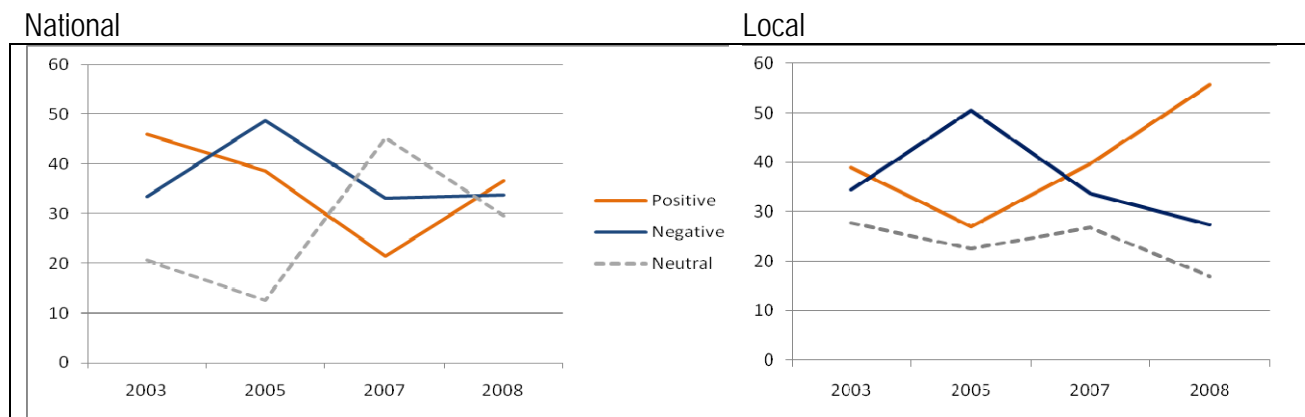


⁹ Negative coverage over the same period has been 27% for national broadsheets, 45.3% for tabloids and 34.5% for local papers.

¹⁰ Data from 1996 has been excluded from this graph due to some sampling limitations that make the broadsheet / tabloid divide unrepresentative of the period.

Negative coverage has also followed a slight different trend for broadsheets and tabloids: broadsheets have retained a similar percentage of negative stories (averaging 30%) always below the percentage of positive stories (except in 2007), and with marked troughs in 2003 and 2008. Tabloids, however, have always presented a larger percentage of negative than positive stories, with a marked peak in 2005 and, after an interesting drop in negative coverage in 2007, which is a year dominated by descriptive stories, show a growth in negative coverage for 2008, well above positive reporting. It is important, however, to notice that this is not the case for Liverpool ECoC specific stories in 2008, which are mainly positive, both for broadsheets and tabloids, as analysed in the next section.

Figure 12 - National vs. local attitudes (2003-2008)



The comparison between national and local papers reveals a marked contrast in trends. Local papers have become less neutral or descriptive about Liverpool since 2003, and show an extremely marked growth in total positive coverage from that year on, from 34% of stories in 2003 to 58% in 2008. There have been no drops in levels of positive coverage, while negative coverage, which increased markedly between 2003 and 2005 (from 36% to 46.5% of stories), dropped again in 2007 (31%) and has remained at a similar or lower level in 2008 (27.4%).

The next section offers a detailed analysis of the thematic focus of national and local coverage, and how this relates to overarching attitudinal trends.

3.1.3. Main themes within Liverpool coverage

Coverage on Liverpool in the period under study is dominated by two thematic areas across all analysed papers: social issues and culture and the arts. Contrastingly, national papers also place special emphasis on general city image discussions, while local papers place a stronger focus on stories about economics and physical change. Over the years, there have been some marked shifts in thematic emphasis. The one area that has seen the greatest level of change has been culture and the arts, which attracted very low levels of coverage nationally and locally in the mid 1990s but has become the dominant theme across all papers in 2008. The overarching profile of coverage and specific trends across national and local papers are discussed below.

In the period covering 1996 to end of 2008, **national** papers have dedicated most coverage on Liverpool to its social issues, followed by city image and culture/arts issues. Economic issues, management and policy and physical change have attracted much lower levels of coverage when taking all years combined. The most positive of all thematic areas is culture and the arts (over 65.3% positive coverage), followed by image (41%). Throughout this period, the theme that has consistently provided most negative coverage is social issues (71% negative). In terms of total volume, image stories have attracted the second most negative coverage, but this accounts for only 23.5% of all image stories. The three areas attracting lesser levels of coverage all offer a similar balance of positive and negative stories.

Locally, coverage is quite balanced across all areas, although the slight majority of stories focus on social issues, followed by economics. The high proportion of stories dedicated to economic issues contrasts quite

markedly with the lack of national attention to this topic. Culture comes a close third after economics, and is followed by image and physical environment. Again, the high proportion of local stories on physical issues is in stark contrast with national coverage. Management and policy is the theme attracting the lowest volume of local coverage. Positive coverage concentrates on culture stories, followed by economics and image. The highest levels of negative coverage are found within social issue related stories, followed by physical change stories and management.

Figure 13 – Theme and attitude of national and local coverage

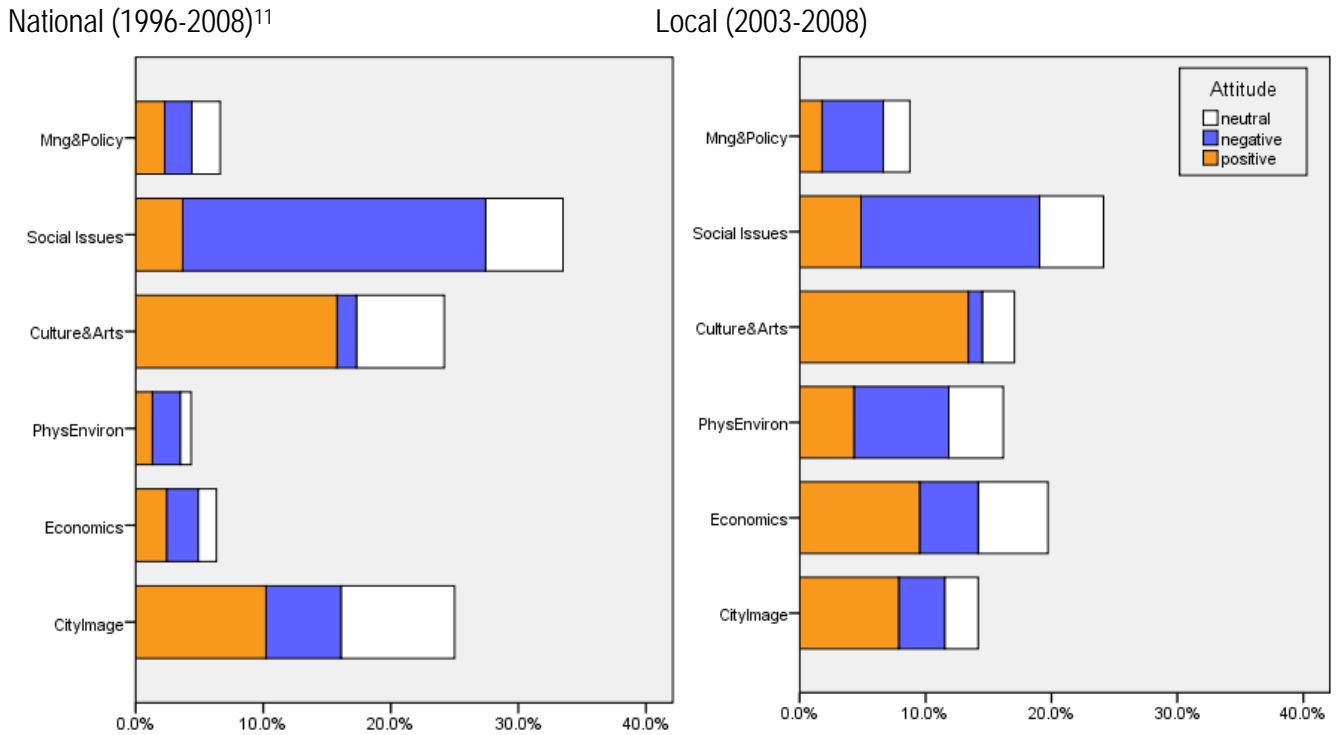
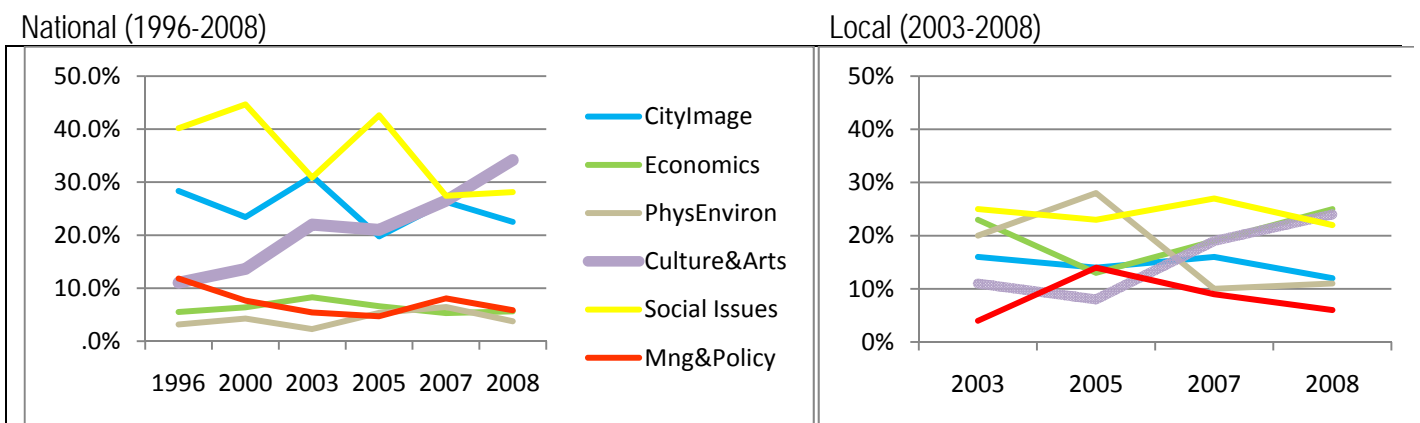


Figure 14 - Changing trends: Thematic emphasis



¹¹ Note that we have undertaken analysis of national coverage from 1996 onwards, while we only have analysed local stories from 2003 onwards. The overall distribution of themes and attitudes for national stories follows a similar pattern in the period 1996-2008 as in the period 2003-2008.

National coverage

Nationally, the area that has grown most remarkably is *culture and the arts*: from accounting for 11% of all coverage in 1996 to 22% in 2003, 26.5% in 2007 and 34.2% in 2008, becoming the clearly dominant theme throughout the ECoC year. Discussion on the *city's image or iconic representations* has retained a high volume of coverage, but it has seen an ongoing decrease in proportional terms, particularly since 2003: from accounting for 28.3% of coverage in 1996 and 31% in 2003, to accounting for 22.5% of coverage in 2008.

Discussion on the city's *physical environment* represents a minor percentage of total national coverage, but has been growing in absolute terms since the ECoC nomination, with three times more stories in 2007 than in 2003. *Management and policy* related stories have decreased as a percentage of total coverage since the mid 1990s (from 12% of coverage in 1996 to 6% in 2008), as has been the case for *social issues*, with the only exception being a peak in 2005. Social issues were the clear dominant theme in 1996 and 2000 (40 to 44% of stories) while they have remained at 30% or below in 2003, 2007 and 2008. This suggests a clear reverse of trends nationally: from an emphasis on (mostly negative) social issues in the mid and late 1990s into (mostly positive) cultural stories from 2003 onwards.

Local coverage

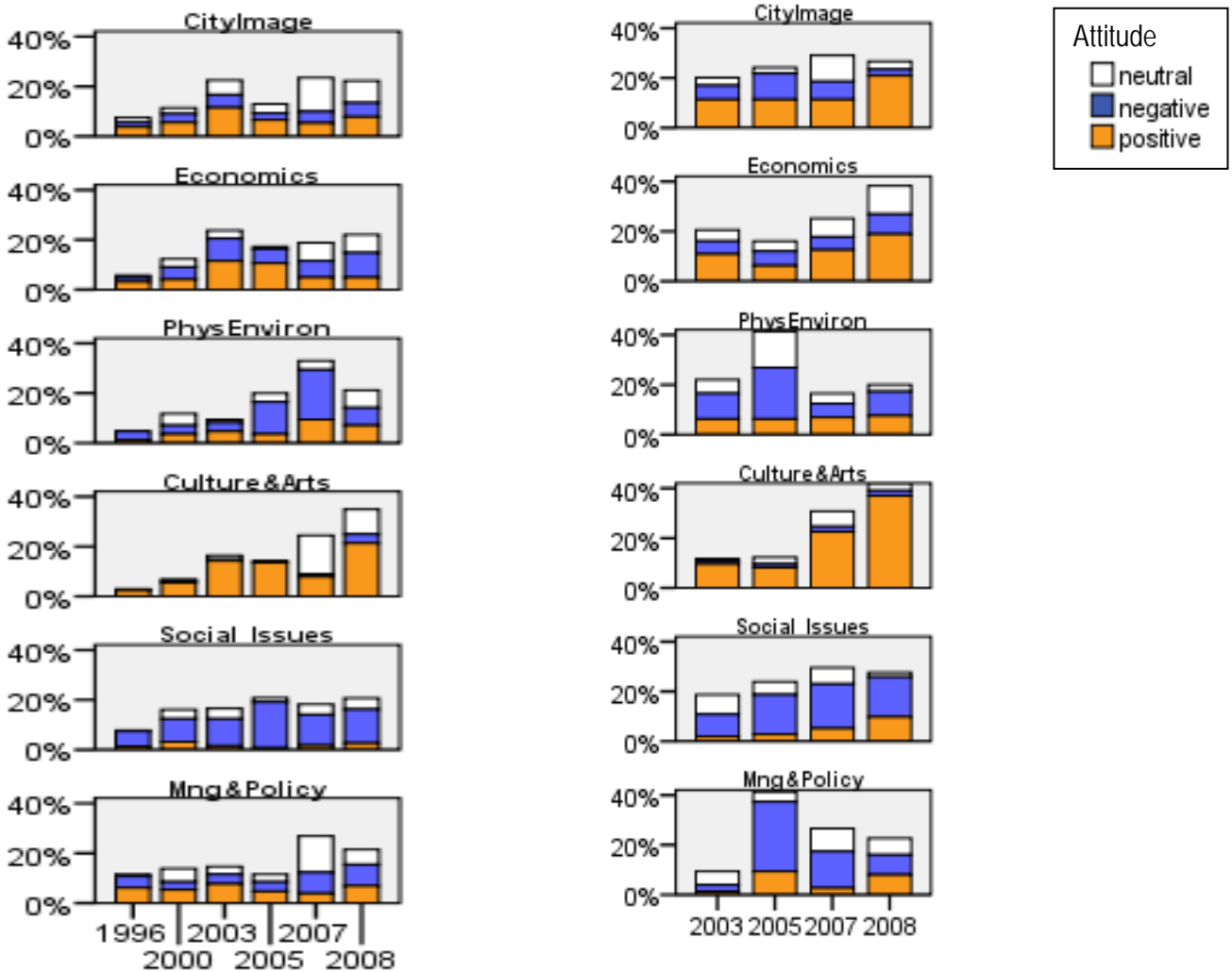
Culture and the arts is also the most remarkable area of growth in **local** coverage, from a lower than national base of 10.5% in 2003 to 24.4% in 2008. In contrast with the national trend, however, discussion on the *city's image* has retained similar coverage levels over the years, never clearly dominating over other themes. Interestingly, *physical regeneration* stories were clearly dominant between 2003 and 2005 (the latter reaching up to 27.5% of coverage, the most dominant theme that year, above social issues) but have dropped significantly since, remaining on the 10% mark for 2007 and 2008. *Economic* related stories were also high on the local press agenda at the bid stage, dropped significantly in 2005 and went back high on the agenda, growing in parallel to culture stories in 2007 and 2008. *Management and policy* stories, although not being a dominant theme, peaked in 2005 and have remained low since. Overall, locally, the most marked shifts in coverage since 2003 are the significant growth in cultural stories, the fluctuation in emphasis over the city's economic renaissance, and the decreasing focus on physical change as a dominant area of debate.

This difference in thematic trends suggests that while nationally debate on Liverpool and its renaissance is mainly presented as a cultural and image-change issue, locally the same debate is rooted not only in the city's cultural projection but also on its wider physical and economic change.

Figure 15 - Changing trends: Attitudinal change to specific themes

National papers (1996-2008)

Local papers (2003-2008)



From an attitudinal point of view, there has also been some distinctive change associated with these evolving thematic trends. Overall, from a **national perspective**, the three dominant thematic areas (culture and the arts, image and social issues) have all seen a growth in neutral or descriptive stories and a slight decrease or sustained volume of negative coverage. This suggests that national papers are presenting these themes from less extreme perspectives. *Culture and the arts* have maintained a higher than average proportion of positive stories (75% to 80% on average), but were 60% neutral in 2007; *image and perceptions* attracted over 50% of positive coverage up to 2005, on average, but have since balanced this with over 35% positive and 22% negative stories. *Social issues* have traditionally been the theme attracting the highest proportion of negative coverage (over 83% of all stories in 1996) but neutral and positive angles have grown progressively, so that in 2008, 21.5% of social related stories are neutral, and 12.5% positive.

Areas receiving lesser volumes of coverage have also seen a growth in descriptive angles, at the same time as a more marked fluctuation between positive and negative reporting than the themes above. *Economic issues* were presented in an increasingly positive light between 2000 and 2005 (peaking that year, with 63% of all published stories being positive), however, this percentage returned quite dramatically to 2000 levels in 2007 and 2008, remaining under 20% of all stories. Further, over 40% of all economic-related stories about Liverpool in 2008 were of a negative nature, suggesting that, despite the dominance of positive coverage about the city's cultural achievements, the national media did not argue for a direct link between cultural programming success and the city's economic renaissance. The growth in recession-related stories towards the end of 2008 may have influenced this situation.

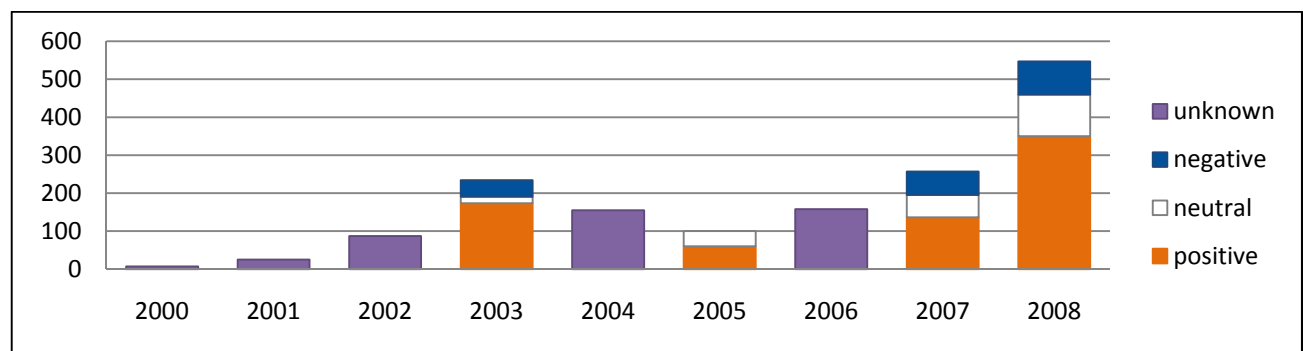
In terms of *physical environment* related stories, which have attracted very low volumes of coverage throughout (less than 4.5% of total coverage, as already noted) it is also possible to detect a growth in the proportion of positive angles up to 2003 (peak year), followed by a trough in 2005 (the year attracting most negative coverage in this area), and a slow growth again in positive coverage. In 2008, stories about the city's physical developments were equally balanced between neutral, positive and negative angles. Finally, stories on *management and policy*, also attracting very low volumes of coverage, have fluctuated between a growth in positive coverage up to 2003, a slow decrease until 2007 and an improvement in tone for 2008, a year presenting similar proportions of negative, positive and neutral angles. 2007 was the year generating a higher volume of management related national stories about Liverpool, and up to 60% of these were descriptive.

Locally, attitudinal trends show some interesting differences: discussion on *image* has become increasingly positive, peaking in 2008 with over 82% of all stories being positive; discussion on the city's *economy* has become increasingly dominant, and 50% positive, while negative stories on this area have decreased (from 38% in 2005 to 20% in 2008); discussion on *culture* has also been on the rise and with greater volume of positive coverage year on year, with positive stories reaching close to 90% of all coverage in 2008. The growth in positive coverage is also noticeable for stories on *social issues*, including crime (from less than 10% of stories in 2003 to 38% in 2008). The two themes where the balance between negative and positive angles has fluctuated the most are physical environment and management/policy related stories. In the case of *physical environment*, negative coverage has grown between 2007 and 2008, reaching 44% of all stories, which was also the level reached in 2003 and 2005. *Management and policy* attracted the highest levels of negative coverage in 2005 (over 65%), while the volumes of positive stories have moved from 20% in 2005, to 10% in 2007 and 30% in 2008. 2008 has been the year securing the most balanced range of local stories on management and policy, with similar volumes of positive, negative and neutral coverage.

3.2. The nature of ECoC-specific coverage (2003-2009)

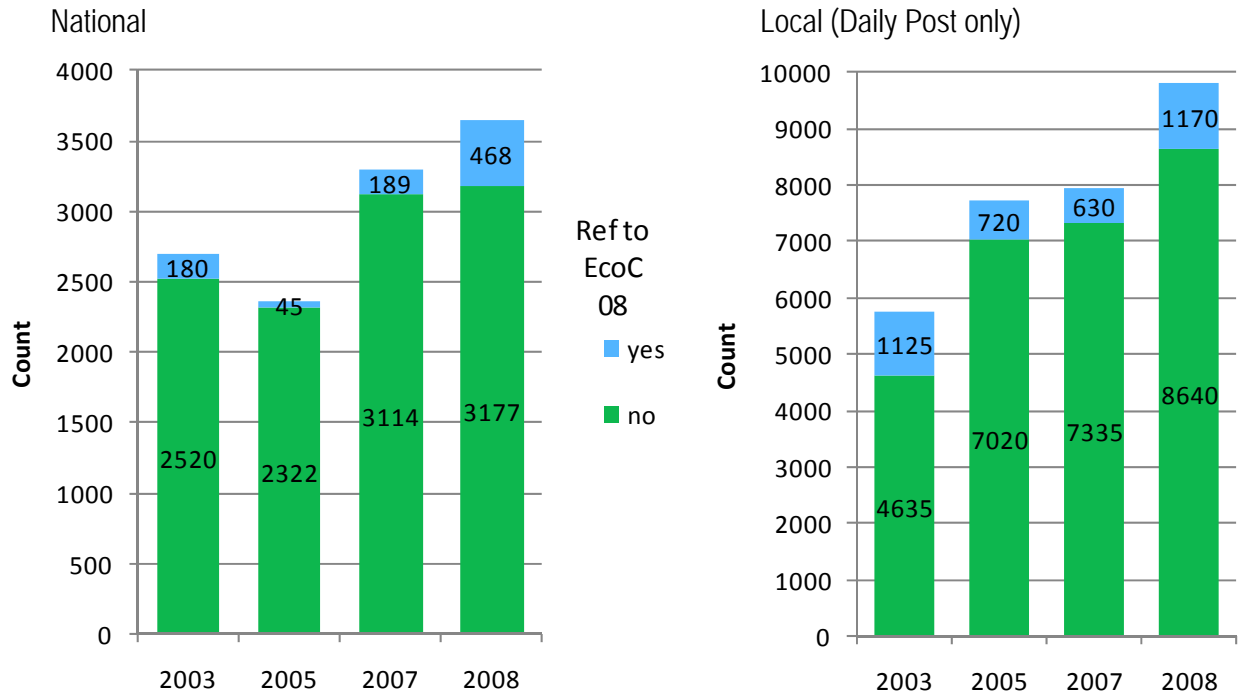
3.2.1. Volume and sources of coverage

Figure 16 - Number and tone of national press articles mentioning the Liverpool ECoC



Coverage on the Liverpool ECoC started years before the actual nomination in 2003. The number of stories has grown year on year, from seven national articles in 2000, to 547 articles in 2008. Clear peaks in this period were 2003, with 234 national stories (more than doubling on 2002 levels), and 2008 itself (also doubling on 2003 and 2007 levels). Since nomination, 2005 was the year attracting the lowest level of ECoC coverage nationally (100 stories, returning to a similar level as 2002). From an attitudinal point of view, the most positive year for national coverage on the ECoC was 2003, the year of nomination, followed by 2008.

Figure 17 - Volume of ECoC references within all Liverpool coverage



In terms of the actual proportion of total Liverpool coverage that was about the ECoC specifically, there has been some fluctuation both nationally and locally. Nationally, 2005 attracted the lowest levels of ECoC coverage since nomination. In 2008, ECoC stories accounted for 14.7% of national, and 13.5% of local, overall coverage of Liverpool (excluding football).

3.2.2. Average thematic and attitudinal focus

Nationally, the ECoC is mostly associated with the city's cultural / arts offer and its image renaissance while local papers focus most stories on the arts, followed by physical change. National papers have made practically no reference to the city's physical change in the context of the ECoC until 2008 itself; while locally, the association with physical change is stronger than the wider city renaissance / image change debate. Discussion on economic factors, social issues and management/ political issues associated with the ECoC attracts similar levels of coverage in both national and local papers.

Figure 18 - Liverpool ECoC coverage as a proportion of total Liverpool coverage, by thematic area

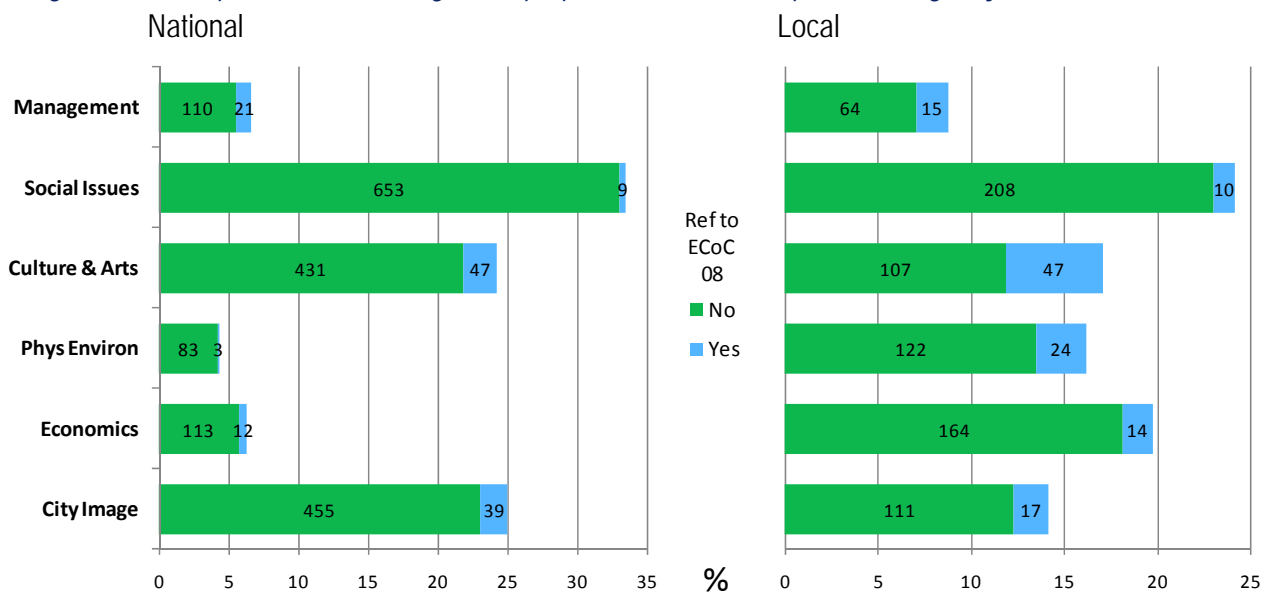
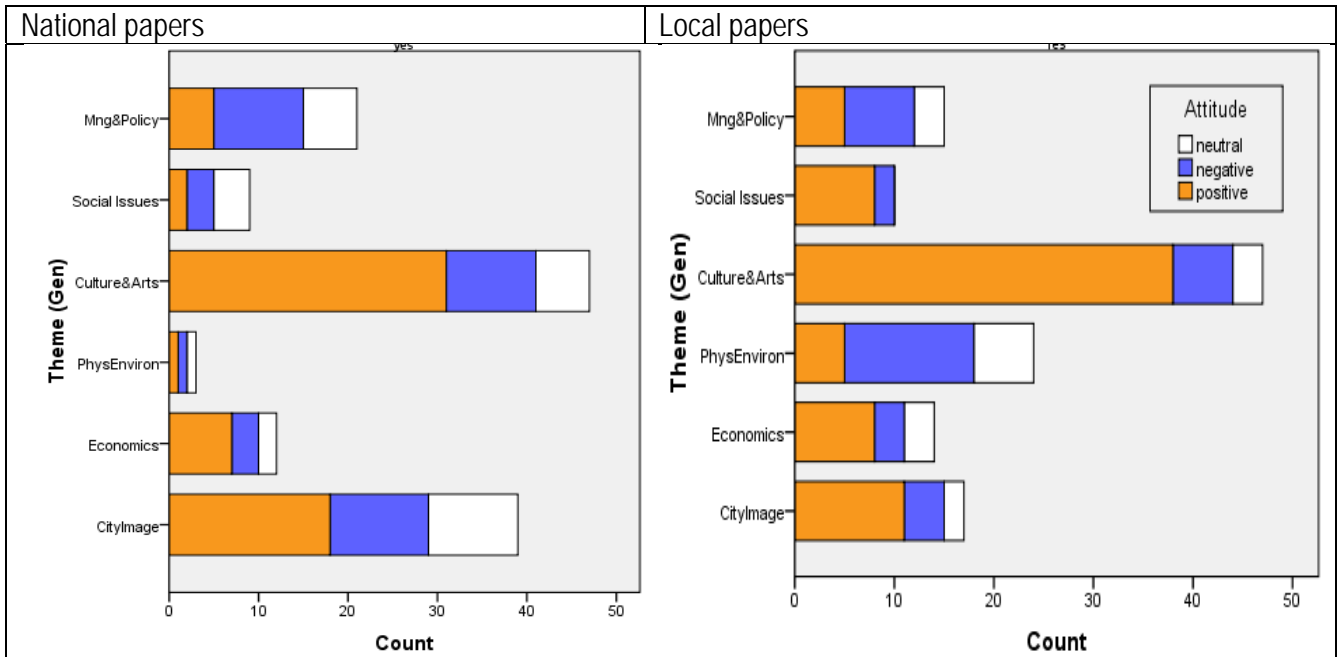


Figure 18 shows the differences in the proportion of all Liverpool stories that are about the ECoC, per thematic area. The most noticeable difference between local and national papers is the dominance of ECoC references within culture/arts related stories: locally, up to 30.5% of all culture stories in this period have referred to the ECoC, while nationally, this is only 9.8% of all stories. This is also remarkable in the case of physical change and regeneration stories which, locally, are related to the ECoC in 16.4% of cases while, nationally, they are statistically insignificant.

Figure 19 - National and local thematic coverage on the Liverpool ECoC (2003-2008)

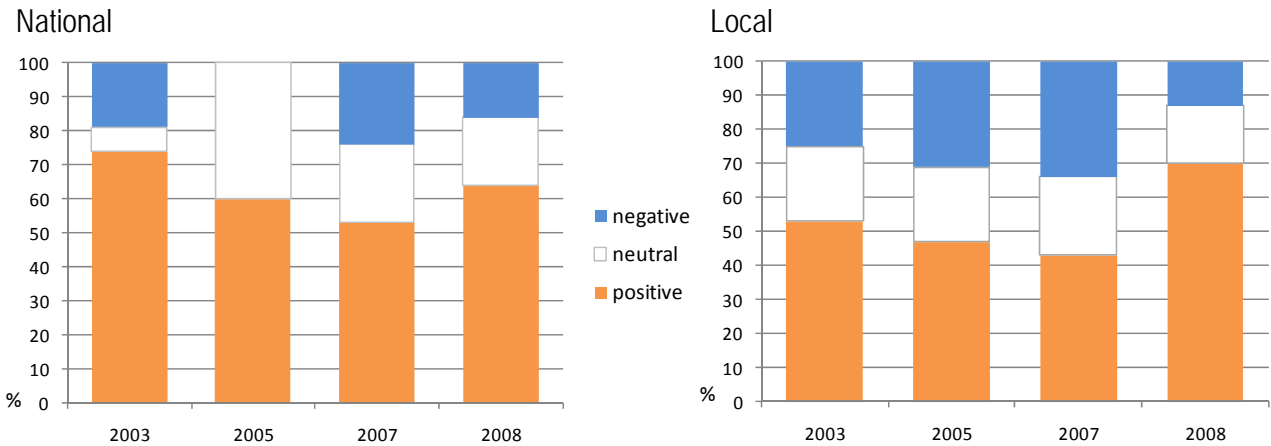


Nationally, negative stories have been mainly linked to management and political issues; locally, this has been linked to the wider physical regeneration debate as well as management and political issues. As noted above, discussion on the ECoC and social issues attracts low levels of coverage both nationally and locally, however, local papers are very positive on this association, while national papers offer similar levels of positive, negative and neutral stories. The city's cultural offer and economic trends in the context of the ECoC have received the highest levels of positive coverage both locally and nationally. This has been followed by discussion on the city's image renaissance which, though mainly positive, also attracts a significant proportion of negative coverage.

3.2.3. Attitudinal trends

National papers have been more positive to ECoC stories than local papers from nomination to 2007, while in 2008, local papers have increased their positive coverage (from 43% to 70%), even above national levels. 2003 was the year attracting higher levels of positive national coverage (over 74%), followed by 2008 (64%) while 2007 has been the year attracting most negative ECoC-related coverage (24% negative, 53% positive). Local papers have retained similar levels of positive coverage between 2003 and 2007 (53% to 43%), with a remarkable peak in 2008 (70% positive). 2005 and 2007 were the years attracting the highest levels of negative ECoC coverage locally (from 31% to 34%).

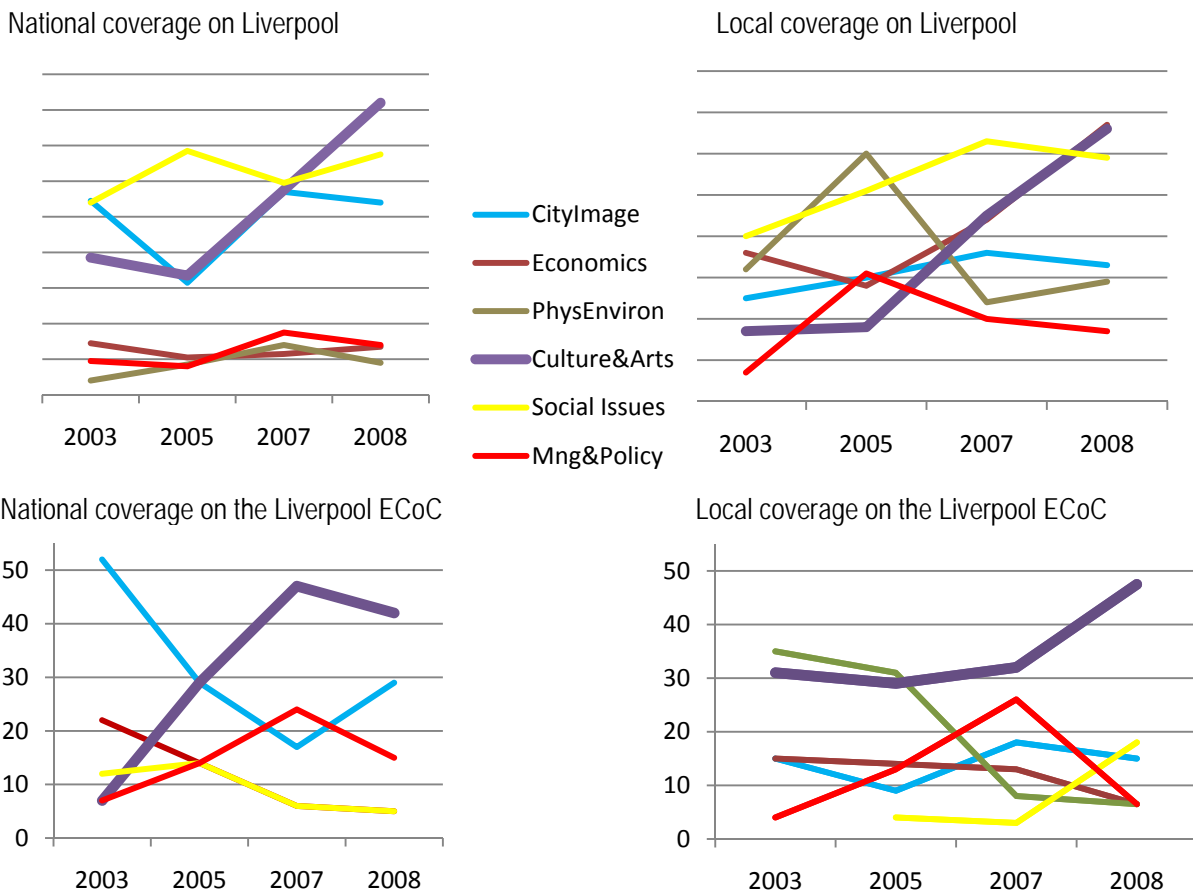
Figure 20 - Liverpool ECoC coverage (2003-2008), attitudinal trends



3.2.4. Thematic trends

The changing thematic focus of ECoC coverage between 2003 and 2008 follows a similar pattern to that of Liverpool generic coverage. The only exceptions are coverage on physical issues nationally, which are only noticeable within ECoC stories in 2008 but peak in 2007 within general Liverpool coverage. Locally, there are trend differences within economic, social and management stories. Economic coverage related to the ECoC decreases progressively between 2003 and 2008, while it is equally dominant in 2003 and 2008 for Liverpool stories. Contrastingly, social stories related to the ECoC become remarkably more dominant in 2008 than in any previous year while, within generic city coverage, they are slightly less dominant in 2008. In terms of management and political issues, 2007 is the peak year for ECoC related stories, while 2005 is the year attracting the highest percentage within Liverpool coverage.

Figure 21 - Thematic trends within generic Liverpool coverage and Liverpool ECoC coverage



Trends are also quite different when comparing national and local ECoC stories. National papers were mainly focused on image renaissance stories (over 50% of coverage) as the defining characteristic of ECoC coverage in 2003, while in 2008 this was only 29%. This contrasts with local papers, which never surpass the 17% mark for image stories. Physical development stories remain insignificant at a national level, though emerge as 5% of coverage in 2008, while they experience a marked drop in local coverage (from being the dominant theme and attracting 34% of ECoC stories in 2003 to just 6.5% in 2008). Social issues are also reported quite differently: nationally, they become prominent in 2005 (over 15% of ECoC stories) and lose relevance in 2007 and 2008, while locally, they grow from under 5% of ECoC stories in 2005 to 18% in 2008. Coverage on economic, cultural and management issues follows similar trends nationally and locally. The focus on economic stories decreases (markedly for national papers, which presented economics as the second most dominant theme in 2003, more progressively locally); cultural stories see a dramatic raise (particularly at a national level – from 8% to over 45% of ECoC coverage) and management stories see a growth until 2007, in the context of major organisational and leadership changes, followed by a marked drop in 2008.

Overall, the most dramatic change in thematic focus for national Liverpool ECoC specific stories involves a switch from an emphasis mainly on the ECoC as a catalyst for image renaissance in 2003 to absolute dominance of coverage about the events programme and related arts and culture stories. Locally, ECoC coverage in 2003 was dominated by a focus on physical regeneration as well as culture/arts, while in 2008, the focus was clearly on culture and the arts, to the exclusion of almost every other topic.

4. Press and broadcast coverage on Liverpool and the ECoC in 2008.¹² Local, national and international narratives.

This section presents the main findings resulting from analysis of press as well as broadcast coverage on the city of Liverpool and the ECoC during the event year itself in 2008. Section 4.1 focuses on the comparisons between local and national press coverage, section 4.2 focuses on international press coverage within a selection of key countries and section 4.3 on available coverage within local, regional and UK national radio and television channels.

4.1. Local and national press coverage

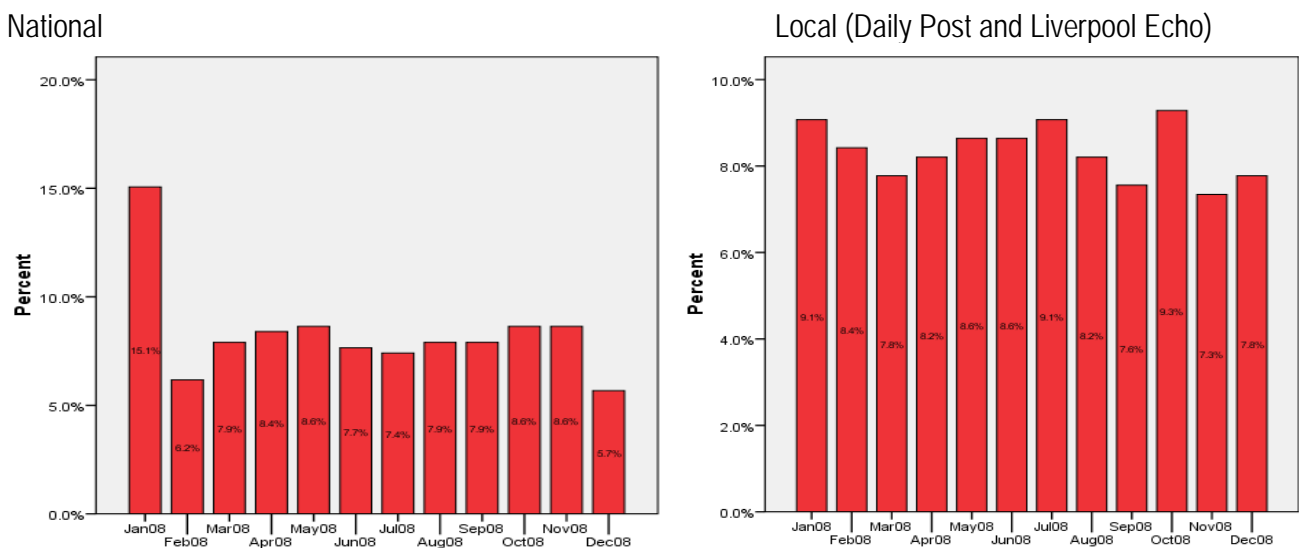
As it has been the case in our analysis of evolving press trends over time (1996-2008), the presentation of findings is divided in two areas: an overview of generic Liverpool coverage and an overview of ECoC specific coverage. Note, however that, for generic Liverpool coverage, we are only including articles published between 1st January 2008 and 31st December 2008, so that this is comparable with previous calendar years. However, for ECoC specific coverage, we are including articles published up to the end of January 2009, to account for the fact that the ECoC was officially closed during this month and capture the press year wrap-ups that ensued.

Also note that, while the analysis of ‘local press’ in section 3 only includes articles from the Daily Post due to difficulties accessing full article collection for other local papers before 2005, all local press data presented here includes both the Daily Post and the Liverpool Echo.

4.1.1. Generic Liverpool press coverage

In 2008, the impact of hosting the ECoC becomes quite evident within the UK national press by almost doubling the volume of stories published about Liverpool at the start of the year. Figure 22 shows that January attracted the highest volume of national coverage, whereas local coverage was much more evenly distributed throughout the year.

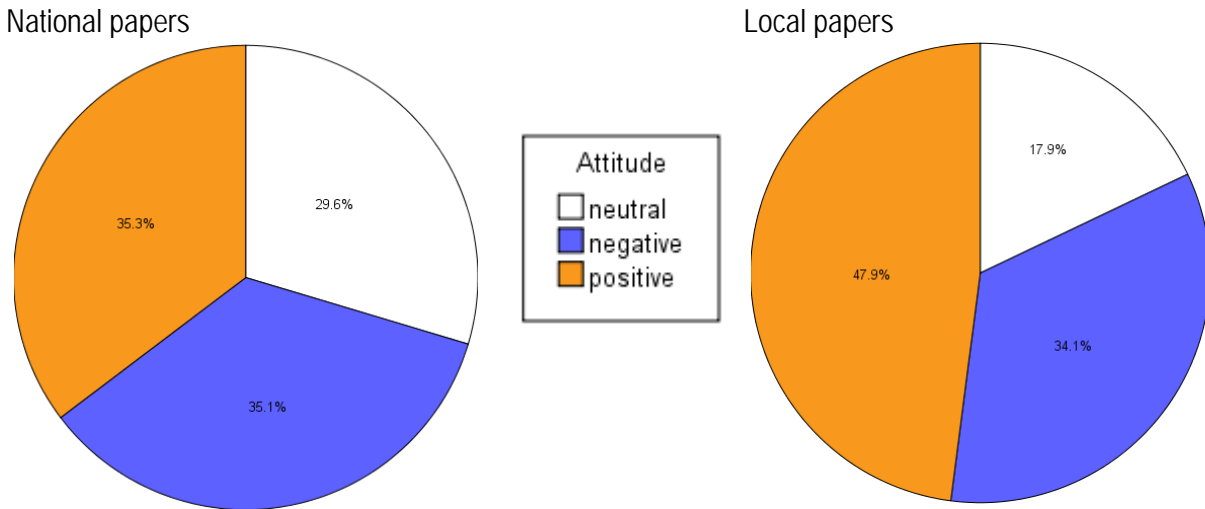
Figure 22 - Monthly distribution of national and local press coverage on Liverpool during 2008



ECoC related stories accounted for 21.5% of all national and 32.5% of all local stories about Liverpool during January 2008. Most national coverage on Liverpool during the year was produced by the Guardian/Observer, followed by The Times and the Daily Mirror.

¹² The Liverpool ECoC 2008 programme ran from mid January 2008 to mid January 2009. Where appropriate, analysis of media coverage on the European Capital of Culture specifically goes from January 2008 to end of January 2009 to reflect the full range of events and activities.

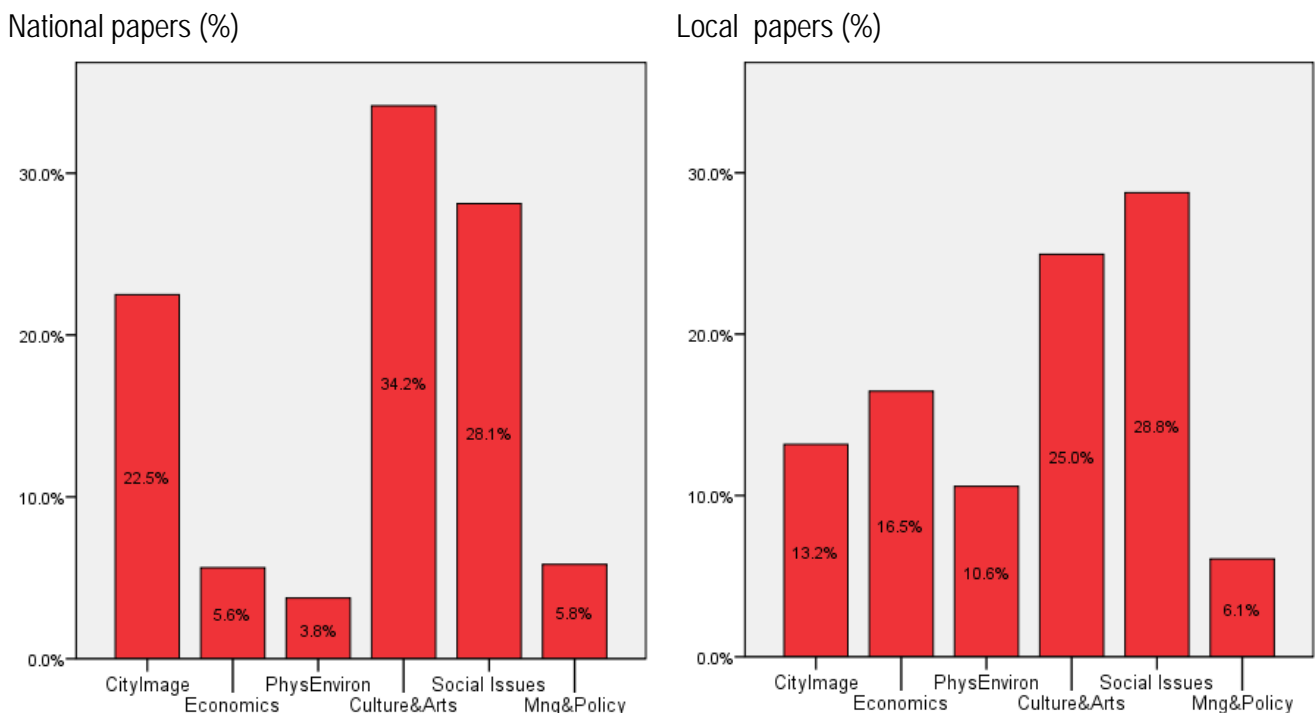
Figure 23 - Overarching attitudes of Liverpool press coverage during 2008



Overall nationally, there was a balance between positive, neutral and negative stories, supporting the view that coverage on the city has become more nuanced than was the case a decade previously. Further, there has been a significant growth in positive coverage since 2007 (over 71% more positive stories within national papers) which balances out negative and neutral stories. Interestingly, the attitudinal distribution of stories is quite different depending on the paper typology: national broadsheets are practically 50% positive and 24% negative, while the reverse is true for tabloids, with 46.7% negative and 23% positive stories. Locally, close to 50% of all stories are positive, a higher proportion than the national average.

The months attracting the highest proportion of positive coverage are, nationally, January 2008 as well as January 2009, which could be explained by the high volume of ECoC at these times. Other months dominated by positive coverage are August and November. Locally, most positive coverage occurs in June, September and January 2009. These are all months featuring high profile ECoC events that, as detailed in section 4.2., tended to dominate coverage on the city.

Figure 24 - Themes within Liverpool press coverage during 2008



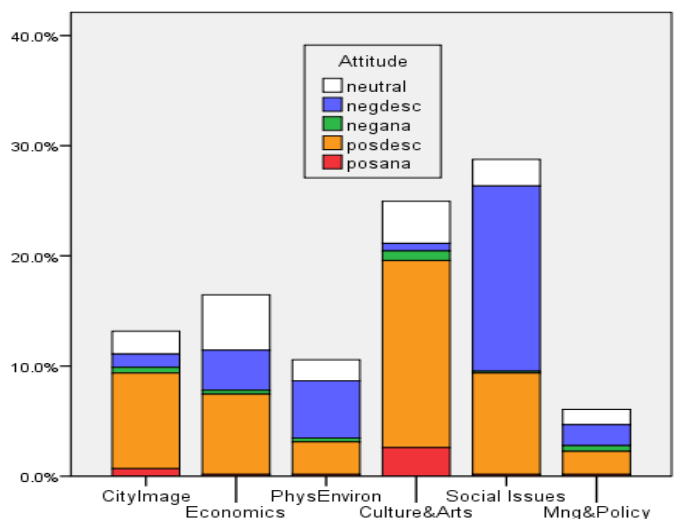
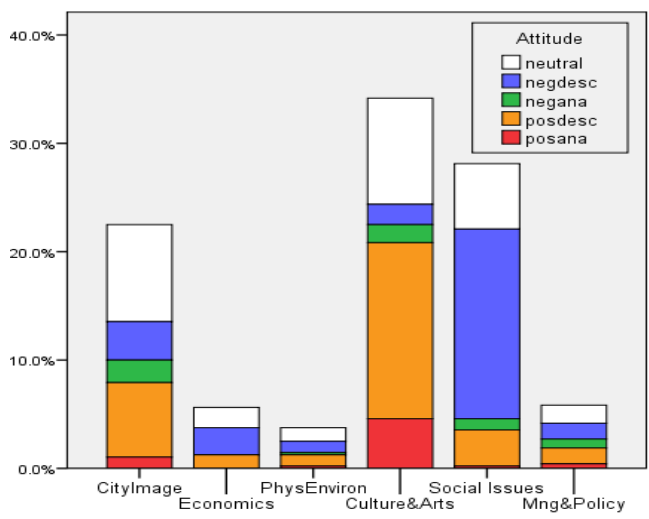
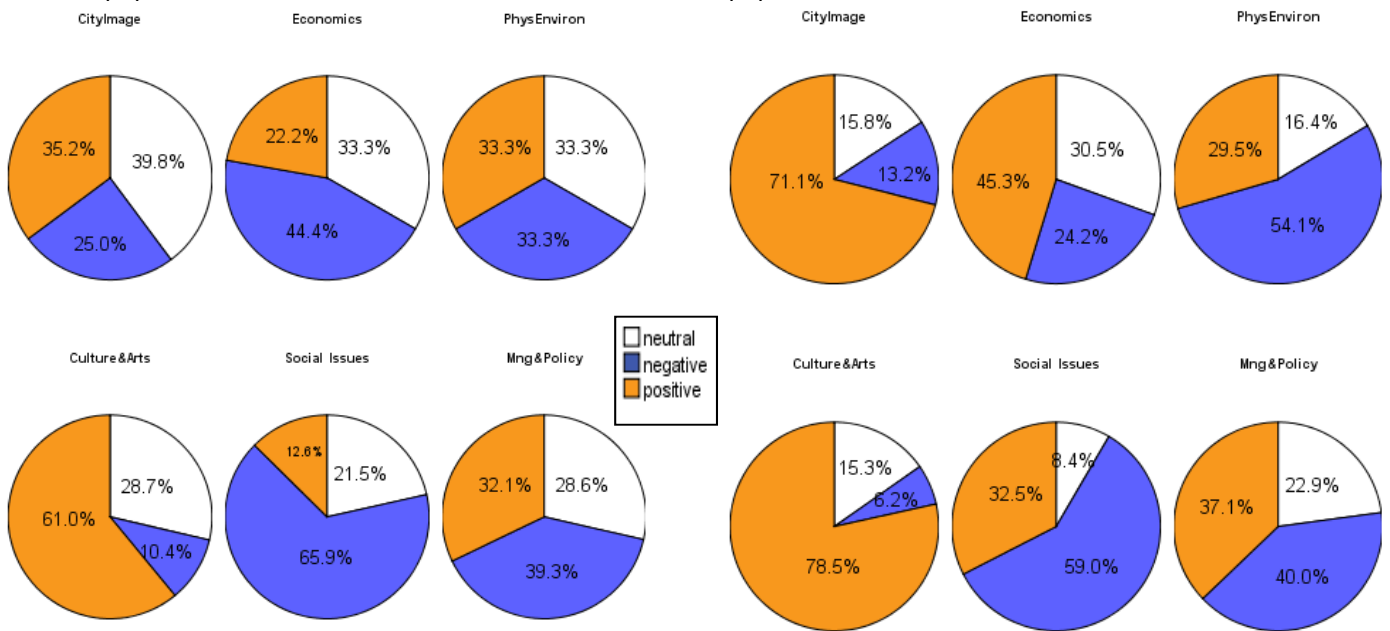
The dominant theme nationally in 2008 is culture/arts – this is the first time this theme has attracted more coverage than social issues. Locally, there is a balance between social issues and culture/arts, followed by a significant volume of coverage on economic issues (16.5%), which contrasts with national coverage of this topic (below 6%).

Nationally, it is interesting to note a difference in thematic focus between broadsheets and tabloids: while broadsheets tend to focus on culture stories, tabloids tend to focus on social issues and image issues (particularly, city celebrities). Locally, the Daily Post dedicates as much coverage to economic issues as to culture and the arts, and gives predominance to these themes over social issues, while the Liverpool Echo retains a focus on social issues as the dominant theme. The most significant thematic change since 2007 is the continued growth of culture stories, particularly within local papers.

Figure 25 - Attitude within themes

National papers

Local papers



The most positive themes, both locally and nationally are culture and the arts, followed by image. The most negative are social issues, while management and policy related stories attract similar levels of positive, negative and neutral coverage.

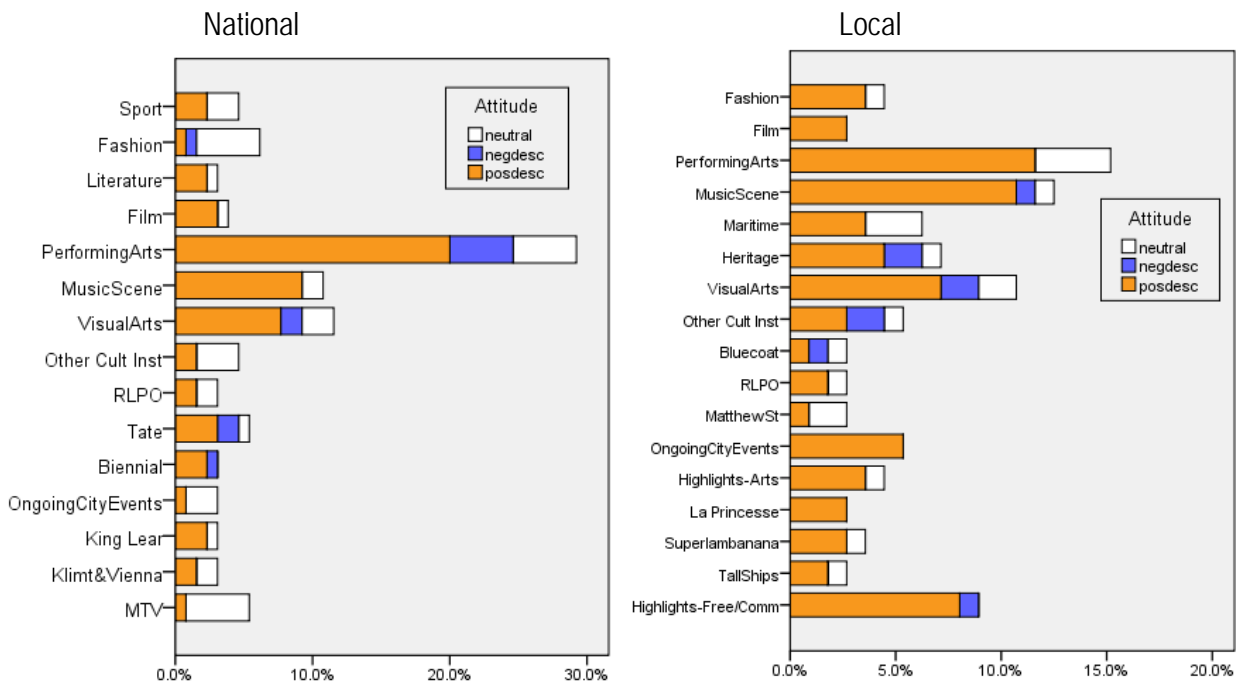
Locally, economic stories are frequent and tend to attract high levels of positive coverage, while nationally, economic focus is infrequent and tends to be negative. Further, locally, stories relating to overall physical regeneration tend to be mainly negative. Nationally, volume of coverage on physical issues is lower and more balanced between positive, negative and neutral angles.

Dominant stories about Liverpool

Most thematic clusters are dominated by particular kinds of stories. In the case of ‘social issues’, crime and violence stories dominate (66% of all social stories nationally, 48% locally), followed by health and wellbeing (over 12%) and education (7%). In the area of ‘culture’, the performing arts, visual arts and music dominate; within ‘management & policy’, public leadership stories dominate. In other areas, there is a remarkable difference in story emphasis between national and local papers. For instance, nationally, celebrities are a dominant story angle within the ‘image’ theme and the property market dominates ‘economic’ related stories. Locally, there is greater diversity of story angles across all themes, so it is more difficult to single-out specific areas. These national and local thematic trends are studied in more detail below.

Culture and arts stories

Figure 26 – Culture and arts stories: attitudes within sub themes¹³



Culture and arts was the dominant theme nationally, accounting for 34.2% of all Liverpool coverage. Locally, this theme accounted for 25% of all stories and was the second most dominant theme. Most coverage concentrates on the performing arts, followed by the visual arts and the city’s music scene. The city’s fashion scene gained significant coverage in 2008 compared with previous years. Locally, there is far greater emphasis on the city’s general heritage, specifically, the city’s maritime heritage.

Specific 08 events do not dominate generic Liverpool culture coverage. The only events to stand out nationally are the MTV awards, followed by King Lear and the Klimt exhibition. Tate Liverpool is the arts institution attracting most direct coverage nationally.

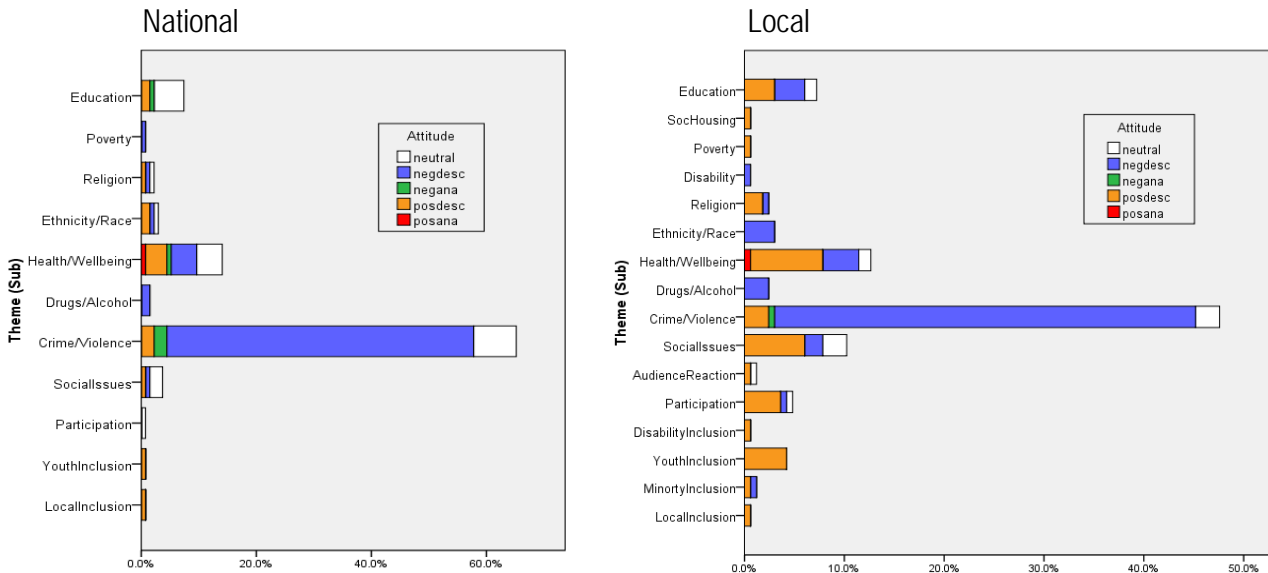
Locally, the events gathering most coverage (regardless of specific ECoC references) were listings for free community highlights, ongoing city events, the Superlambanana parade, the Spider/ la Princesse and the Tall

¹³ Only sub-themes attracting over 2.5% of coverage are included here.

Ships. The arts institutions attracting most venue-specific coverage (non-event related) are the Bluecoat and the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra.

Social issues

Figure 27 – Social Issues stories: attitudes within sub themes



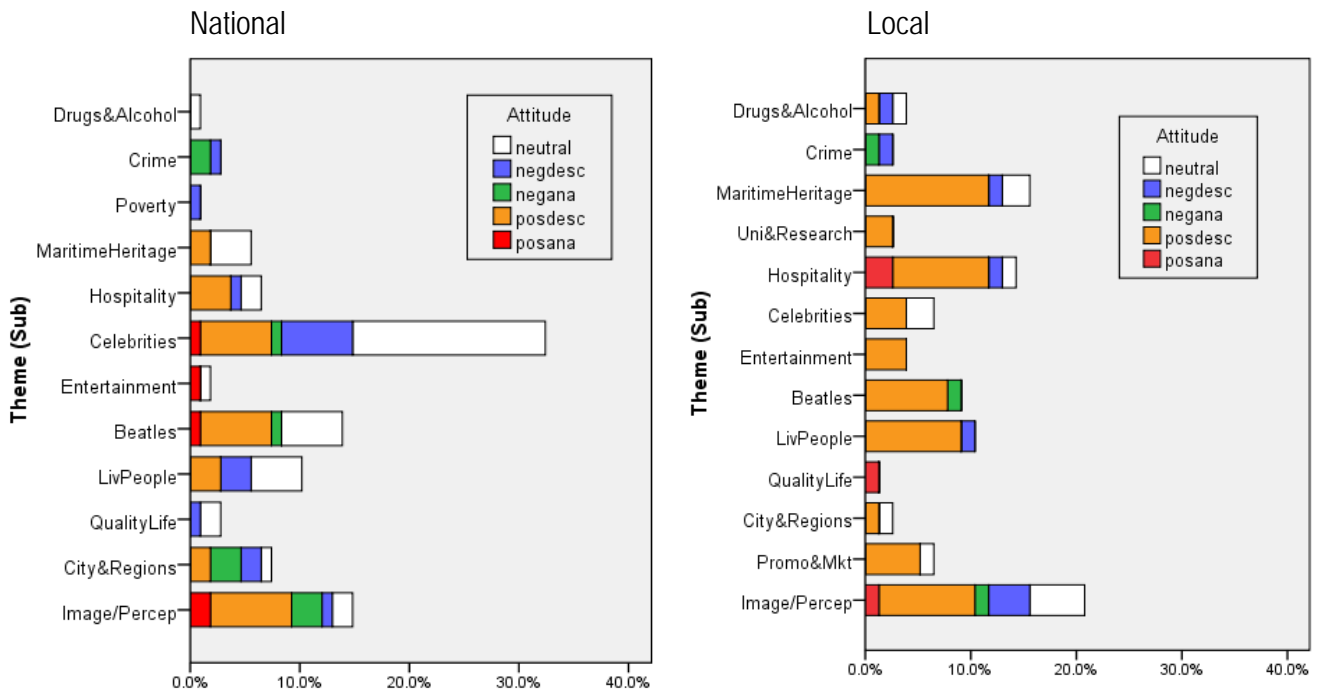
Social issues stories account for 28.1% of all national coverage and is the second most prevalent theme. Locally, it is the most dominant theme and accounts for 28.8% of all coverage. Social stories are 60% negative locally, and over 66% negative nationally. However, there has been a growth in positive social stories since 2007: from only 9% nationally in 2007, to 12.5% in 2008.

Coverage of this theme is overwhelmingly dominated by references to crime and violence (over 60% nationally and just below 50% locally) and the vast majority of these stories are negative. The next most popular sub theme is health and wellbeing (average 15% of all social stories), followed by education. Nationally, most positive coverage concentrates around health and wellbeing stories, followed by crime prevention, ethnicity and education. Locally, most positive coverage focuses on health and wellbeing, social issues, local participation and engagement, youth inclusion and education.

In general, local papers offer a more diverse range of social stories and place more emphasis on discussion around engagement and participation than national papers. This is most remarkable in the context of ECoC specific coverage, as noted in the next section.

City Image stories

Figure 28 – City Image stories: attitudes within sub themes



City image stories are the third most popular theme nationally and account for 22.5% of all Liverpool coverage. Locally, this theme accounted for 13.2% of all stories and was the fourth most dominant theme.

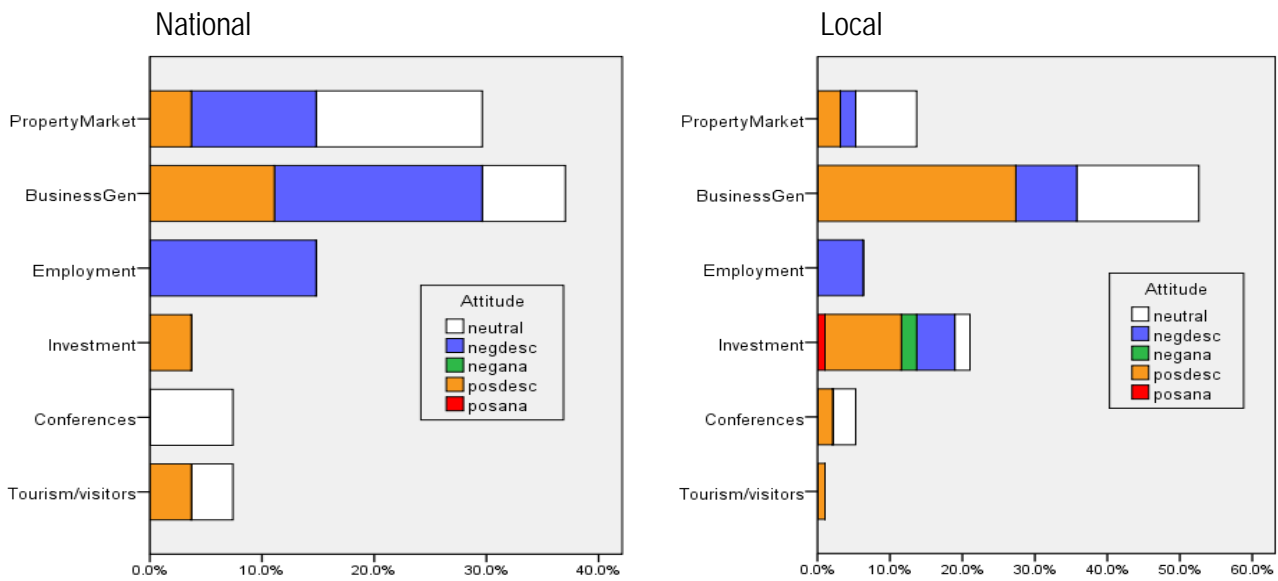
Reporting on the image of Liverpool is quite different nationally and locally:

- While national papers focus on 'celebrities' as their main topics (34% of all image stories), locally the range is more diverse, equally divided between generic image renaissance, maritime heritage, hospitality, people and Beatles stories.
- There is also quite a different attitudinal approach nationally and locally – local papers tend to be mainly positive on most image topics, while nationally there is a marked divide throughout. The greatest contrast is in the following areas: celebrities (20% negative nationally), Liverpool people (some negative coverage nationally, while it is all positive locally), quality of life (only negative or neutral coverage nationally, positive and neutral locally), City / regions (negative- national, positive- local).

In summary, while national papers pay a lot of attention to the most 'flashy' aspects of Liverpool's image (from its celebrity culture to the Beatles), local papers emphasise more local issues. National papers are positive on the established icons, but provide a degree of criticism over people representations, local quality of life and the debate over Liverpool's links to other parts of the UK. This is not the case with local papers, which have been consistently supportive of Liverpool citizens and city relations throughout the year. The trend within this theme is similar to 2007; however, references to the role of the Universities have decreased within the national press and are not detectable within our sample

Economics

Figure 29 – Economics stories: attitudes within sub themes

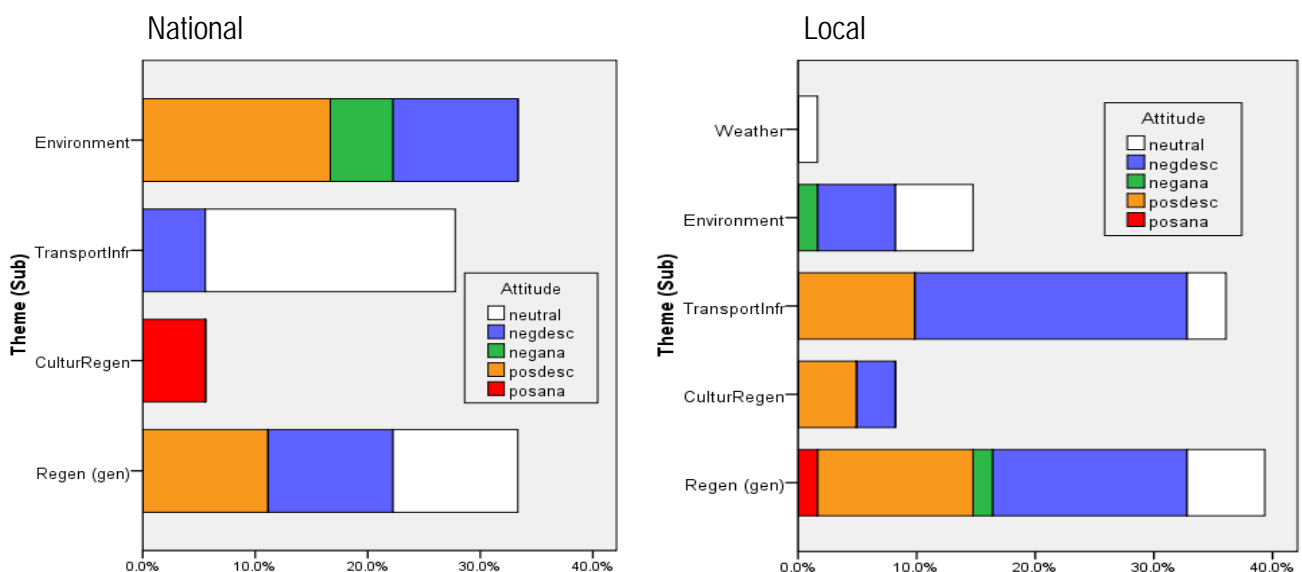


Economic stories account for only 5.6% of national coverage and provide the fifth most popular theme. Locally this theme accounts for 16.5% of coverage and it is the third most popular theme. National papers tend to be more negative on Liverpool economic stories than local papers whilst also providing a far lower percentage of coverage in this area.

Nationally, the focus is on the property market and employment, while locally it is on inward investment; the national papers are 100% positive on investment stories, while local papers have over 30% negative stories in this area. National coverage on the property market is 50% neutral, over 35% negative and 15% positive. All employment stories produced in 2008 are negative, both nationally and locally. Coverage on the conference market and tourism is low in volume but is all positive or neutral.

Physical environment

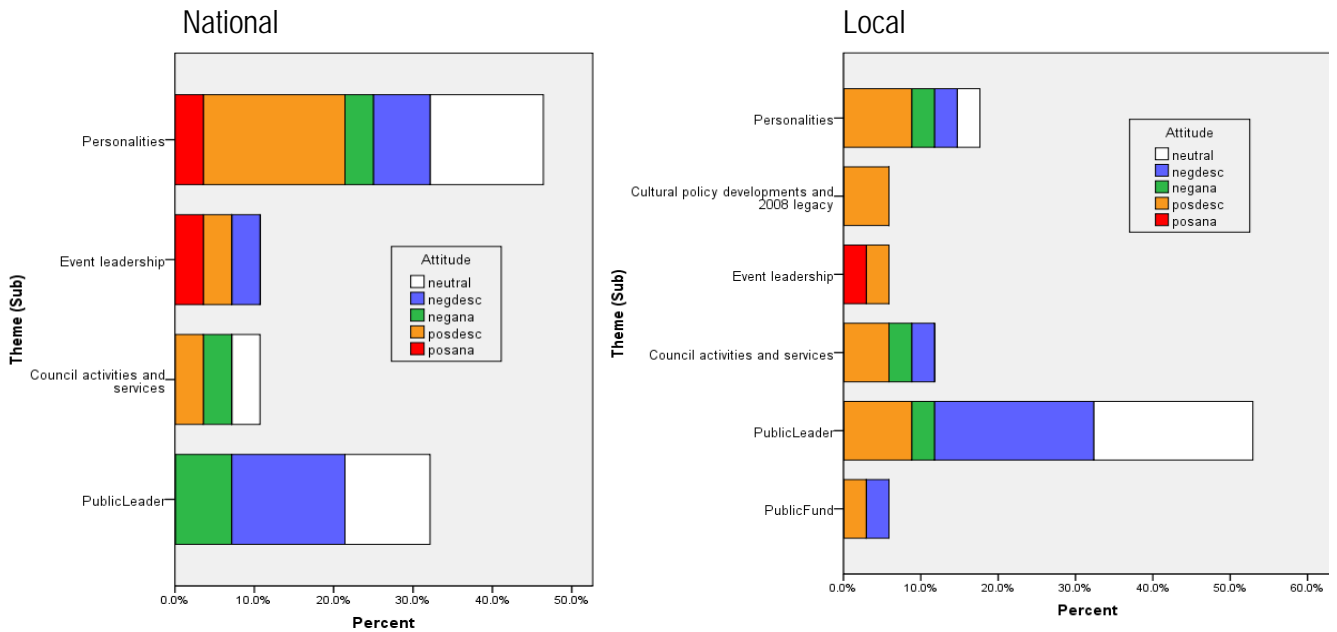
Figure 30 – Physical environment stories: attitudes within sub themes



Throughout 2008, as had been the case in previous years, there were very low levels of coverage on this topic nationally (only 3.8% of all national stories). There is a much higher volume locally (accounting for 10.6% of local stories), particularly within the Liverpool Echo.¹⁴ Nationally, there is greatest emphasis on environmental stories or 'green issues', presented as 50% positive and 50% negative. Locally, these stories are close to 60% negative and the rest neutral, which is worse than 2007 coverage (60% positive on environmental issues). Locally, most stories focused on general city regeneration (equally divided across positive and negative lines) and transport infrastructure (60% negative, 30% positive).

Management and policy

Figure 31 – Management and Policy stories: attitudes within sub themes



This is the theme attracting the lowest volumes of coverage nationally (5.8%) and locally (6.1%). It is generally presented with similar levels of positive, negative and neutral coverage.

National papers offer a very different focus from local papers: whilst, over 50% of local coverage is dominated by public leadership (in particular, city councillors etc), nationally, the focus is on personalities followed by public leadership. National papers do not offer any positive coverage on public leadership – this subtheme is also quite negative for local papers, but does include an equal amount of neutral coverage and a small amount of positive coverage.

The areas attracting most positive coverage are personalities followed by event leadership and specific council activities and services. The predominance of positive coverage on 'event leadership' is in stark contrast with the trend in 2007, which was dominated by a negative focus. Locally, there is some discussion on cultural policy and legacy issues, which is 100% positive. This area is much more dominant within ECoC specific coverage.

¹⁴ Please note that, while in Section 3, the analysis of local coverage about Liverpool only reflects stories produced by the Daily Post, in this section, local coverage includes both the Daily Post and the Liverpool Echo.

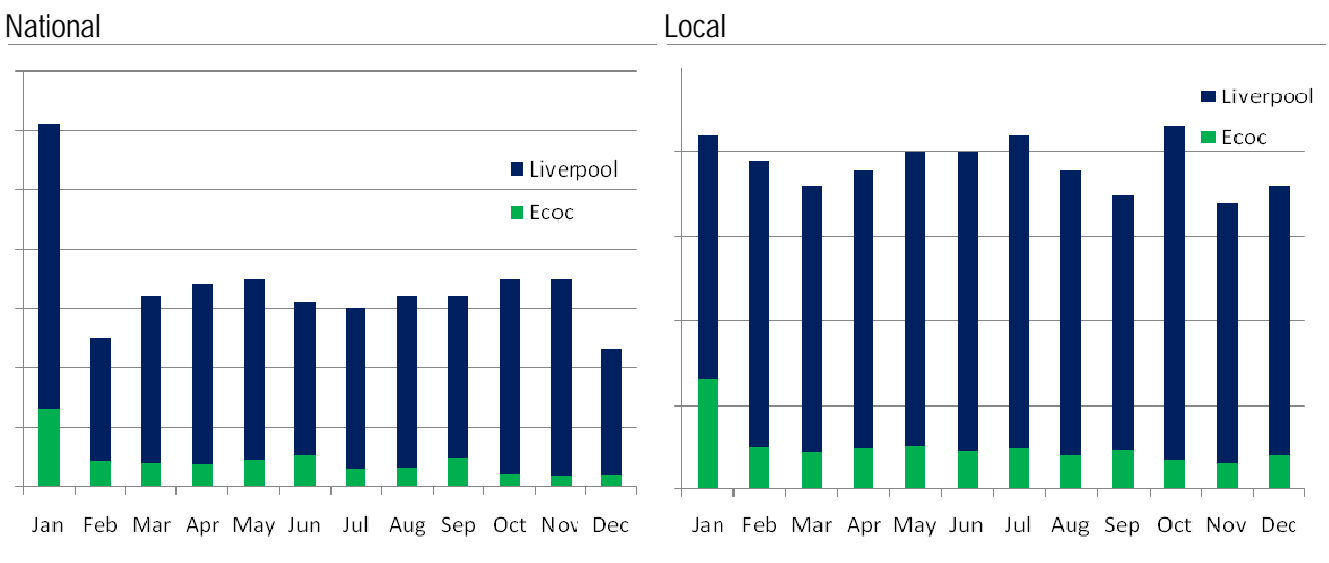
4.1.2. Coverage on the Liverpool ECoC

Volume of coverage

On average, over 12.8% of national and 13% of local stories on Liverpool in 2008 refer to the ECoC. This marks a growth since 2007, when ECoC related stories accounted for 8% of national and 10% of local coverage.

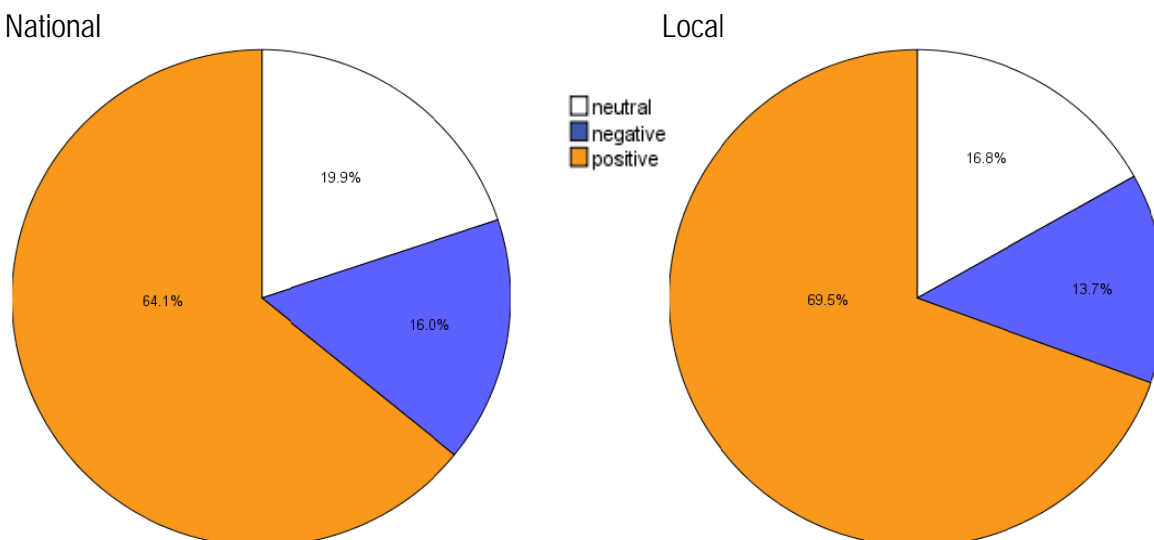
January 2008 is by far the month generating most coverage on the ECoC (over 26% of all Liverpool stories that month). June and September provide the other peaks for ECoC coverage nationally. This can be associated with particularly high profile ECoC events, such as the Opening Weekend (January), the Paul McCartney concert (June) and the Spider/La Machine (September). In terms of actual paper sources, the Guardian/Observer dominates, followed by The Times, then the Daily Telegraph. There is a far lower volume of tabloid coverage throughout the year.

Figure 32 – Volume of Liverpool and ECoC coverage in 2008 - monthly distribution



Overarching attitudes within ECoC Coverage

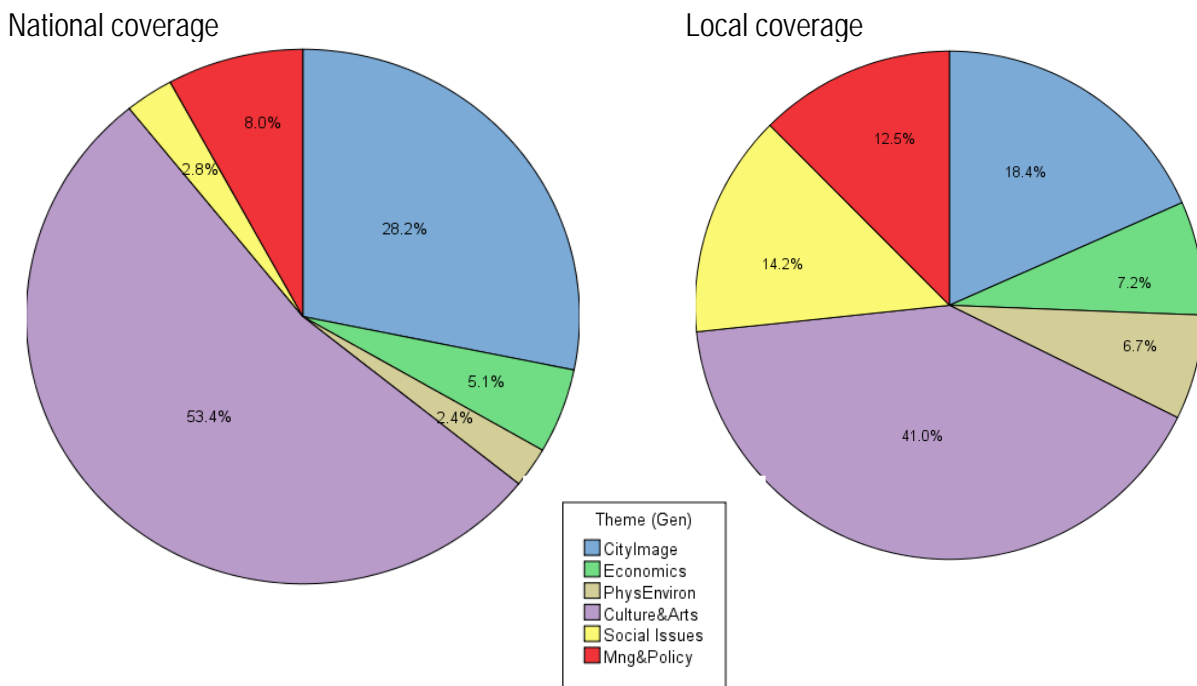
Figure 33 – Attitudes of ECoC press coverage in 2008



There has been a marked growth in positive coverage since 2007 – both nationally (from 53% to 64%) and, most notably, locally (from 46% to 70%). Nationally, both broadsheets and tabloids are predominantly positive on ECoC stories – although tabloids have a greater range of negative stories (up to 20%, compared with 14% of broadsheets). Further, nationally, most negative stories are presented as news while, locally, these are ‘letters to the editor’. Regardless of this trend, over 50% of all national and 75% of all local news stories are positive, and close to 80% of all ‘special feature’ articles on the ECoC are also positive. By January 2009, a major new trend is the growth in economic related stories in the context of ECoC coverage, many of which are of a negative nature.

Main themes

Figure 34 – Themes within ECoC press coverage in 2008



The most dominant themes across all paper types are culture/arts and image. However, while nationally these are the only dominant themes, locally, there is also considerable ECoC coverage focused on social issues (up to 14.2%). This thematic distribution is sustained throughout the year, with the only exception of January 2008 and 2009, when greater attention is paid to economic related stories. In 2009, economic issues have dominated ECoC related stories as much as (or even to a higher degree than) cultural and image-related issues.

Attitudes to themes and key differences between national and local thematic coverage

Nationally, the themes that produce the most positive stories are: culture; image, and economics, whereas the most negative stories are within the social issues, and management and policy themes.

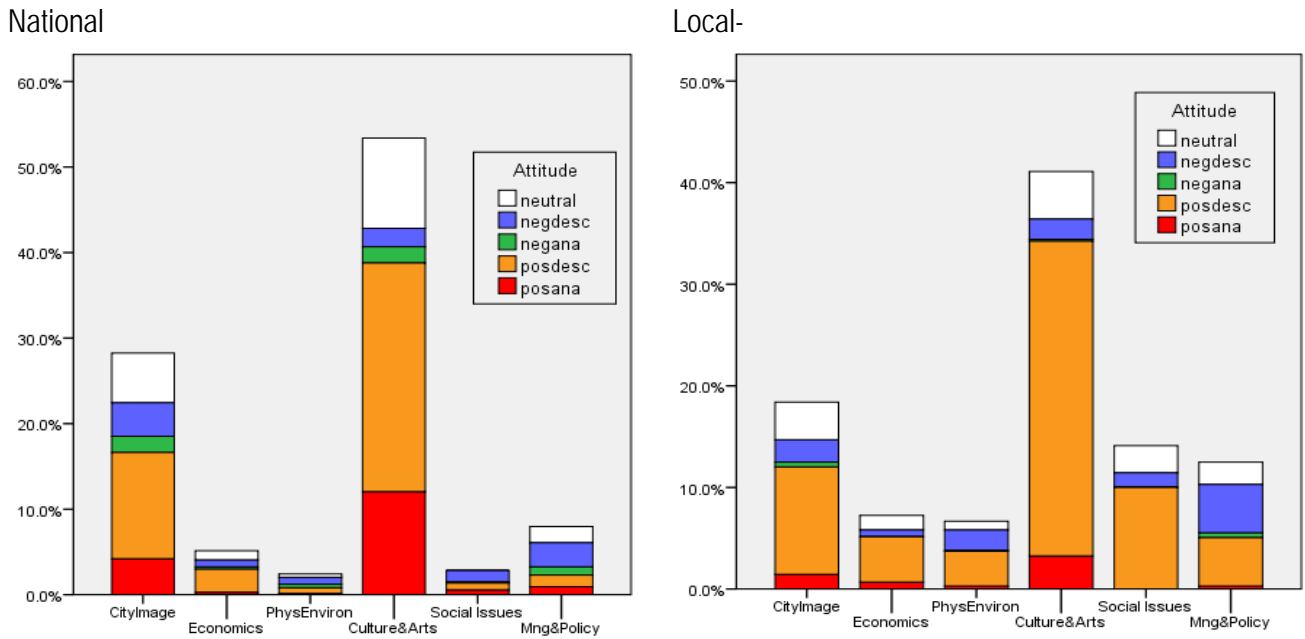
Locally, all themes tend to generate very positive coverage, with the exception of management/policy issues and physical change, which both provide a balance of negative and positive angles.

Significant differences in the thematic focus and tone of stories emerge between national and local coverage.

Nationally, the main focus is around the mainstream popular events and arts highlights, while local papers emphasise the free community events much more.

Locally, there is much more emphasis on the relationship between ECoC and social issues, which is almost nonexistent nationally; local papers also make significant links between image and economic stories which is not reflected nationally.

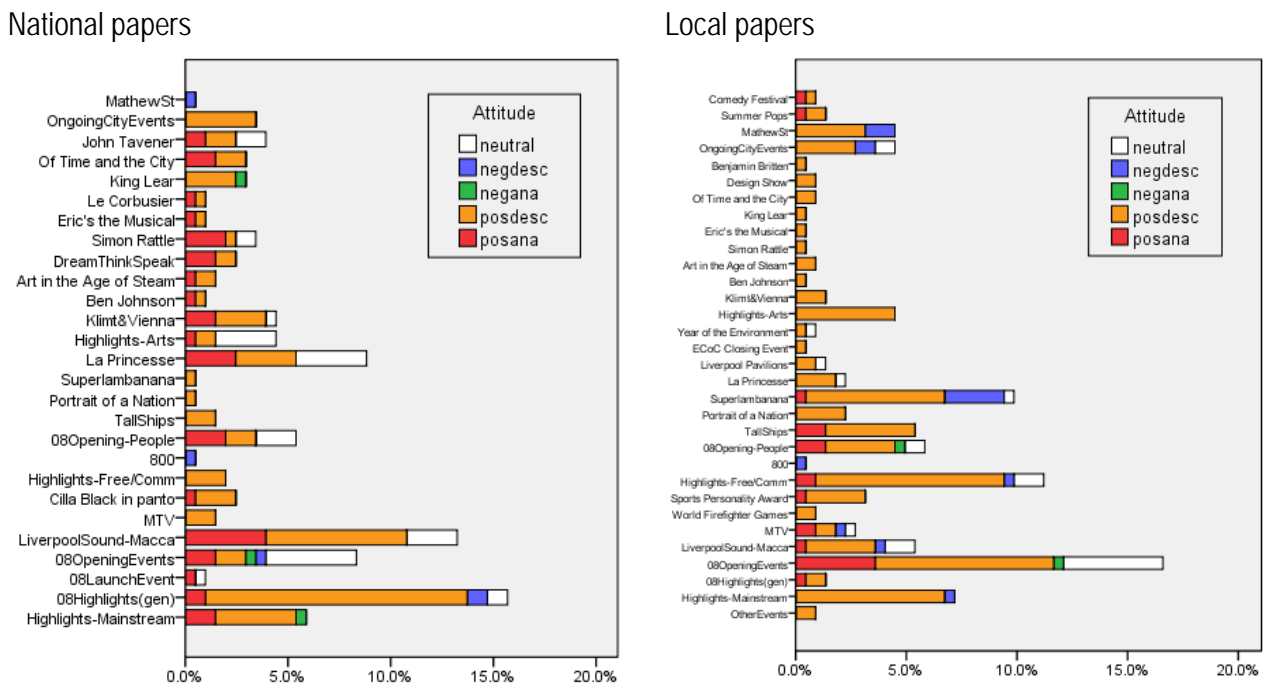
Figure 35 – Attitudes by themes within ECoC press coverage in 2008



Dominant stories about the Liverpool ECoC

Culture and arts

Figure 36 – Culture and arts stories: attitudes on specific events



Culture/arts is, unsurprisingly, by far the most dominant theme for ECoC related stories, attracting 54.3% of all national and 41% of all local coverage. Culture-related coverage in the context of the ECoC is far more diverse and detailed than is the case within generic Liverpool coverage but follows some similar trends, in particular, the focus on special / highlight events, as well as discussion on particular artforms, such as the visual arts, performing arts (the greatest area of growth since ECoC nomination) and popular music. Interestingly, contrasting with the approach to culture coverage within generic Liverpool stories, ECoC stories also place an

emphasis on the origin of performances, with a focus on the debate about the degree and importance of ensuring local representation versus the relevance of ensuring national and international excellence by bringing in acts from outside Liverpool. Most of these stories are presented in a positive light, mainly emphasising Liverpool's success in ensuring strong local talent representation. There is little coverage on the international dimensions of the programme, but these are 100% positive. This contrasts with coverage from international newspapers (see section 4.2), which also pay some attention to the local versus international dimension of the ECoC programme and tend to be more negative, mainly by noting a lack of international and/or European focus.

Nationally, most stories focused on overall year listings, with particular emphasis on mainstream and arts events highlights. Specific events attracting the majority of dedicated articles are: the Liverpool Sound, Opening Weekend, followed by La Princesse. There is also significant coverage on specific *arts highlights* (far above local levels). The most dominant of these are: Klimt, followed by the two Simon Rattle concerts, the film premiere of 'Of time and the City' and the theatre performance of King Lear. Other events attracting high levels of coverage include DreamThinkSpeak. A *popular event* attracting significant levels of national coverage (comparable to DreamThinkSpeak) was the CillaBlack panto. This contrasts with the levels local coverage – a potential reason is that, locally, this story was not presented as part of the ECoC programme.

Nationally, there are very low levels of *negative coverage* on events. The only areas attracting some negative input are the overall year highlights (10% negative), the Opening events (20%) and King Lear (20%). Matthew Street and the 800th city foundation anniversary attracted low levels of coverage but this was 100% negative.

Locally, the focus is on *free community highlights*, particularly the Opening Weekend, the Superlambanana parade, and the other generic mainstream listings. It is remarkable that, at a local level, there is a much lower focus on the arts highlights. Also, *locally owned events* gather more coverage than generic – and potentially more spectacular – events. In that sense, the Superlambanana parade, the Tall Ships, the People's opening, and established city events such as Matthew Street, receive more event-specific coverage than La Princesse or any of the high arts highlights, from Klimt to King Lear and Simon Rattle. *Free neighbourhood activities* such as the Pavilions also attract significant coverage (similar levels to Klimt).

Of the *artistic highlights*, the Liverpool-based film, 'Of Time and the City' received as much coverage as the Klimt exhibition. Of the *mainstream events*, local papers mainly focus on the Opening Weekend, Liverpool Sound, the BBC Sports Personality of the Year awards and the MTV awards

Local coverage on cultural/arts stories is close to 85% positive. Interestingly, most negative coverage concentrates on the Superlambanana parade (close to 30% of total coverage on this event), the Matthew street festival (28%) and other ongoing city events. Two events gathering minor levels of coverage but presented mostly under a negative angle are the 800th anniversary of Liverpool's Town Charter and references to the 2009 Year of the Environment.

City image

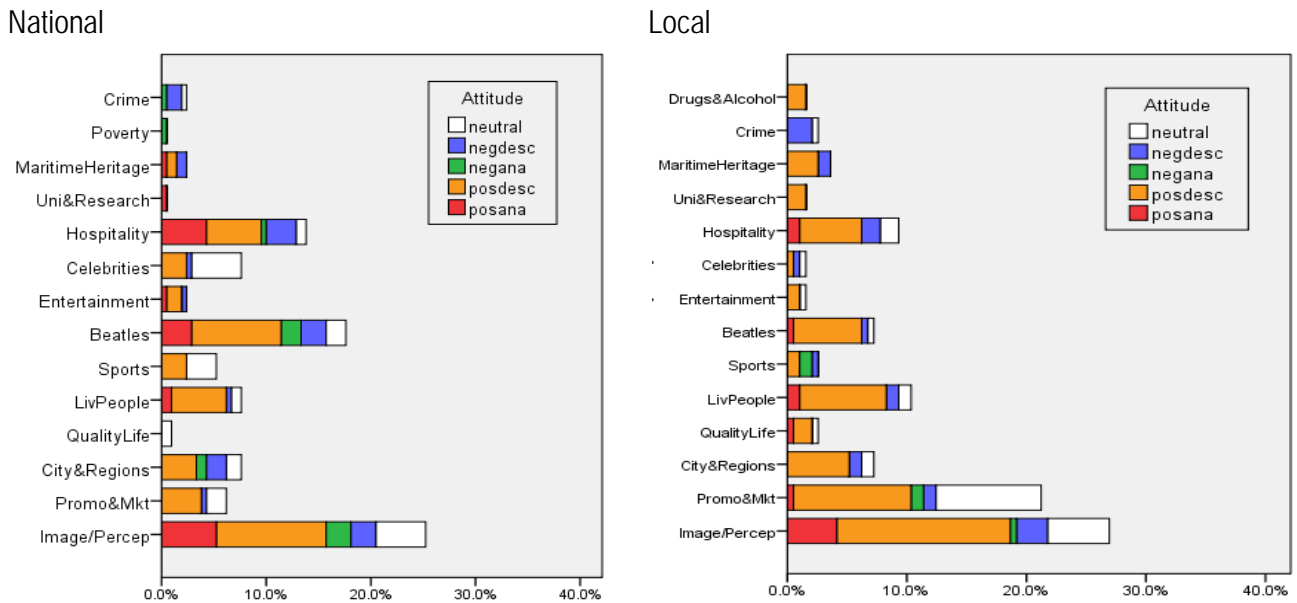
National coverage places less emphasis on celebrities in the context of the ECoC than was the case for generic Liverpool stories, as seen in section 4.1.1. Instead, discussion focuses on Liverpool's wider image renaissance, the Beatles legacy and hospitality/services.

Local coverage is dominated by discussion on image renaissance and city marketing/ promotional strategies. The emphasis on city promotion was also notable in the 2007 ECoC coverage, which is perhaps indicative of the impact / level of attention generated by city specific campaigns, in particular, the Look of the City programme, involving the dressing of areas of the city and special signage to highlight events and city areas.¹⁵

¹⁵ See a special report analysing the impact of this programme: Impacts 08 (2010) 'The Look of the City: the impact of the Liverpool European Capital of Culture on the city's public realm', available at: <http://www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08/Publications/thematicreports.htm>

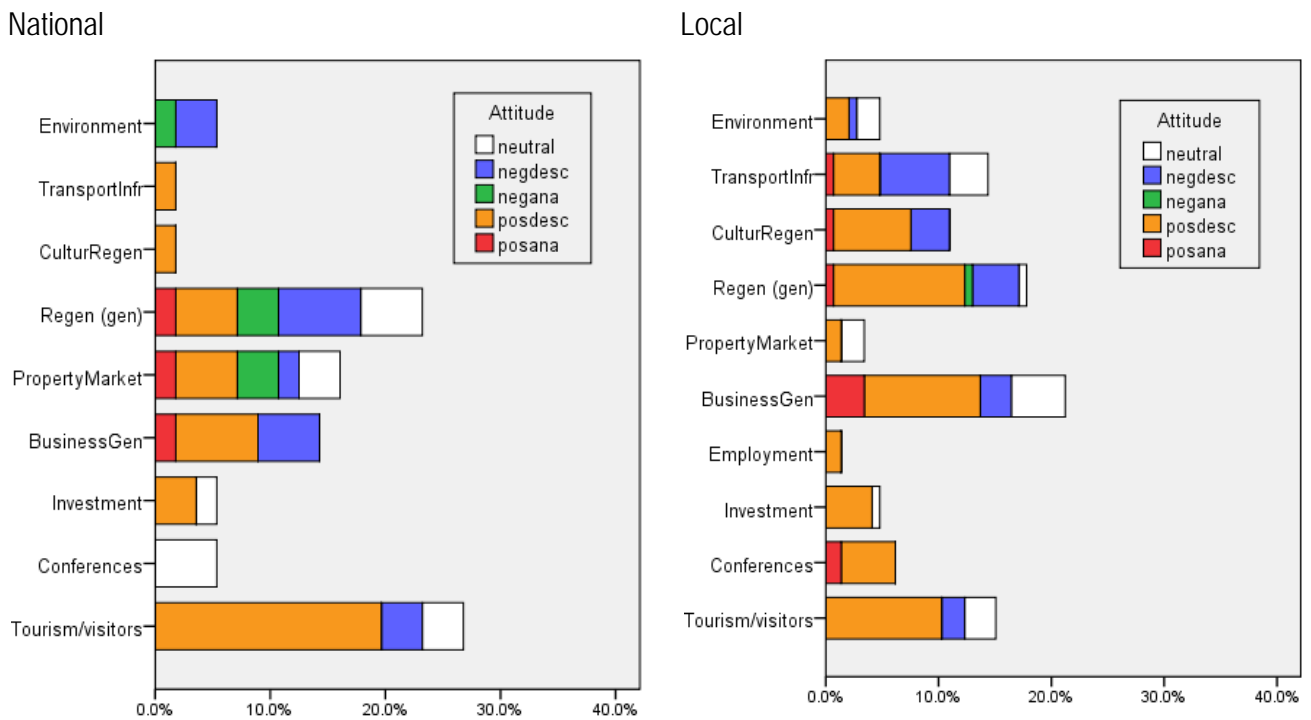
Coverage is mainly positive, though a few negative stories are concentrated on the way crime affects perceptions of Liverpool, the relationship of Liverpool with other UK cities and regions, some aspects of hospitality, and general city perceptions.

Figure 37 – City Image stories: attitudes within sub-themes



Economics and physical environment

Figure 38 – Economics and physical environment stories: attitudes within sub-themes



Economics

National papers mainly refer to the city's tourism economy when discussing economic issues in relation to the ECoC. The next most popular angles are the city's regeneration, followed by discussions on the city's property market and general business stories. National stories on tourism are 75% positive. Local papers place slightly less emphasis on tourism stories but are also mainly positive (over 70%). National papers provide much more

coverage of the city's property market than local papers and offer mixed reviews, divided between 45% positive and 34% negative coverage. However, in the context of the ECoC, these property stories are much more positive than when presented as part of Liverpool generic coverage (when they are only 15% positive).

Local papers emphasise generic business stories as the dominant sub-theme and these stories are mainly positive, while national papers present them behind tourism, and are divided between positive and negative angles. In January 2009, the major growth has been in investment related stories, presenting some negative angles that had not been significant throughout 2008. Local papers are 100% positive on conference-related stories, while national papers provide only neutral coverage.

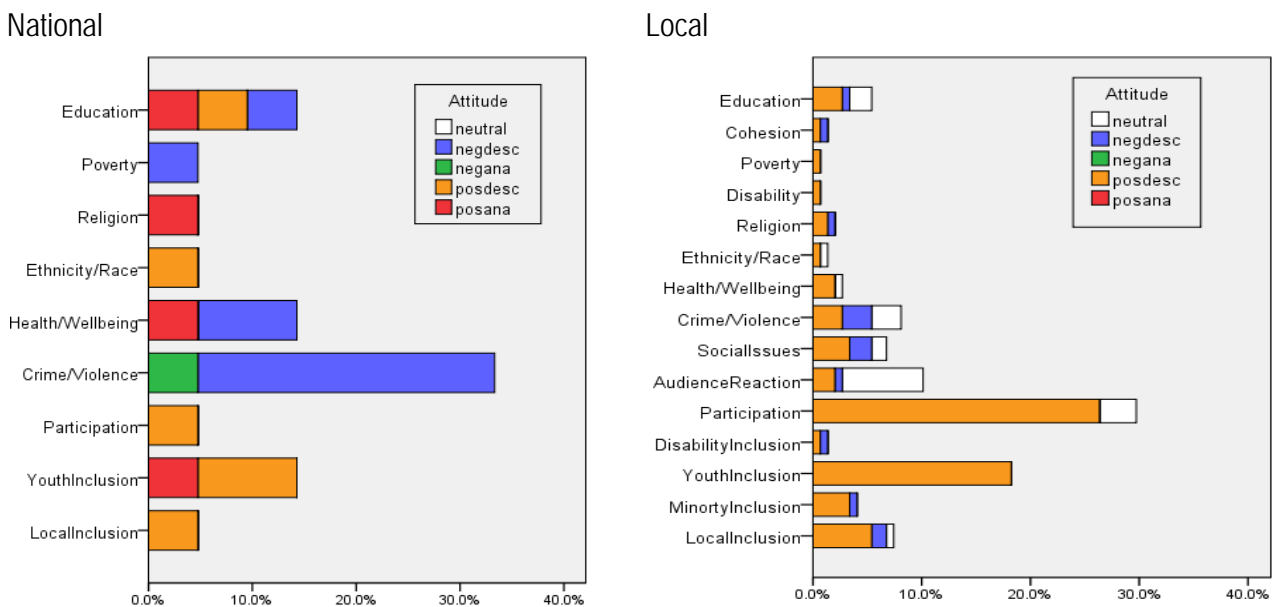
Physical environment

National coverage of physical environment stories, in the context of the ECoC, is mostly concentrated on discussion about the city's wider regeneration. These stories provide similar levels of positive and negative coverage. However, purely environmental stories are all negative in the national press.

Local coverage provides a greater range of sub-themes, covering general regeneration as well as specific cultural regeneration stories (mainly referring to the reopening of the Bluecoat at the start of the year), transport and the environment. The area attracting most negative coverage is the city's transport infrastructure.

Social issues

Figure 39 – Social issues stories: attitudes within sub-themes



Discussion on social issues in the context of the ECoC is more positive than in the context of generic Liverpool coverage. However, nationally, this is still the area attracting most negative coverage while locally, this topic is mainly positive (71% positive and only 10% negative stories).

There are distinguishable trends nationally and locally: while national papers focus on similar areas to those emerging from city generic coverage (crime and violence stories, health and wellbeing, education) local papers put a far stronger emphasis on discussion about interventions around participation and engagement, and this is presented in a very positive light.

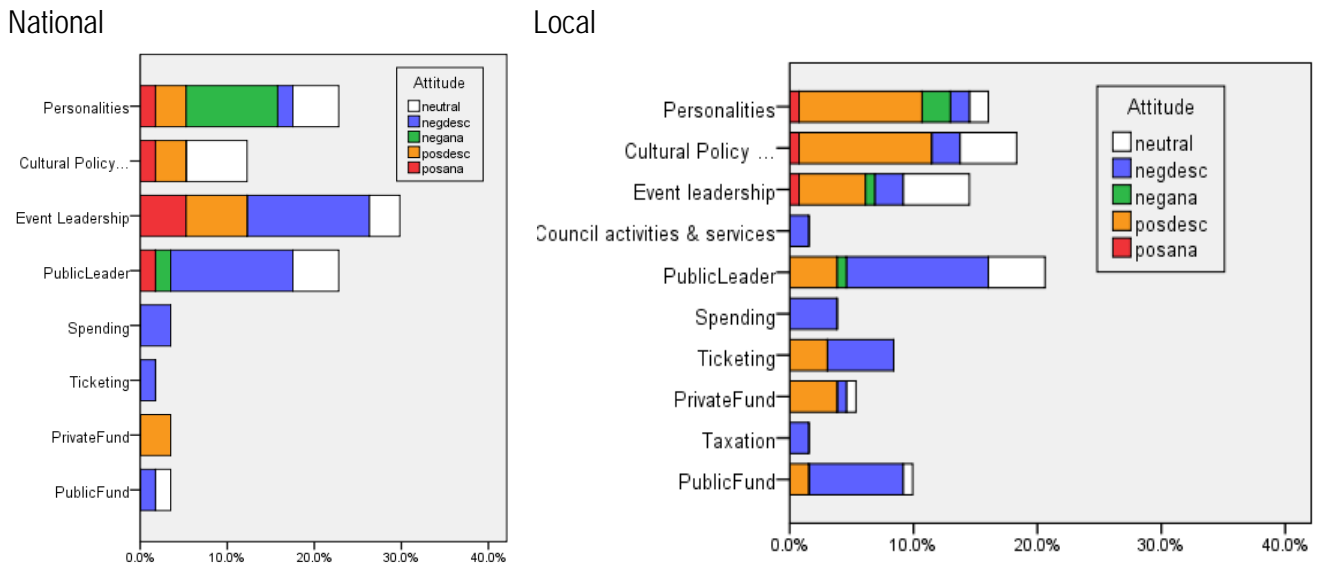
National stories are extremely positive on participation; however, 2008 saw a dramatic growth in (negative) crime related stories in the context of ECoC (this was not the case in 2007, when social stories about the ECoC focused on debates over participation). It is also interesting that while general participation stories are 100% positive during 2008 itself, in January 2009 there have been a range of negative references emerging as part of

end of year stories that attempt to summarise 08. References to youth and local inclusion have, nevertheless, remained 100% positive.

Local stories are 100% positive on participation and much more positive on inclusion issues than was the case in 2007, when debates over opportunities for local inclusion were over 40% negative. Local papers place a strong emphasis on youth inclusion stories (100% positive), followed by local inclusion and then minorities. There are also a range of stories focused on disability issues and these are 50% positive and 50% negative.

Management and policy

Figure 40 – Management and policy stories: attitudes within sub-themes



In stark contrast with 2007, most management stories are about cultural policy and legacy (over 25%) – which does not emerge as relevant within generic Liverpool coverage. National papers have focused on this topic particularly in January 2009, while this has been within the local agenda from the second half of 2008. The next most popular sub themes are discussions on event leadership (25% nationally, 15% locally), personalities and public leadership. Locally, there is also some special attention paid to public funding debates and ticketing. Both local and national papers offer similar levels of coverage on 'private funding' (around 5% of all management stories) and this is presented mainly in a positive light. In terms of attitudes, both national and local papers present similar levels of negative coverage (40% and 47% respectively) – although local papers tend to be more positive (40% versus 30%).

Nationally, most negative stories concentrate on issues around public leadership (over 60% negative), followed by discussion on city personalities. Coverage on event leadership is equally divided between negative and positive stories, which is an improvement on 2007, when close to 50% of stories were negative and only 15% positive. The only areas dominated by positive coverage are cultural policy and legacy, and private funding stories.

Locally, negative stories concentrate in the areas of public leadership, public funding and ticketing. Discussion on personalities is mainly positive (which contrasts with the national tone) as is the coverage of cultural policy and legacy debate. Event leadership issues are equally positive, negative and neutral.

4.2. International press coverage

As noted within the methodology section, the analysis of international press coverage has focused on late 2007 and 2008 and involves assessment of both generic coverage on Liverpool and stories dedicated to the ECoC specifically. This section presents a comparison between general Liverpool stories and stories specific to the Liverpool ECoC in order to determine what has been distinct about 2008 related narratives. As already explained, the analysis has looked into papers published within five English speaking countries and six non-English speaking countries. Appendix 2 offers an overview of the approach to sampling and the amounts of coverage provided by each country under analysis. Find below a summary of the most significant findings from overseas papers.

Headline messages

Country focus

- The USA is one of the countries consistently offering the largest amounts of coverage on Liverpool in general, however, US papers did not place a particular emphasis on the ECoC
- Germany has been the country dedicating the largest volume of coverage to the ECoC specifically, mainly in the context of reflections about the country's plans to host the title in 2010 in the Rhur area.
- Canada has produced high volumes of coverage on Liverpool in general as well as the ECoC in particular.
- Ireland is the country offering the largest volume of coverage on Liverpool after the US and Canada, and it offers the greatest diversity of thematic focus for its stories, both about Liverpool and the ECoC in particular
- After Ireland, France and Spain also offer significant volumes of coverage on Liverpool and the ECoC specifically.

Thematic emphasis

- Coverage on *culture and the arts* represents a high proportion of the total international Liverpool coverage, however, it has been quite limited in its range when not related to the ECoC specifically. While generic Liverpool culture coverage in 2008 has been mainly about the MTV awards, the city's music scene and – interestingly – the premiere of the film 'Of Time and the City', coverage on ECoC-related culture stories has been far more diverse, with a greater emphasis on highlight events (the Opening weekend, the McCartney concert, the arrival of the Spider/La Princesse) and far greater emphasis on the city's visual arts offer than its established music scene. References to the European MTV awards have not been significant in the context of ECoC specific stories, probably suggesting that most international coverage on this topic did include an explicit reference to the ECoC.
- The ECoC has been a catalyst for a growth in stories on the city's *image renaissance*, beyond the traditional dominance of references to the Beatles
- International papers do not link the ECoC to *social issues*, although this is a theme which attracts considerable coverage in relation to Liverpool at large.
- *Management and policy* issues related to the ECoC has been an area attracting some international coverage and the main source of negative international stories on the 2008 programme.
- *Regeneration / physical change* issues are not dominant areas of coverage, but when noticed, they tend to be presented in positive or neutral terms.
- *Economic stories* are not a dominant area of coverage about Liverpool either (less than 10%) and are virtually insignificant in the context of the ECoC, lagging far behind any other identified theme.

Attitudes

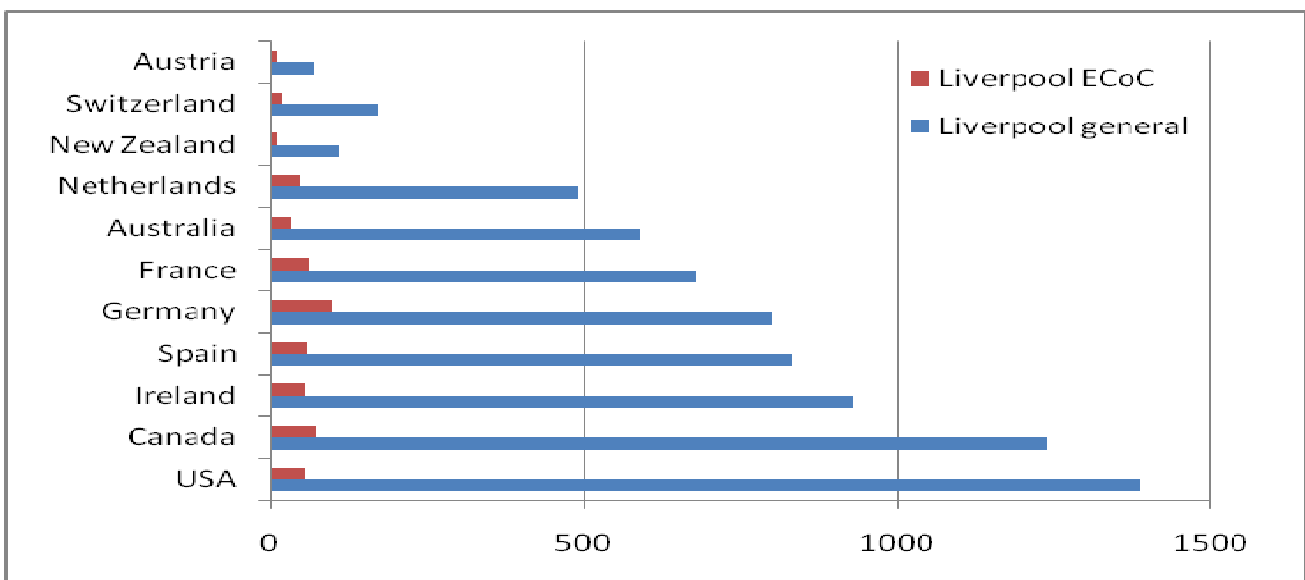
- Coverage on the Liverpool ECoC has been mainly *positive* (over 75%), while coverage about the city in general is balanced between positive (40%) and neutral (47%) coverage.
- Most negative coverage on Liverpool is related to social issues, followed by economic stories, while most of the positive coverage is about culture and the arts, followed by the city image renaissance and established icons.

- Only 6.4% of stories on the ECoC are of a negative nature. These are mainly related to management, leadership and policy issues e.g the departure of the appointed artistic director and the decision not to replace this role was clearly an enduring story attracting coverage several years after the incident.
- The countries producing the largest proportion of negative coverage on Liverpool as well as the ECoC specifically are Ireland and Australia. Germany is also a country producing a noticeable amount of negative reporting, particularly on the ECoC, mainly in relation to management and leadership issues.
- The countries producing the most positive coverage about Liverpool are Canada and Spain.

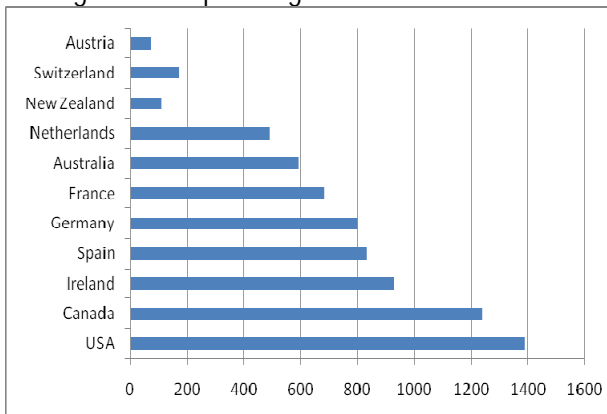
4.2.1. Volume and sources of coverage

The USA and Canada are the two countries providing the largest volume of coverage about Liverpool in general, followed, in gradient order, by Ireland, Spain and Germany. This is in slight contrast with Liverpool ECoC specific coverage which, instead, is clearly dominated by German newspapers, followed by Canada, then France, Spain, Ireland and the USA. While Canada has provided quite a high proportion of coverage on the Liverpool ECoC, the USA has produced half the number of stories produced by Germany.

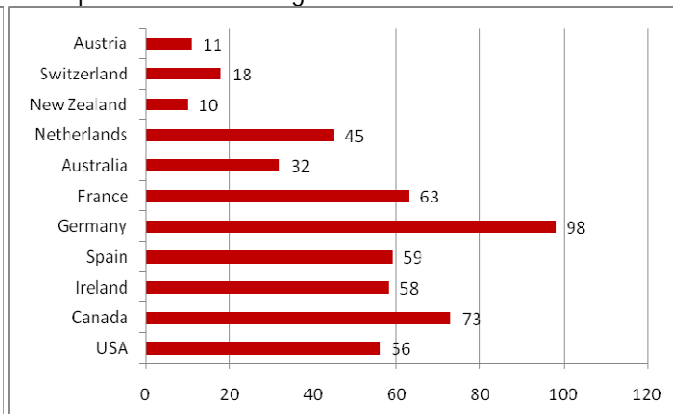
Figure 41 – Volume of Articles per country (Liverpool general and ECoC specific coverage)



Coverage on Liverpool in general



Liverpool ECoC coverage

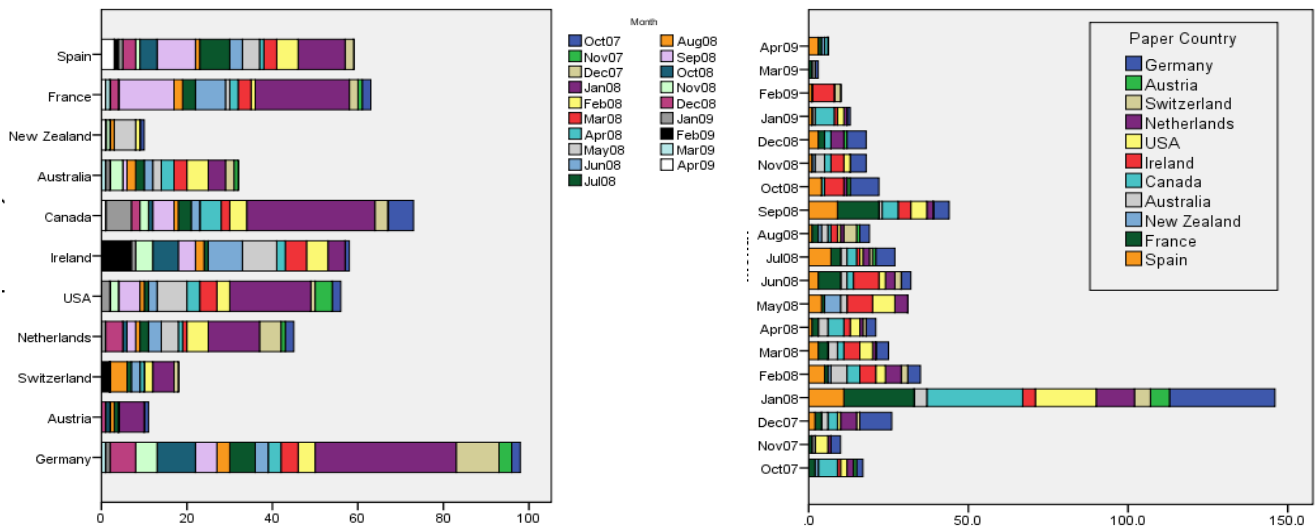


As expected, most coverage on the Liverpool ECoC has been produced during 2008 itself. However, some countries published stories in the lead up to the year, such as Germany, Canada, the USA, followed by the Netherlands and France. The first quarter of 2009 produced a small but significant number of stories about the year wrap up or its emerging legacy - notably in Ireland, followed by Canada and Spain.

European countries offering coverage on the ECoC tend to be dominated by local papers based in cities that are about to host the title or bidding for it. This is clearly the case in Germany, which is dominated by papers based within the Ruhr region (host of the ECoC in 2010) and Spain, dominated by papers based in cities bidding for the ECoC in 2016, such as Cordoba and Caceres.

Most coverage on Liverpool, as well as the ECoC, is presented in the arts/culture/media sections of foreign papers, followed by news reporting.

Figure 42 - Articles per country and per month (ECoC coverage only)

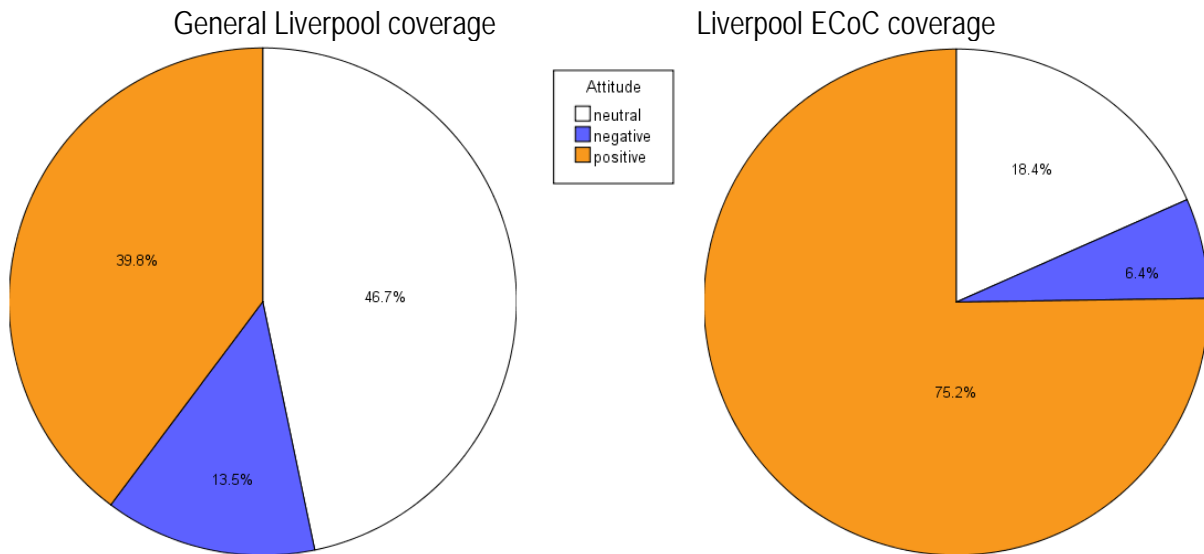


In terms of a timeline, January 2008 is the month attracting the most coverage across all countries analysed, followed by September 2008. The month of September gathered particularly high levels of coverage in countries such as Spain, France, the USA and Canada. Another month that stands out in countries such as France and Ireland is June 2008. A correlation between these dates and the thematic focus of coverage suggests that the main reasons for such reporting were the Liverpool ECoC launch / Opening weekend (January 2008), the Paul McCartney concert (June 2008) and the Spider/ La Machine event (September 2008).

4.2.2. Attitudinal analysis

International coverage on Liverpool is mostly positive or neutral, while coverage on the Liverpool ECoC specifically is clearly dominated by positive stories (over 75%).

Figure 43 – International press: Total attitude percentages



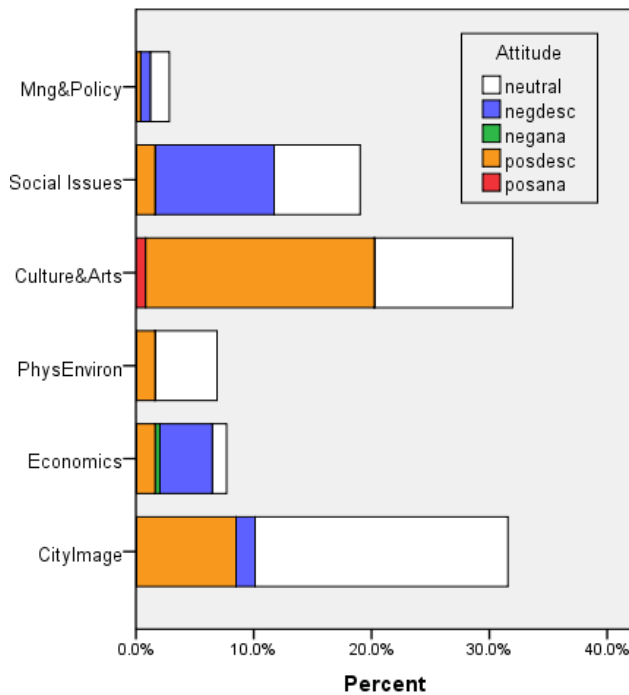
The countries producing the largest proportion of positive coverage on Liverpool in general are France, Canada, Switzerland and Spain, followed by Australia and the Netherlands. Of these, the most significant are Canada, Spain and France; these countries also all produce high volumes of coverage. The countries producing the largest proportion of negative stories are New Zealand, Ireland, Austria and Australia. Ireland is particularly significant, followed by Australia.

As noted earlier, most international coverage on the ECoC specifically is positive and this is the case across all analysed countries. The countries producing the highest volumes of negative reporting are: Germany (with also a marked percentage of neutral coverage), Ireland and Australia. In terms of overall proportion, Australia and Switzerland, though not producing a high volume of coverage, also have a larger than average percentage of negative stories. Spain, Austria and the Netherlands produced a significant percentage of neutral / descriptive coverage, but no noticeable levels of negative stories.

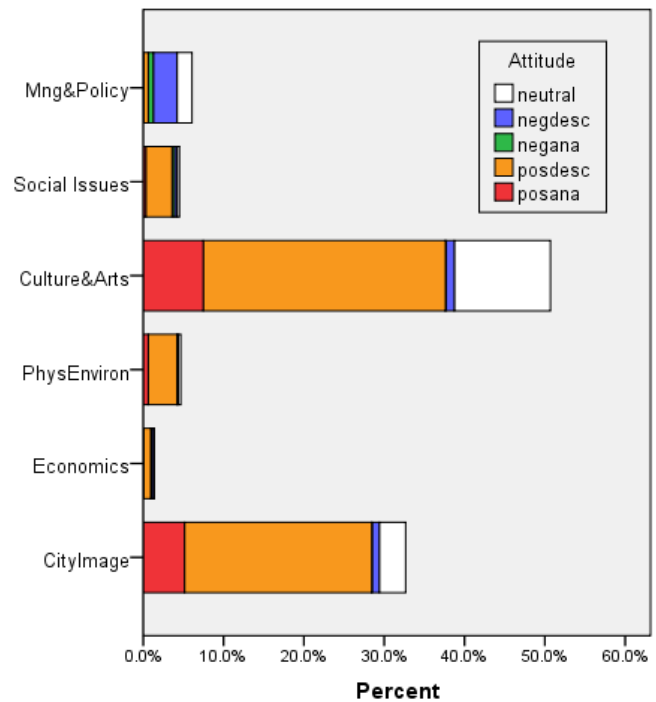
Thematic analysis

Figure 44 – International press: Attitude on key themes

All Liverpool stories (except football)



Liverpool ECoC stories only



Comparing Liverpool ECoC and general Liverpool coverage

At first glance, it is apparent that the thematic distribution of coverage is slightly different. Generic Liverpool coverage is balanced across city image stories and culture/arts stories, followed by a considerable proportion of (mainly negative) social issue stories. Liverpool ECoC coverage is clearly dominated by culture and the arts, and city image stories, whilst social issues is a minority theme.

In terms of attitudes, ECoC related stories attract a higher proportion of positive coverage. Most of the negative coverage within general Liverpool stories occurs within social issues, followed by economics (both of these areas receive over 50% negative coverage). Within ECoC coverage, the only area attracting a high level of negative coverage is management and policy.

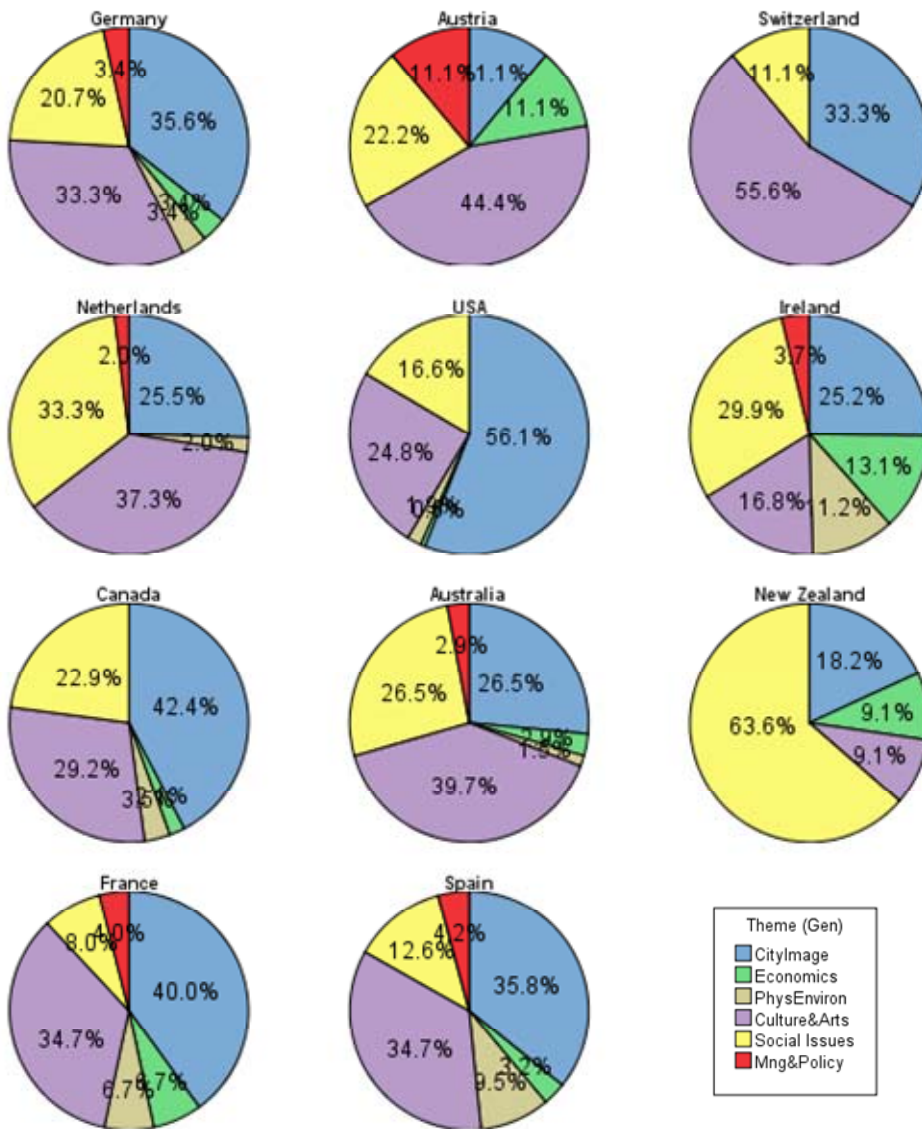
Coverage on Liverpool ECoC stories

Culture and arts is the theme attracting the greatest proportion of stories, followed by city image. In contrast, the international press has offered very little coverage on economic issues in the context of the ECoC. Interestingly, physical change issues have attracted some coverage (double the amount of economic issues). The amount of attention to physical change in the context of the ECoC is proportionally higher for the international press than the UK national press.

Positive stories dominate ECoC coverage across all themes, with the exception of management and policy, Most of the negative management stories focus on leadership controversies.

Culture and arts stories attract the highest proportion of neutral or descriptive stories and most of these provide overviews of key year highlights. Social issues and physical environment stories are mainly positive, as is the case for city image stories.

Figure 45 – International press, Liverpool coverage: Thematic emphasis by country (Oct 07 - April 09)

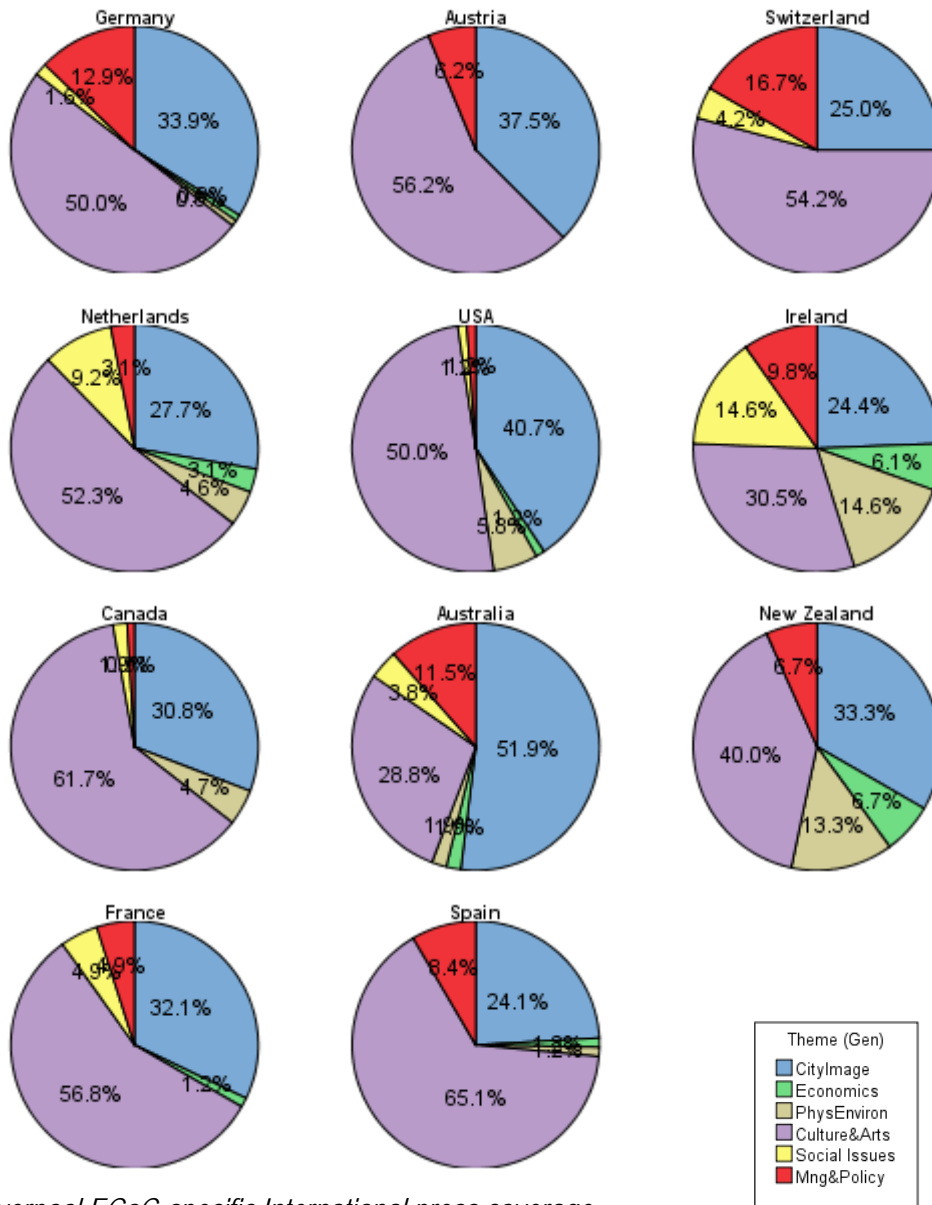


General Liverpool International press coverage

Across all countries, the dominant themes are Culture & Arts and City Image, which jointly account for around 64.5% of all city coverage. Culture & Arts provides 32.7% of all coverage and is the dominant theme in Austria, Switzerland, Netherlands and Australia. City Image provides 31.8% of all coverage and is the dominant theme in the USA, Canada, France, Spain and Germany. Social Issues provides 24.3% of all coverage and is the dominant theme in New Zealand and Ireland but also receives significant coverage in Netherlands, Australia, Canada, Austria and Germany.

The three other themes of Management & Policy, Economics, and Physical Environment account for only 12.2% of stories between them. Economics stories are most significant in Ireland, followed by Austria and New Zealand. Management and Policy is only proportionally significant as a theme in Austria but also contributes a very low percentage of coverage in Germany, Netherlands, Ireland, Australia, France and Spain.

Figure 46 – International press, ECoC specific coverage: Thematic emphasis by country (Oct 07 – April 09)



Liverpool ECoC-specific International press coverage

Culture & arts stories account for 49.6% of all international press coverage on Liverpool's ECoC and is clearly the dominant theme across all countries. City Image stories account for 32.9% of coverage and is the dominant theme in Australia and also receives a significant percentage of coverage in all other countries, particularly the USA.

The other four themes account for 27% of coverage. Management and policy is covered by all countries, though it is usually a low proportion of total coverage. The countries that give it the largest percentage of coverage are: Switzerland, Germany and Australia. Other topics are only covered by some countries, and differ in their proportion from country to country. Physical environment stories receive most coverage in Ireland, and New Zealand, while it is not reported at all in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Spain or France. Social issues stories only receive significant coverage in Ireland and the Netherlands. Economic stories receive most coverage in New Zealand and Ireland (just over 6%).

Comparing Liverpool-generic and ECoC-specific coverage

Culture and Arts is the dominant theme in Liverpool-generic and ECoC specific stories, accounting for almost a third of Liverpool generic coverage and half of all ECoC specific coverage. City image is the next most prevalent

theme and receives around a third of Liverpool-generic and ECoC specific coverage. Social issues stories account for almost a quarter of general Liverpool international press coverage but this theme is much less prevalent with ECoC-specific coverage.

Volume of coverage

All countries cover Culture and arts and City image stories and these are also the themes with the highest volume of coverage. Management/policy stories are also covered to some degree by all countries.

Germany has the highest volume of coverage on the Liverpool ECoC but no stories on economics, physical change and little coverage on Social issues. Coverage in Spain, Austria, Switzerland and France is similarly confined to a small number of themes. Ireland offers the greatest diversity of thematic focus in its Liverpool coverage, with culture and arts stories not being overly dominant and social issues significant both for generic and ECoC specific stories. ECoC coverage is thematically diverse in Netherlands and Austria.

Certain themes are not covered at all by some countries. Economics is not reported by Austria, Switzerland, or Canada. Physical environment stories are not covered by Austria, Switzerland or Canada. Social issues stories receive no coverage in Austria, New Zealand or Spain.

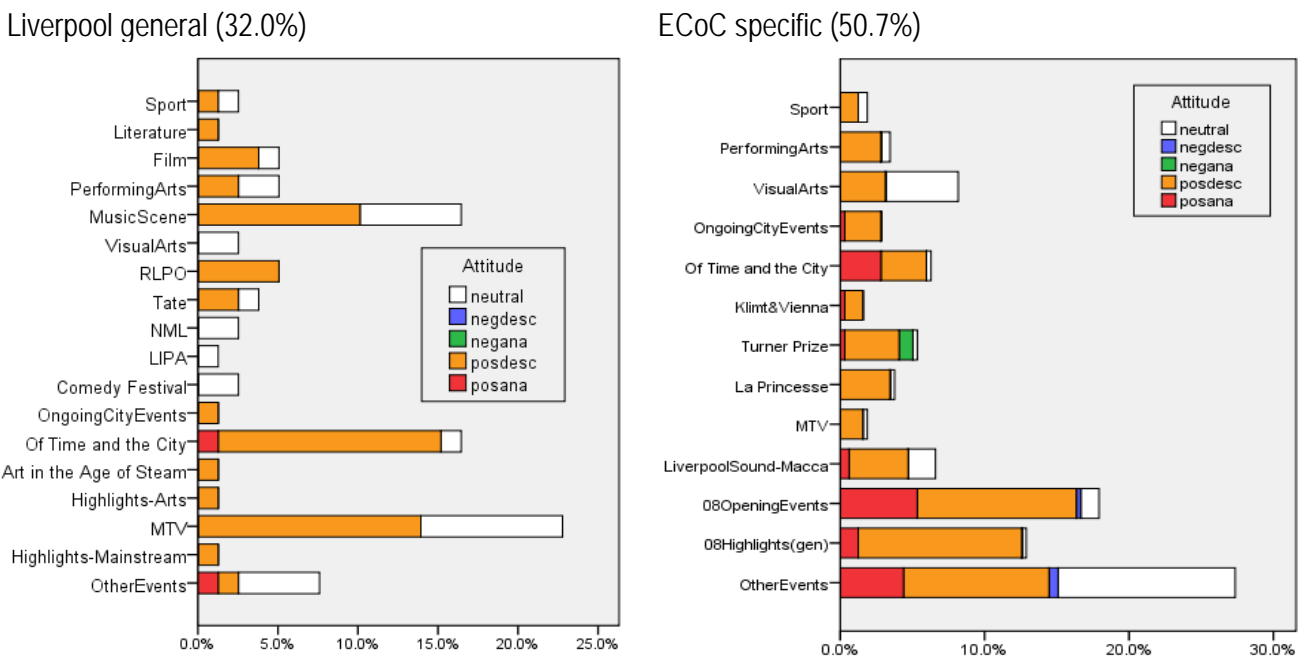
Attitudes

Most international coverage on Liverpool is positive and this is even more the case for ECoC-specific coverage. Certain themes are mainly negative (i.e., Management, followed by Social issues and Economics). Germany is negative about all its Management stories, as is Switzerland. The USA is negative on all its Liverpool ECoC Economic stories, Australia negative on all its Social issues stories

4.2.3. Dominant stories

Culture and Arts

Figure 47 – Culture and arts: International press attitudes on specific events



The MTV awards and the city's Music scene are clearly the dominant areas of generic Liverpool culture coverage in 2008 for the international press. There is also a very high level of attention paid to the premiere of 'Of Time and the City'. The tone of the coverage is completely positive or neutral and is dominated by descriptive positive stories.

The ECoC specific coverage is much more diverse than in the case for generic Liverpool culture stories and is dominated by 'Other events' - meaning that the article appears in the context of other activity happening in their country (e.g. their own ECoC plans etc). The other dominant areas of ECoC specific stories are the 08 opening events, general coverage of 08 highlights and the visual arts. Coverage is again overwhelmingly positive and the only negative references occur in the context of 'other events' (very low percentage) and discussion around the 'local emphasis' and lack of foreign / international focus.

Specific country coverage

General

Most countries refer to Liverpool's ECoC in the context of their own events. Particularly Germany (very positive coverage with references to their own Essen/Ruhr 2010 ECoC plans), France (2013, 50% neutral coverage), Spain (2016, 70% neutral coverage), and Netherlands (2018, 46% neutral, some negative). Even coverage in Canada and the USA places Liverpool 2008 in the context of their own national events. Australia provides a high percentage of coverage on the origin of performers and many of these stories are very critical of the focus on local work at the expense of international contributions.

Mainstream events

All countries cover the city and programme highlights and most cover the 08 opening events. The McCartney concert was the focus of much coverage in Germany, Switzerland, USA (but low compared with MTV), Ireland, Canada, Australia, France and Spain. Coverage in Ireland was very critical of the 08 opening events.

Free / community

All countries provided a low level of coverage on community events. France provided most coverage with the emphasis on La Princesse, the Tall ships, and the people's opening event. Germany focuses all coverage of community events on the Tall Ships. La Princesse was the focus of 75% of community events coverage in the USA and Canada and provided 60% of coverage in France.

Highlight arts events most referred to:

- Turner Prize – Germany (although 60% of stories very critical); Switzerland, Netherlands, USA, Ireland, Canada, Australia, Spain
- Of time and the City – Austria, USA, Ireland, Canada, Spain
- Klimt and Vienna – Netherlands, USA, Ireland, Canada, France – interestingly, we have not found specific references to this event within Austrian newspapers

Cultural institutions

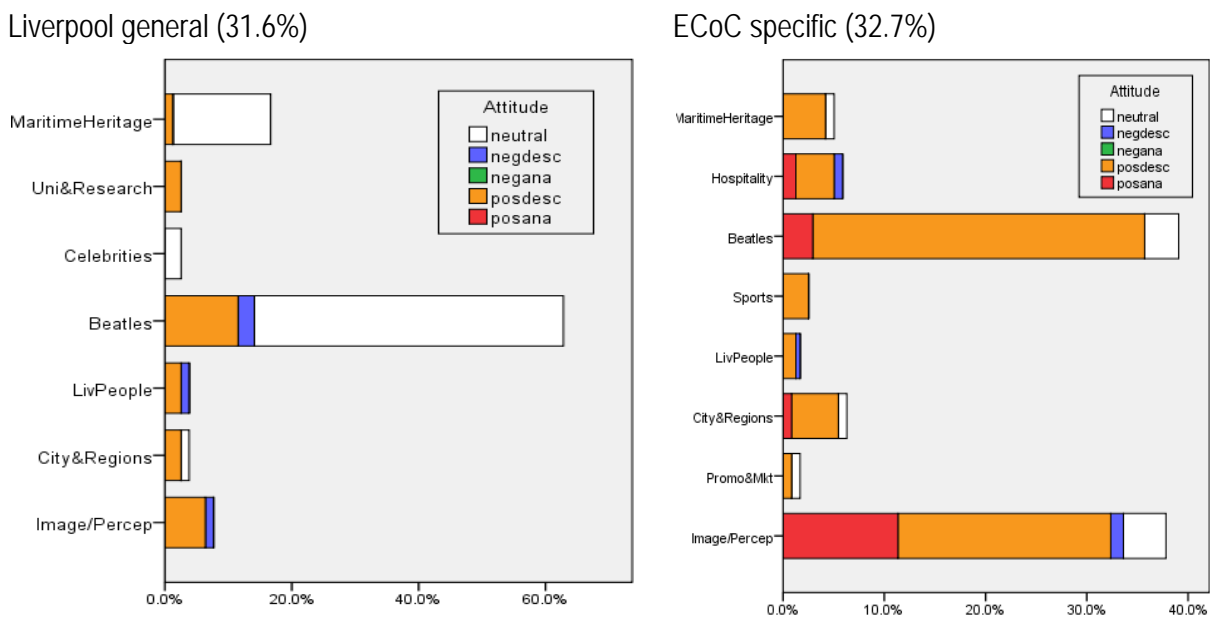
There is generally low coverage of the city's cultural institutions but some specific stories about: TATE Liverpool (Netherlands, France), Biennial (Switzerland, Netherlands), FACT (Canada, France), and the RLPO (Spain).

Art forms

The visual arts offer attracted most international coverage, which was mostly very positive. There was some criticism of Liverpool's heritage within Australian coverage.

City Image

Figure 48 – City Image and perceptions: International press attitudes on sub themes



Liverpool generic coverage

All countries refer to the Beatles and this subtheme dominates 60% of all Liverpool generic stories within the City image theme. A wide range of subthemes were covered by:

- Germany – Universities, Perceptions, City regions;
- Canada – Maritime heritage, Universities, City regions, and
- Ireland – in contrast with other countries, Irish coverage focussed mostly on Maritime heritage, then the Beatles, People, City-regions, and Perceptions.

Most negative coverage within this theme occurs in Ireland (People, Perceptions), and Canada (one fifth of Beatles stories).

ECoC specific coverage

All countries refer to the 2 dominant subthemes of the Beatles and image renaissance/perceptions change, which account for almost 80% of ECoC specific coverage. City Image and changing perceptions is clearly a much higher proportion of ECoC stories than is the case for general Liverpool coverage, which seems to indicate that the ECoC has been a key motivator for debate on this topic.

The greatest diversity of subthemes, beyond the dominant topics, occurred in:

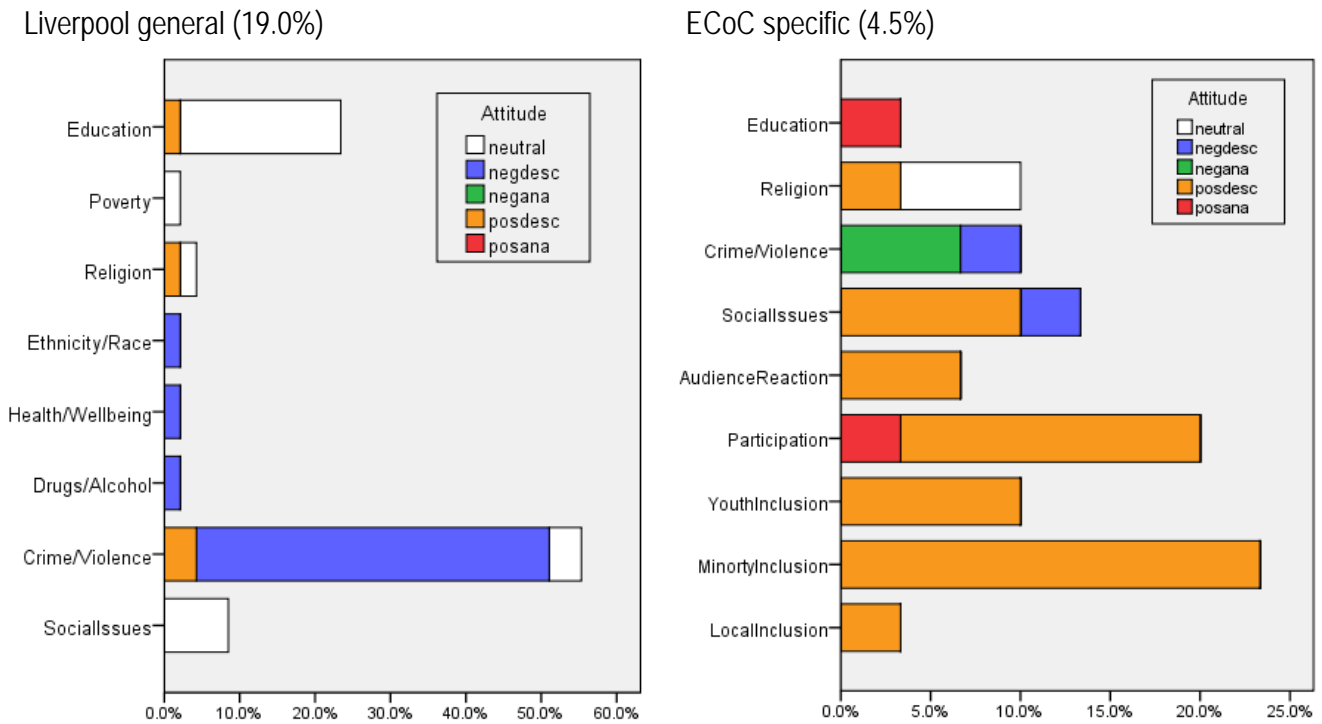
- Germany – Maritime heritage, City regeneration;
- Netherlands – Heritage, Hospitality, Promotion and Marketing;
- Spain – Sports, Heritage, People;
- Ireland – dominated by City-regions references above all others, followed by Hospitality;
- USA - Heritage, Hospitality, People;
- Australia – Hospitality, Heritage, and
- France - Hospitality, People.

Hospitality is clearly a topic that has attracted a lot of international coverage and is mainly around the quality of newly opened hotels, restaurants etc

Most negative coverage comes from Ireland (around People, Perceptions), Canada (Hospitality) and France (Perceptions).

Social Issues

Figure 49 – Social Issues: International press attitudes on sub themes



Liverpool generic coverage

The Social issues theme accounts for 19% of all generic Liverpool coverage within the international press and is the third most popular theme. Coverage in all countries refers to the dominant subtheme of crime and violence and this is mainly negative except in the Netherlands, where 50% of stories are positive. Education is the only other significant subtheme and attracts mostly neutral coverage, particularly in Germany, USA, Ireland, Canada, and Australia.

Other subthemes each account for a small proportion of coverage. Religion attracts most coverage in Ireland, and receives very positive coverage in New Zealand. Drugs/ Alcohol is an issue only covered in the Netherlands. Ethnicity and Health/wellbeing receives coverage in Ireland and Poverty attracts most coverage in Australia.

ECoC specific coverage

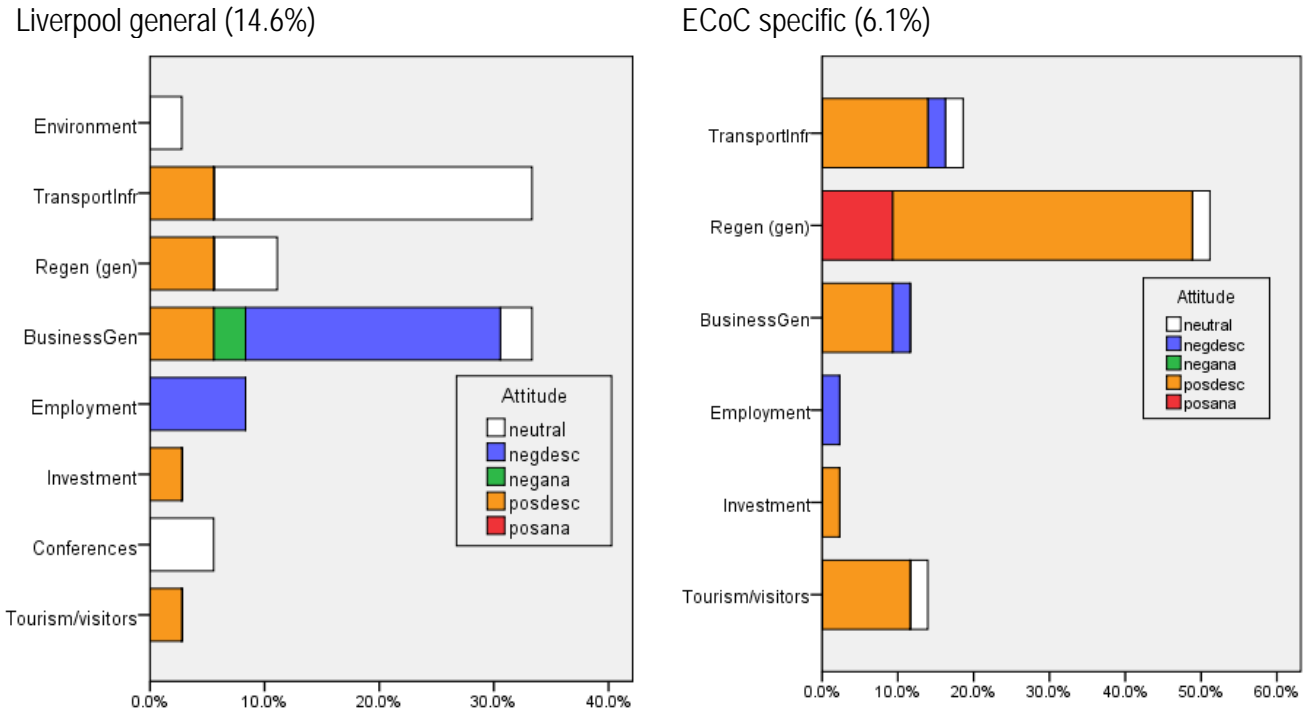
Social issues is a minor theme within ECoC specific coverage and accounts for only 4.5% of stories. The vast majority of overall coverage is positive but the Crime/violence subtheme provides the majority of negative coverage, which receives particular attention in Germany and Australia.

Ireland and France provide mainly positive coverage on issues around Participation, Audience involvement, Youth and minority inclusion. Switzerland provides a particular emphasis on Youth inclusion.

Economics and physical environment

These two separate themes provide a relatively small proportion of coverage on their own and are combined here due to the overlapping nature of their subthemes.

Figure 50 – Economics and Physical environment: International press attitudes on sub themes



Liverpool generic coverage

Economics and Physical environment stories combined provide 14.6% of all generic Liverpool international press coverage. Most countries refer to the two dominant subthemes: coverage of the Business subtheme is generally negative except in Ireland, (33% positive stories), and France (50% positive), and Transport infrastructure receives mostly neutral coverage. Regeneration is an issue mentioned by Germany, USA, Ireland and France in mainly neutral or positive terms.

France provides positive coverage on Regeneration and investment, negative coverage on Employment, and mixed coverage on Business opportunities. Australia is the only country to cover Tourism and provides positive coverage. The most negative coverage is on the subthemes of Business (Germany, Austria, USA, Canada, Australia, Spain) and Employment (Ireland, Canada, France).

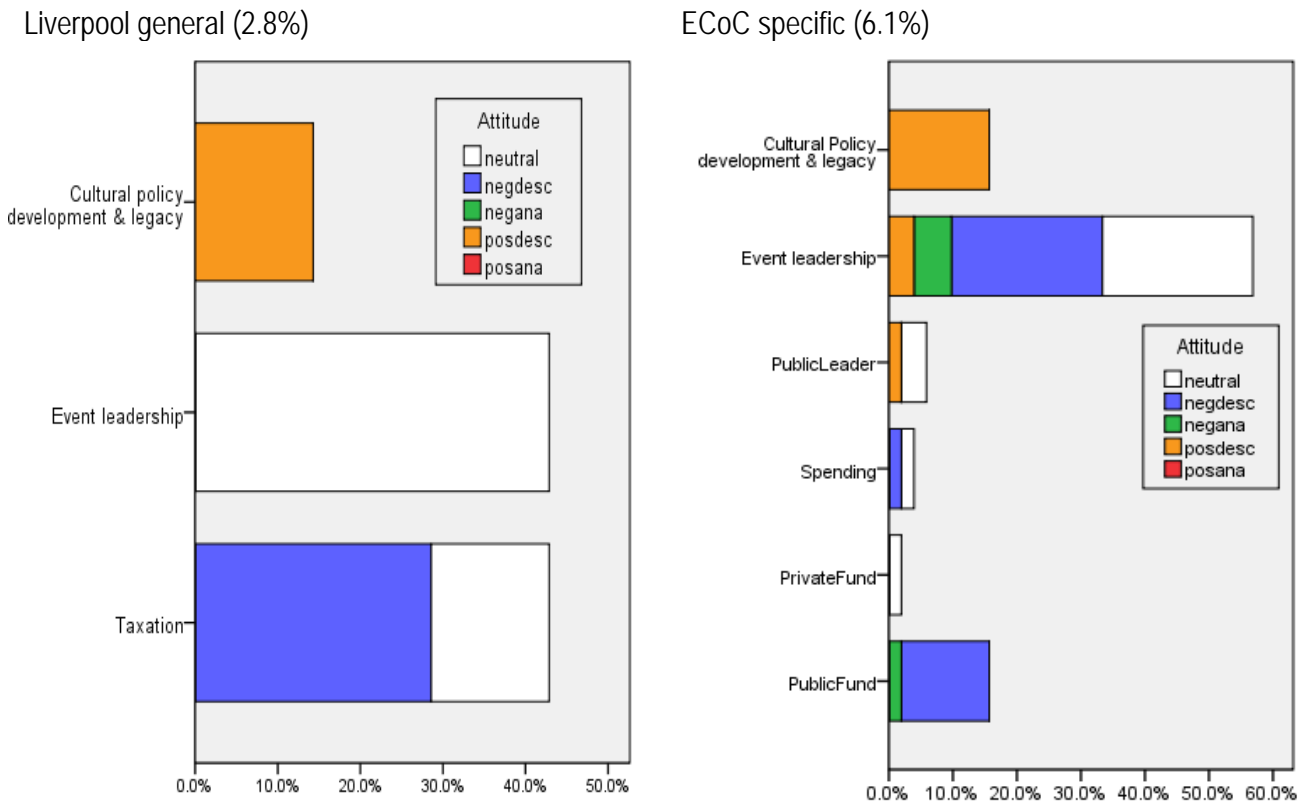
ECoC specific coverage

Economics and Physical environment stories combined provide only 6.1% of ECoC specific international press coverage. Regeneration is the overwhelmingly dominant subtheme mentioned by most countries and the coverage is mostly positive. Transport is the next most popular subtheme attracting most coverage in Germany, USA, Ireland and Canada. Tourism attracts coverage in Germany, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand. Business coverage is most prevalent in Netherlands, USA, France and Spain.

The vast majority of coverage within this theme is positive. The main sources of negative coverage are Transport (Germany), Business (USA) and Employment (Ireland).

Management and policy

Figure 51 – Management and policy: International press attitudes on sub themes



Liverpool generic coverage

This theme is insignificant (2.8%) within general Liverpool coverage and is only mentioned in a minority of stories in Ireland, France and Spain. Coverage in Ireland focuses upon Cultural policy and legacy issues in positive terms and also covers taxation. France and Spain provide generally neutral coverage on Event leadership.

ECoC specific coverage

The Management and policy theme attracts 6.1% of all ECoC specific coverage and is mentioned by almost all countries. Almost all countries refer to Event leadership as a subtheme. The most positive coverage is around the Cultural policy and legacy debate (Netherlands, Ireland, Australia). Event leadership attracts the most negative coverage except in Canada that treats this topic very positively. Funding issues are also a source of negative coverage, particularly in Germany and Switzerland.

4.3. Local and national broadcast coverage

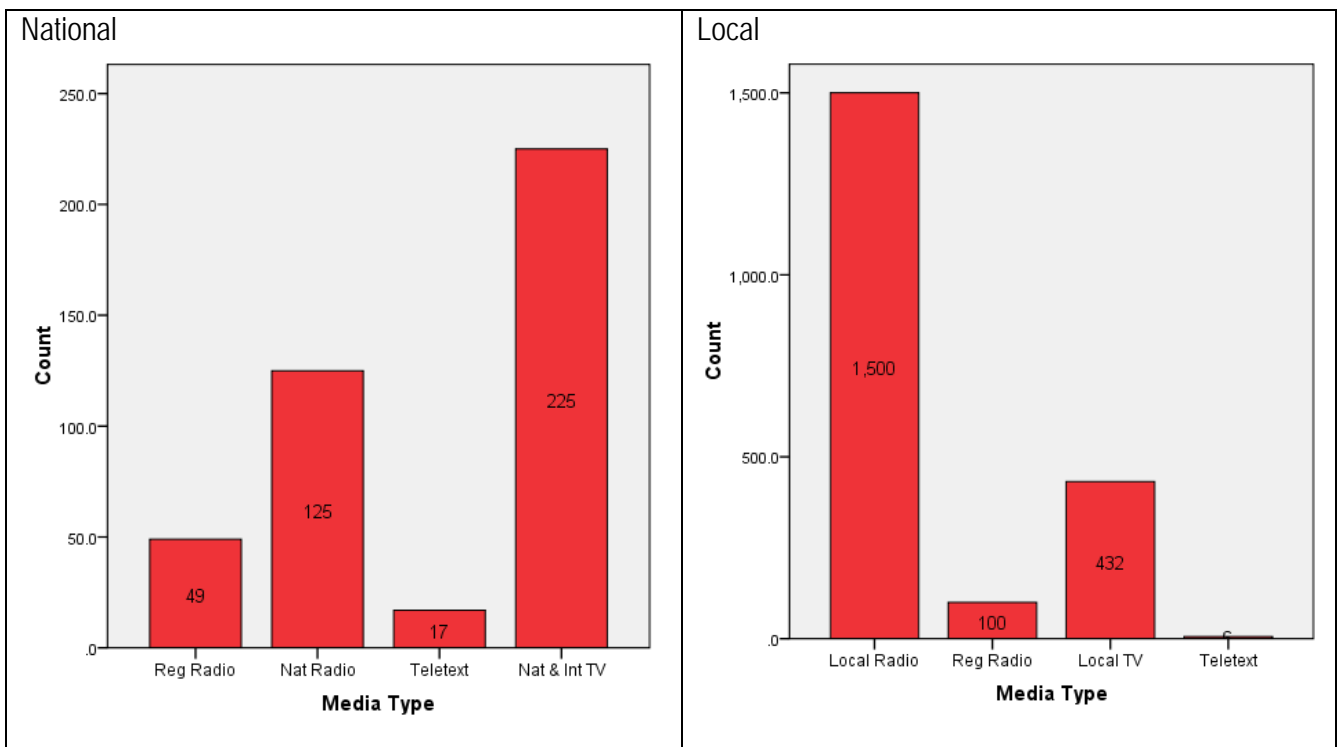
As noted in the introduction, the analysis of broadcast coverage has relied on a different sampling process to the rest of this report. The sampling was conducted by Liverpool City Council's News Room and focuses on the identification of stories that relate to the Council's portfolios (from social issues to economic regeneration and culture). As such, the stories presented here cannot be divided between generic Liverpool city and specific ECoC coverage. Instead, they are all stories that in some way touch on areas considered of particular interest to Liverpool City Council's portfolios. These include, naturally, all ECoC related stories.

The findings in this section combine the analysis of stories emerging in 2008 specifically, and also some reference to identified changing trends between 2007 and 2008. As in the case of press stories, they are organised in three main areas: volume and sources of coverage, overarching attitudes and key themes.

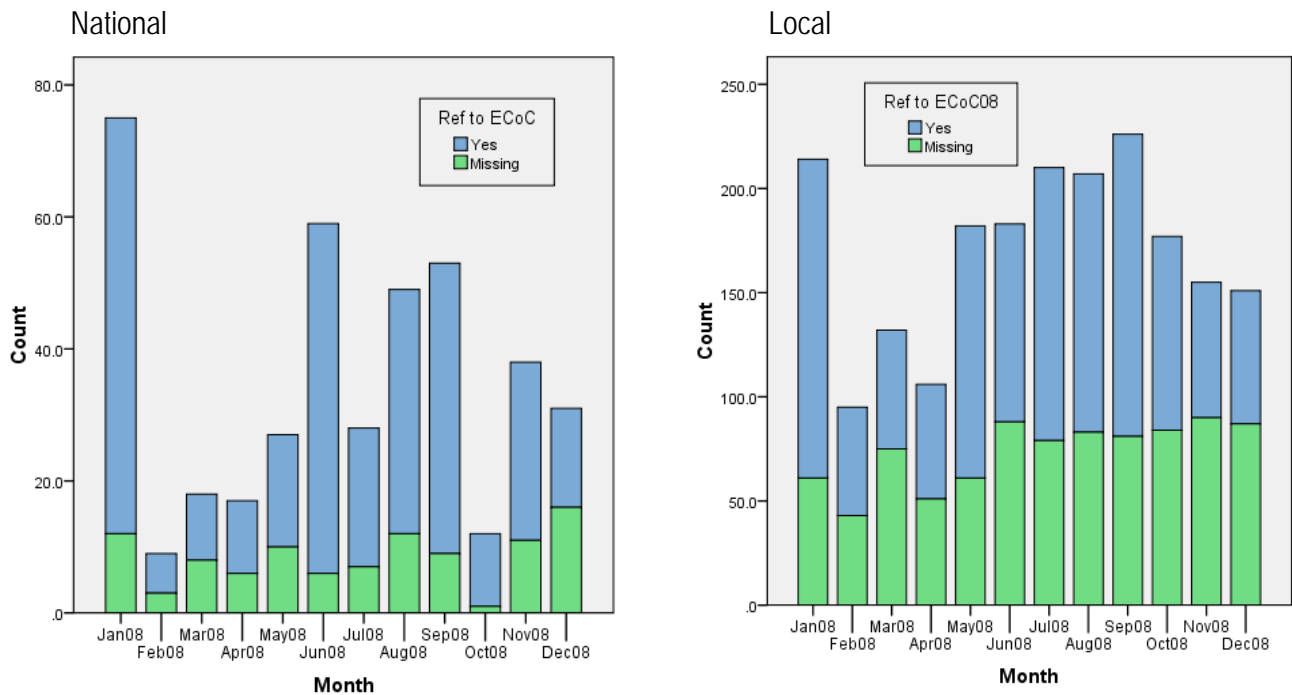
4.3.1. Volume and sources of coverage

As it was to be expected, broadcast coverage on Liverpool is dominated by local radio, followed by local/regional television and national television. The most remarkable change in the distribution of sources since 2007 is the growth in national television coverage. The main sources of TV coverage, nationally, are BBC1, followed by ITV and BBC2, then Channel 4 and Sky news. National radio channels producing the greatest range of stories on Liverpool are BBC radio 4 (particularly, the Today programme), followed by 5 Live and BBC Radio 2. Locally, most coverage is offered by Radio Merseyside, particularly its Breakfast and Roger Philips programmes, followed by the City Talk station (mainly Dean Sullivan show). BBC North West is the main source of local TV coverage (particularly, the Tonight programme), followed by ITV/Granada.

Figure 52 – Volume of broadcast by type (radio and TV, national and local)



On average, national broadcasters referred to the Liverpool ECoC in 76% of all the stories captured in this sample during 2008, while this was the case for 57% of all local broadcaster stories. The graph below shows the progression in volumes and percentage of ECoC specific coverage month by month throughout 2008.

Figure 53 – Monthly broadcast coverage and percentage of references to the Liverpool ECoC

Nationally, January is clearly the month attracting the highest levels of coverage on Liverpool, and up to 84% of this coverage is related to the ECoC title. This is followed by June, September and August, which are also months presenting above average percentages of ECoC stories. It is significant to compare this with the profile of Liverpool broadcast coverage in 2007, as this was far less voluminous and, naturally, less associated with ECoC stories. In 2007, the months attracting the largest volumes of coverage were September and November 2007. Interestingly, September was also a month dominated by ECoC stories, due to it being the month of the official ECoC programme launch.

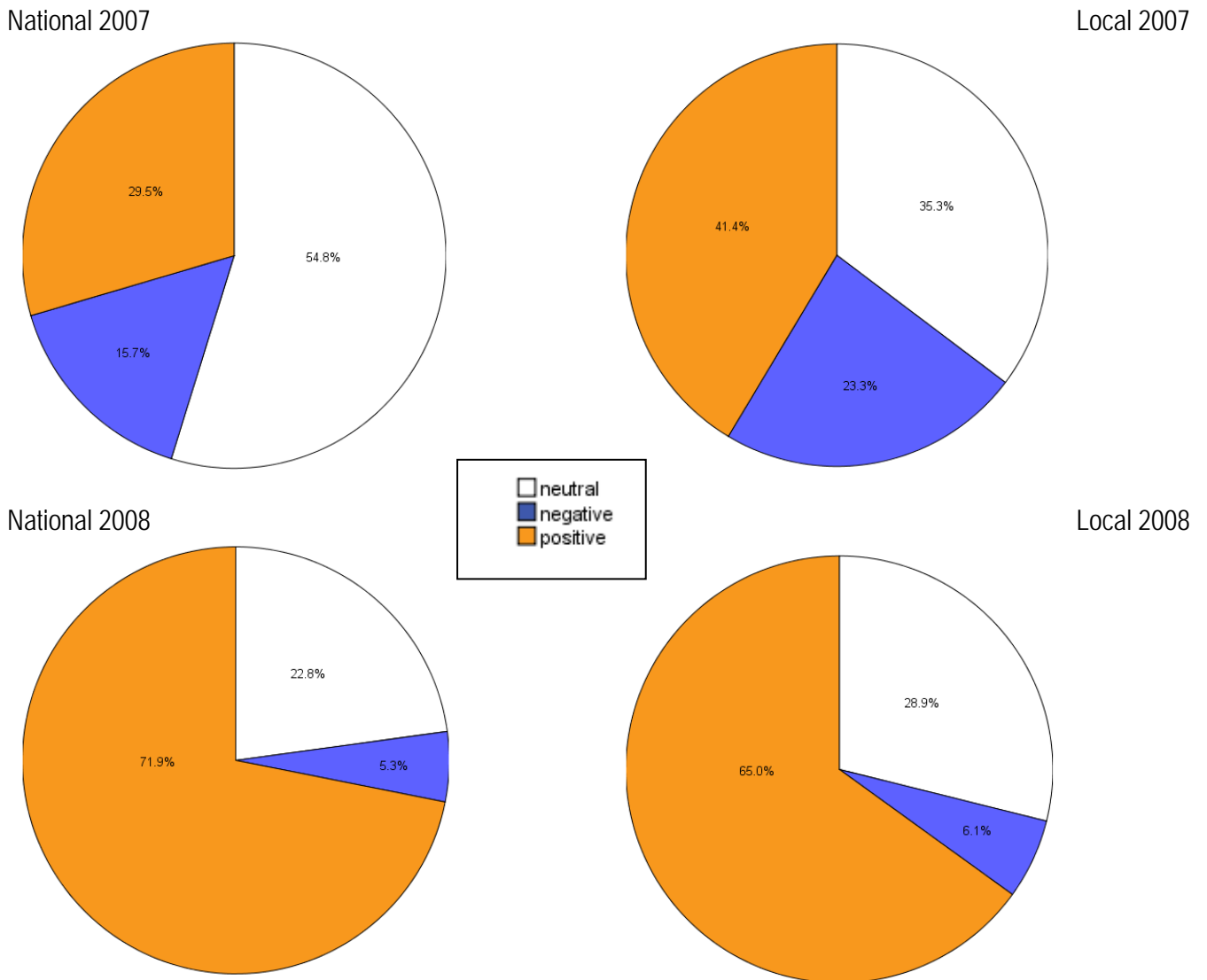
Locally, it is not possible to identify dominant months for coverage, although it is interesting to detect a trough between February and April. The proportion of references to the ECoC remain high throughout (always above 50% of total monthly coverage), with January, September and May attracting the highest proportions of all.

Correlating this with the thematic focus of monthly coverage, it is possible to infer that January coverage was mainly related to the official ECoC opening events, May and June were mainly motivated by the Paul McCartney concert, and September by the Spider/La Machine. This is consistent with the focus of UK national, local, and international press coverage as well.

National broadcast coverage on Liverpool started growing towards the last quarter of 2007, particularly from September, which was the time when the full Liverpool ECoC programme was launched.

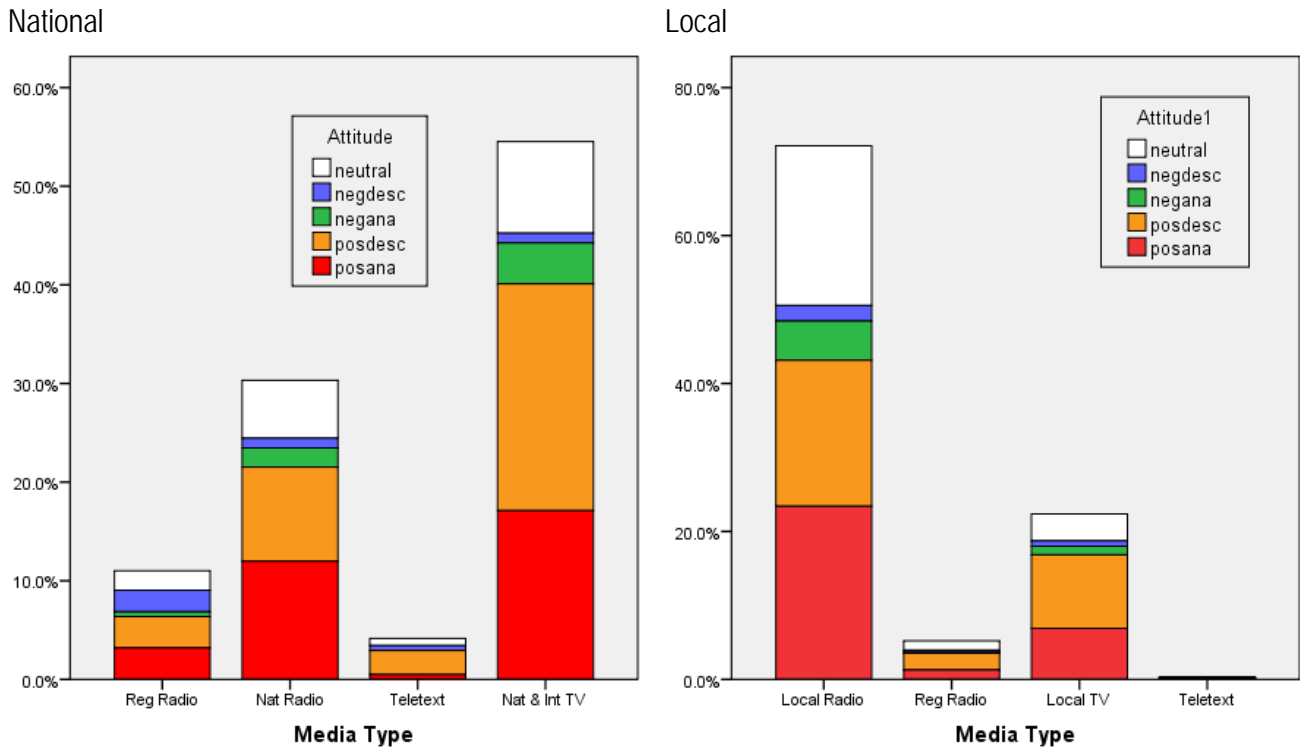
4.3.2. Overarching attitudes

Figure 54 – Broadcast coverage: Total year attitudes (2007 versus 2008)



National broadcast coverage was mostly neutral during 2007, though locally, there was slightly more positive than neutral coverage. During 2008, broadcast attitudes are overwhelmingly positive both nationally and locally. Negative angles represent less than 6% of total broadcast coverage in 2008 and neutral angles represent around a quarter of coverage.

Figure 55 – Broadcast attitudes by media type, 2008



There is a similar distribution of attitudes across all broadcast types, clearly dominated by positive angles.

Negative stories account for a small percentage of coverage and tend to concentrate in the following stations:

- Within national radio, the highest concentration of negative reporting is found in Radio 5 live, then BBC radio 2;
- Within national TV, most negative coverage tends to be presented within ITV, then Channel 4;
- Within local radio stations, most negative coverage takes place within the Roger Philips show, and
- Within local or regional television, most negative coverage occurs in BBC NW tonight, then ITV / Granada.

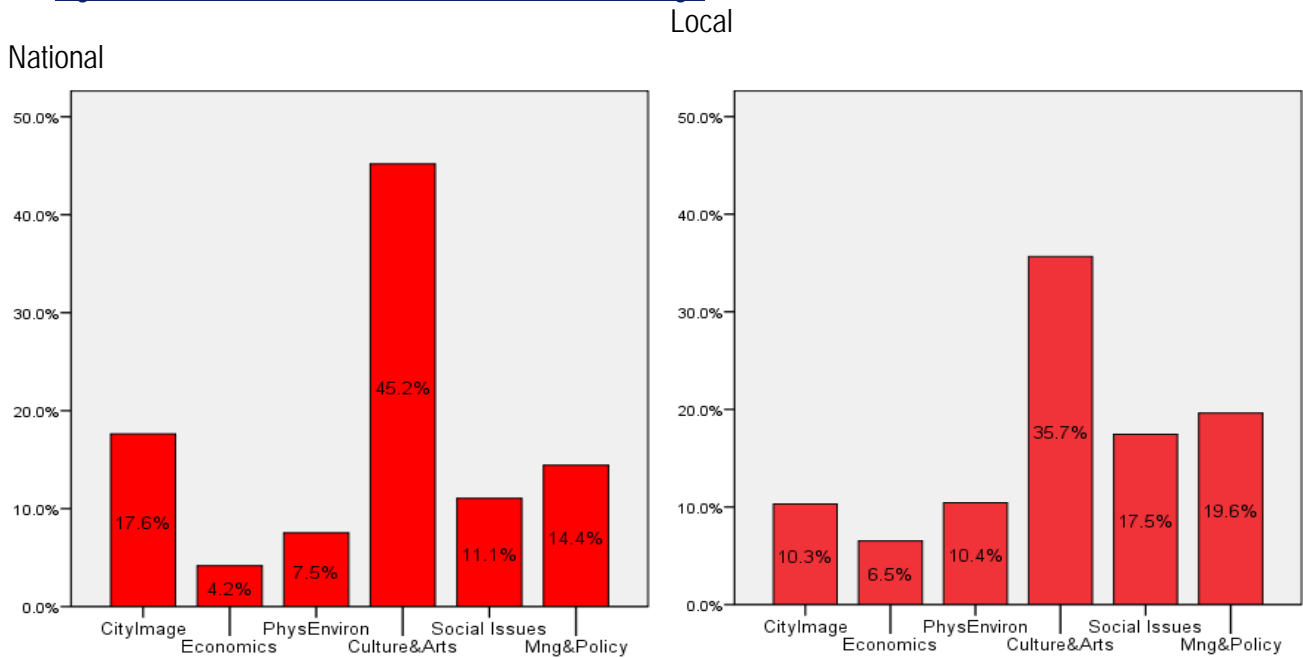
All international television clips that have been identified were of a positive nature.

4.3.3. Thematic analysis

Percentage of themes (Volume of stories)

There is a similar distribution of thematic coverage across national and local broadcasts, with a slightly higher emphasis on Culture and City image at national level. The main differences from the thematic distribution in 2007 are: much less emphasis on Social issues (over 28.5% of all broadcast stories in 2007, between 11% and 17.5% in 2008); more emphasis on Culture and the arts (from average of 25%-36% in 2007 to 36%-45% in 2008) and, as has been the case within the press, less emphasis on Physical change (16% in 2007, less than 10% in 2008).

Figure 56 – Thematic distribution of broadcast coverage

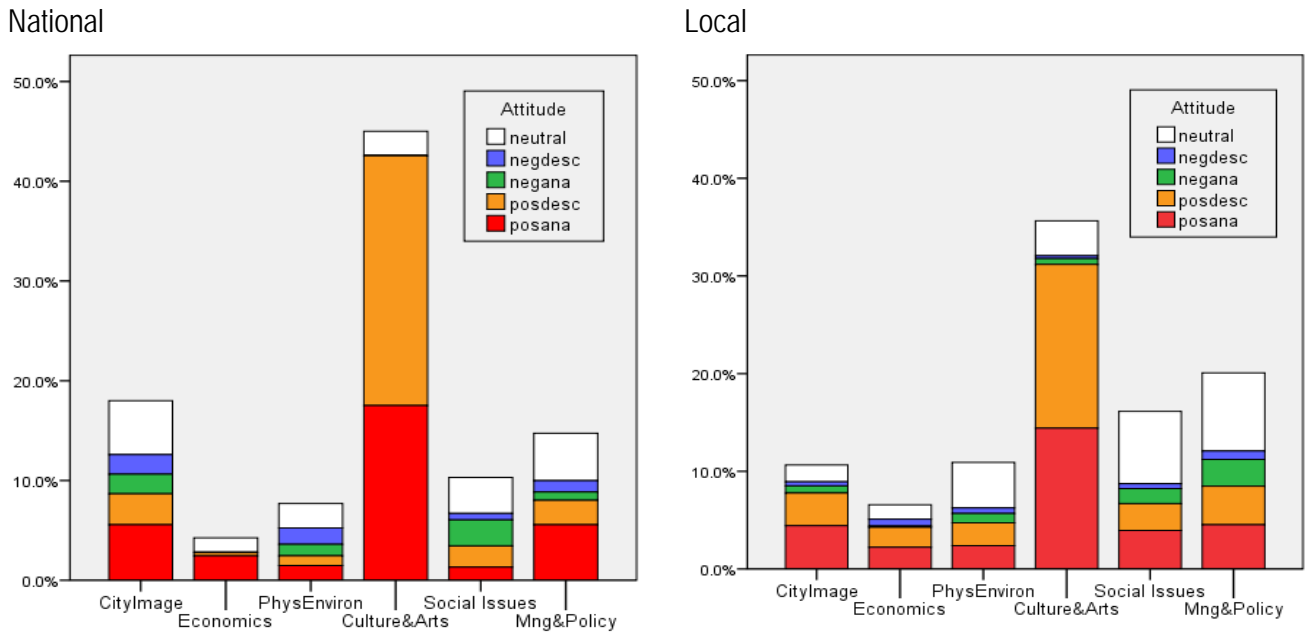


Locally, both radio and TV stations cover a similar range of themes, and place a greater emphasis on social issues than national broadcasters. Most thematic angles are spread out equally throughout the year.

Nationally and within regional stations outside Liverpool/Merseyside, there is a greater emphasis on Culture and arts, as well as Image stories, compared with local coverage. There is a similar distribution of themes across both UK national and non-Liverpool based regional stations. The only noticeable differences are a greater focus on Management and policy issues within national radio and national TV, while regional stations provide twice the amount of coverage on Physical issues than their national counterparts.

Main themes and attitudes to themes

Figure 57 – Attitudes within themes (broadcast coverage)



Unsurprisingly, broadcast coverage is dominated by Culture and arts stories. The main differences in the overarching tone between national and local broadcast stories are as follows: national broadcasters tend to be more negative on Image stories, as well as Physical change stories and Social issues, but more positive on Culture and the arts as well as Economics (no negative coverage).

National coverage is highly concentrated on particular topics, amongst which, specific cultural events dominate (around 45% of national coverage). The next theme attracting the highest level of national coverage is the city's image renaissance.

As it is to be expected, **local broadcasters** provide a more diverse range of topics. Culture & arts stories still dominate and account for 35.7% of local coverage. Management and policy and Social Issues attract a higher proportion of coverage locally than nationally.

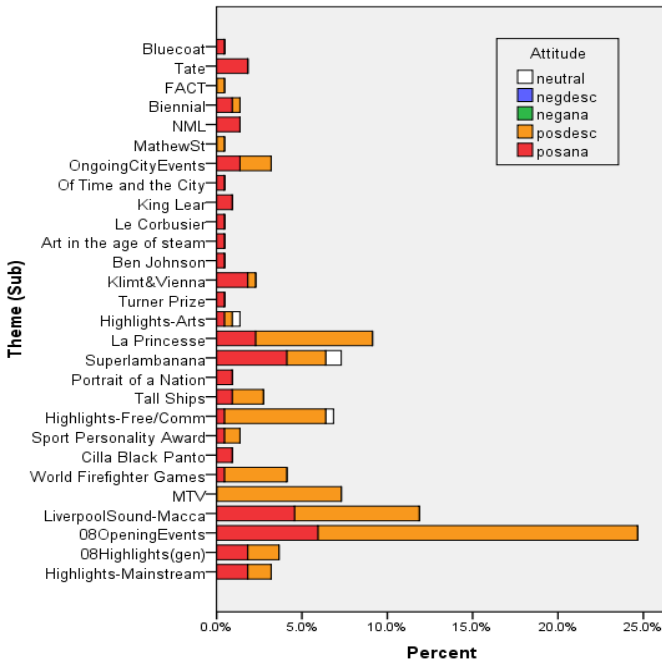
4.3.4. Dominant stories

This section looks at the six thematic clusters in turn and provides an analysis of the dominant stories and subthemes within each and the attitude of the coverage.

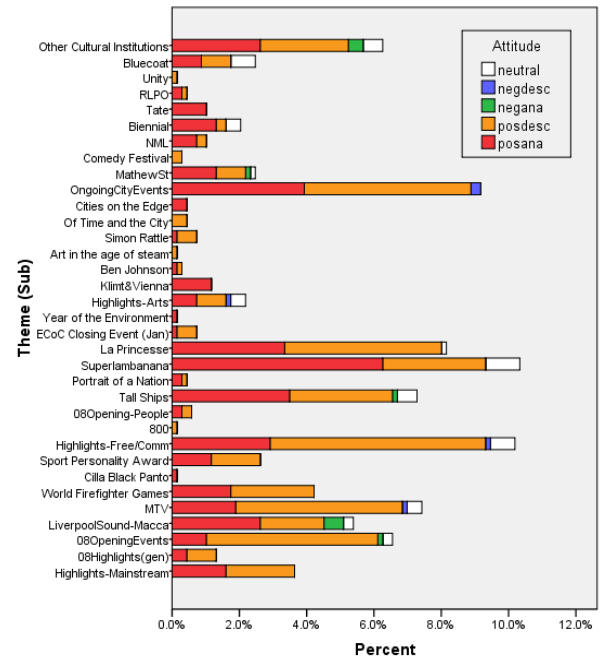
Culture/ arts stories

Figure 58 – Culture and arts: broadcast attitudes on specific events

National (45.2% of all broadcasts)



Local (35.7%)



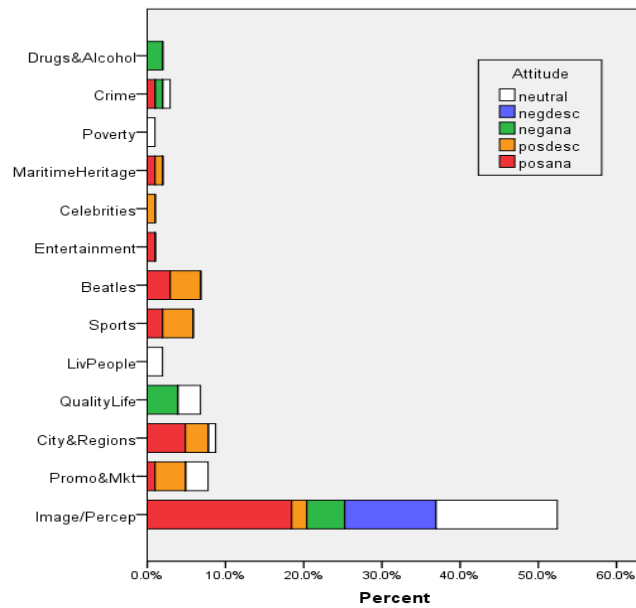
Culture and Arts stories account for 45.2% of all **national** broadcast coverage and are almost 100% positive. The Opening Events weekend is clearly the dominant subtheme, attracting almost 25% of all the coverage given to Culture and Arts. The next most popular events in terms of national broadcast coverage are: Liverpool Sound/the Paul McCartney concert (12%); the Spider/La Princesse (9%); Superlambananas and the MTV Awards (both around 7.5%), and Free/Community Events (around 7%).

Local broadcast coverage is also dominated by Culture and arts stories, which account for 35.7% of all local coverage. Local broadcasters cover a much more diverse range of subthemes than the nationals and local coverage is not dominated by any particular event. The most coverage is given to Superlambananas and Free/Community Events, which both account for just over 10% of local coverage within this theme.

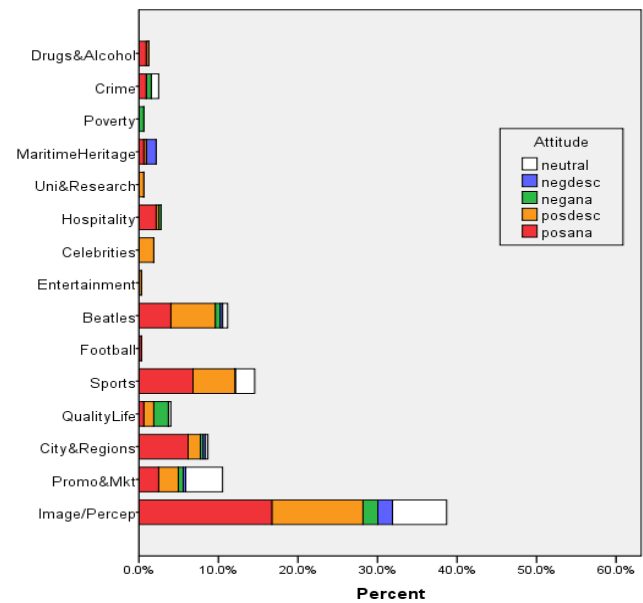
City image

Figure 59 – City Image: broadcast attitudes on subthemes

National (17.6% of all broadcasts)



Local (10.3%)



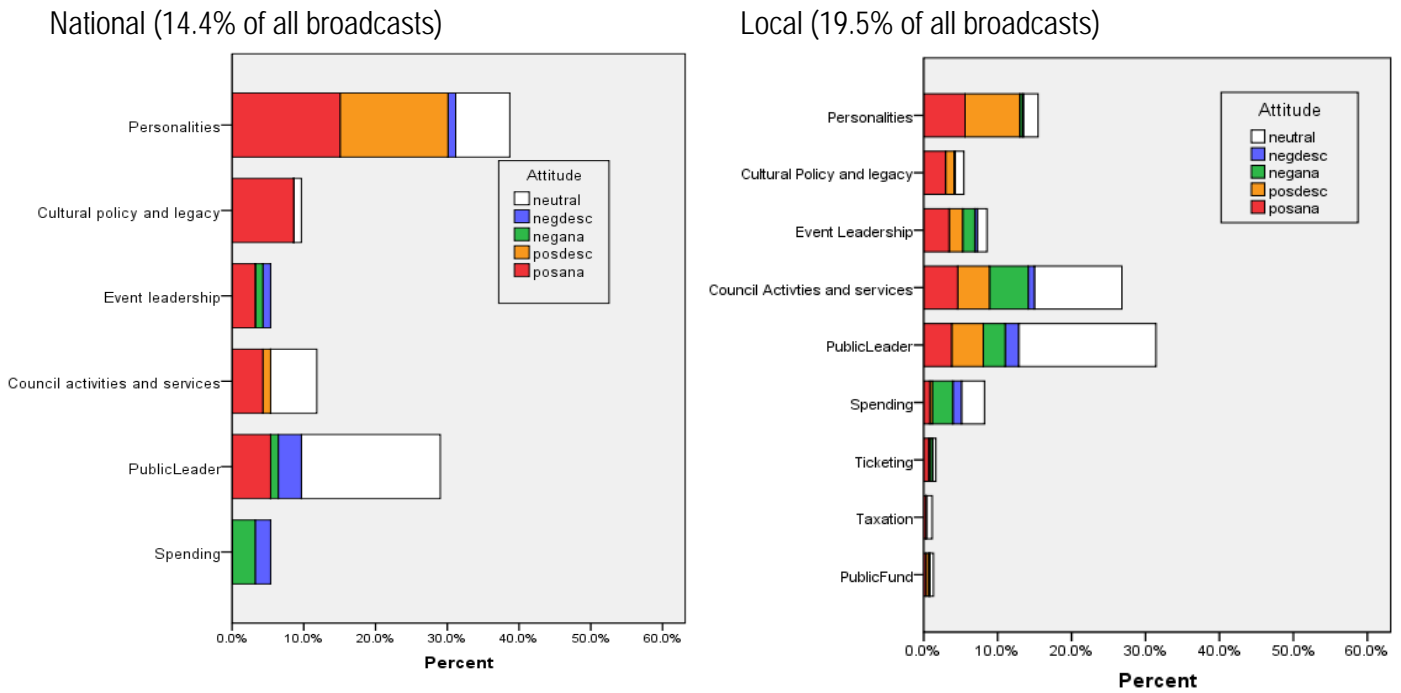
City Image is the second most popular theme for **national** broadcasters and accounts for 17.6% of all national broadcast coverage. Around half of the coverage within this theme is positive, and the other half is almost evenly split between negative and neutral coverage.

Image and perceptions of the city is clearly the dominant subtheme and accounts for over half of the coverage within this theme. The majority of negative coverage within the City Image theme occurs in the Image and Perceptions subtheme. Quality of life, Drugs and Alcohol, and Crime are the other subthemes that contain some negative coverage.

Locally, City Image is only the fifth most popular theme and accounts for 10.3% of total local broadcast coverage. The majority of the coverage is positive. The sub themes are dominated by discussions around changing perceptions of the city, followed by Sport and the Beatles

Management and policy

Figure 60 – Management and policy: broadcast attitudes on subthemes

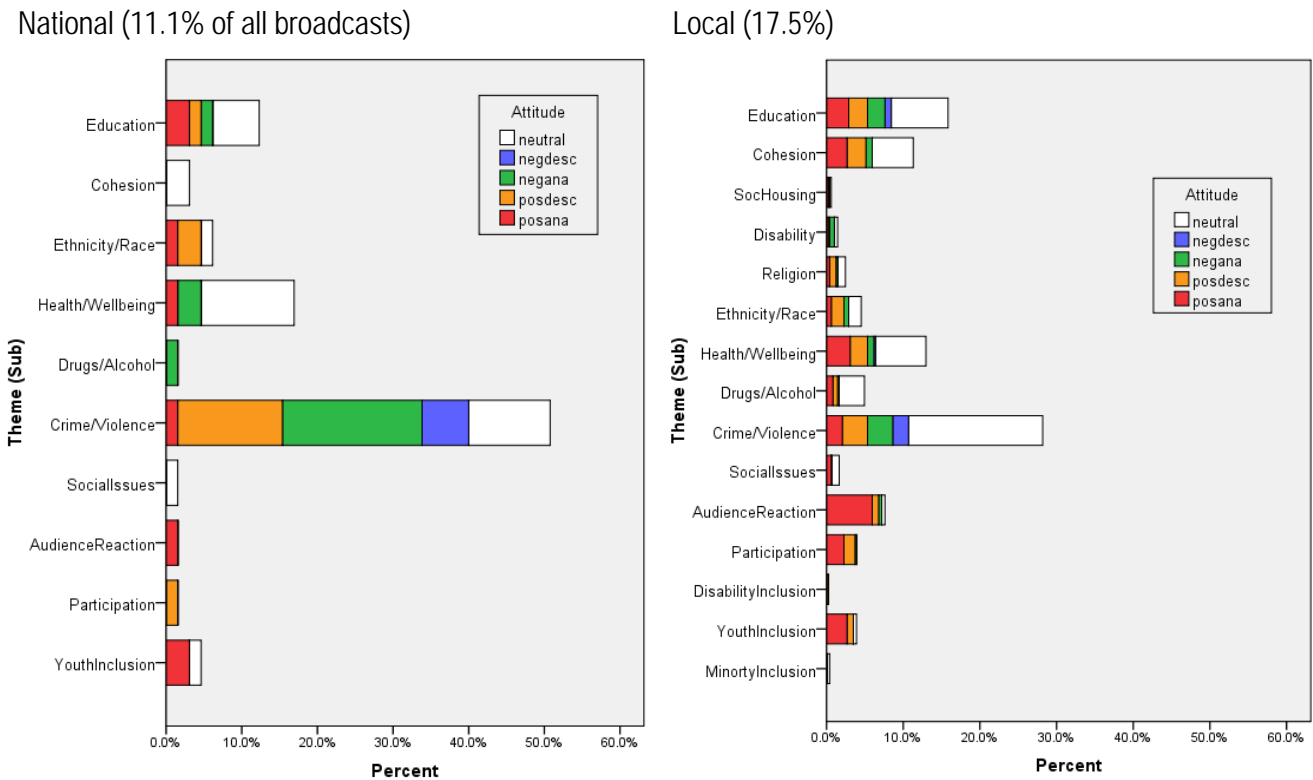


14.4% of **national** broadcast coverage was focused upon Management and policy issues and this was the third most popular theme for national broadcasters. The dominant subtheme was around the Personalities involved in the delivery of the year and this coverage was mostly positive. The next most popular subtheme was Public leadership, which attracted mostly neutral coverage. Council activities accounted for just over 10% of coverage within this theme and was mostly neutral or positive. Cultural policy and legacy issues accounted for just below 10% of coverage and was all positive.

Local broadcasters devoted 19.5% of their coverage to Management and policy issues, making it the second most popular theme locally. Public leadership, followed by Council activities were the main subthemes accounting for around 60% of coverage within the theme and coverage of these two subthemes was half neutral, 30% positive and 20% negative.

Social issues

Figure 61 – Social issues: broadcast attitudes on subthemes

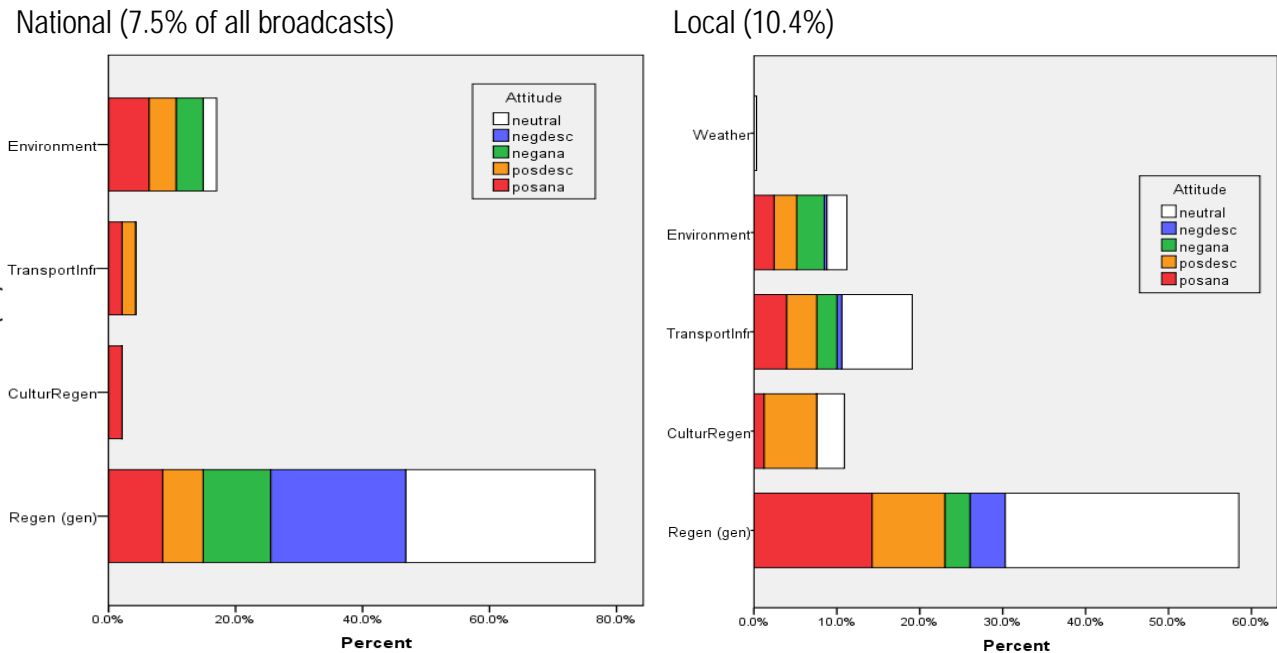


11% of **national** broadcast coverage was on Social issues, the fourth most popular theme for national broadcasters. Overall, there was a fairly even split of neutral, positive and negative coverage. The major subtheme was Crime/violence (50%) and this attracted the vast majority of negative coverage within the Social issues theme. Health and wellbeing was the next most popular subtheme and attracted mostly neutral coverage. Positive coverage tended to be around interventions and initiatives around Crime, Youth inclusion, Race and Education.

Social issues accounted for 17.5% of **local** broadcast coverage and was the third most popular theme for local broadcasters. Overall there was much less negative coverage of this theme locally than nationally and there was an even split of neutral and positive coverage. Local broadcasters also covered a wider range of subthemes than the nationals. The main subtheme was Crime/violence (30%) which was mostly neutral and much less negative than national coverage. The next most popular subthemes were Education, followed by Cohesion, and Health and well being – these subthemes contained mostly neutral or positive coverage.

Physical environment

Figure 62 – Physical environment: broadcast attitudes on subthemes



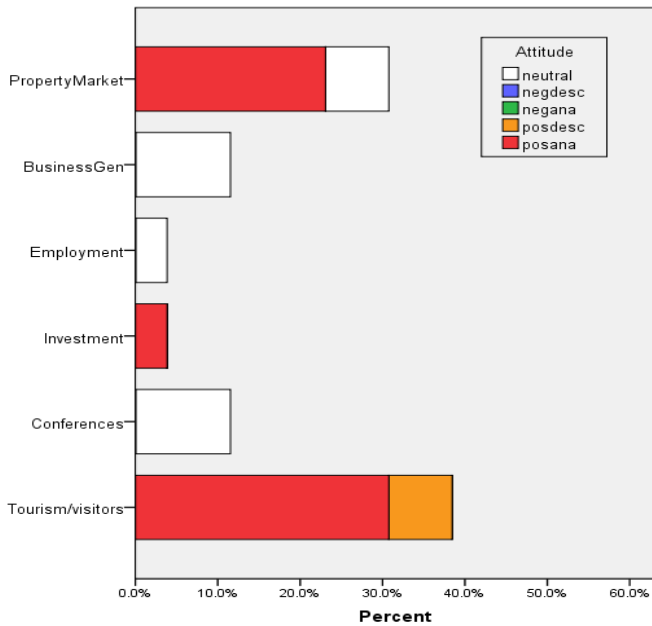
National broadcasters devoted 7.5% of coverage to the theme of the Physical environment and change, making this the fifth most popular theme nationally. Coverage of this theme is fairly evenly distributed between neutral, negative and positive. Regeneration stories dominate the vast majority of coverage (over 75%) and this subtheme contains mostly negative or neutral coverage.

Local broadcasters devoted 10.4% of coverage to Physical environment stories and this was the fourth most popular angle locally. Regeneration was again the most popular subtheme and contained mostly neutral and positive coverage and considerably less negative coverage than was the case for national broadcasters.

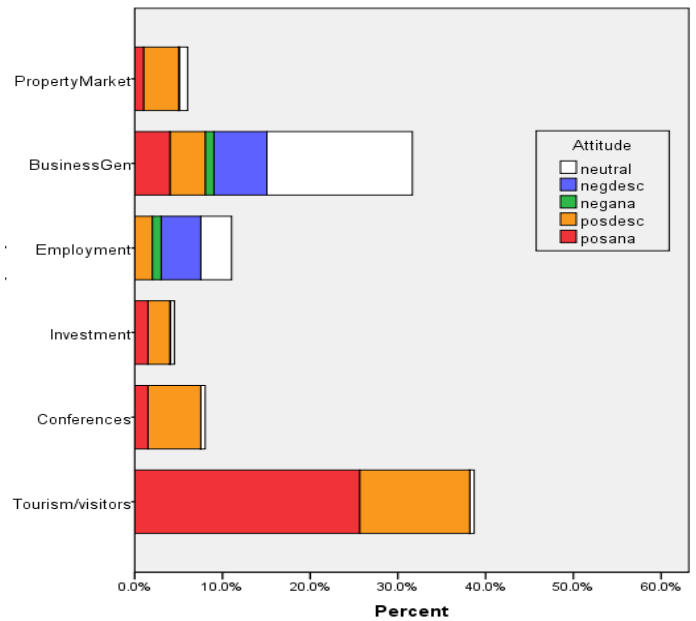
Economics

Figure 63 – Economics: broadcast attitudes on subthemes

National (4.2% of all broadcasts)



Local (6.5%)



Economic stories were the least popular theme for both national and local broadcasters, attracting 4.2% of national and 6.5% of local coverage. **National** coverage was completely positive or neutral and the dominant subthemes were Tourism, followed by the Property market.

Local coverage of this theme was similarly dominated by Tourism stories but Business stories were more prevalent and Property stories less so compared with national coverage. Overall local broadcast coverage of Economic themes was mostly positive or neutral but there was a minority of negative coverage that occurred in the subthemes of Business and Employment.

5. Conclusions: The Impact of the ECoC on Liverpool media narratives

The analysis of over a decade of coverage on Liverpool indicates that media narratives about the city have changed considerably. Further, our detailed assessment of local, national and international trends shows that coverage about Liverpool in the context of the ECoC was markedly different to generic city coverage to start with, but has become increasingly similar, thus suggesting that the ECoC has had some effect on reporting about the city at large. As highlighted throughout this report, the main ECoC-related impact on city narratives is the marked growth and sustained dominance of arts and culture stories which, by the end of 2008, attract as a high a volume of headlines as social issues.

The ECoC year has had a slightly different impact on local, national and international media reporting. Nationally, the greatest impact is in terms of volume (larger number of stories and more diverse since nomination) and the change of thematic emphasis. Locally, the greatest impact appears to be the attitudinal focus, as there has been a consistently larger proportion of stories of a positive nature, particularly in 2008. Internationally, the main change in trends that can be directly associated with the ECoC is the growth in stories about the city's image renaissance.

From a timing point of view, it is quite apparent that the bidding year played an important role setting the scene for what could be termed Liverpool's media renaissance. Arguably, the bid year was more influential in terms of attitudinal change, while the event year could be seen as most determinant for ongoing changes in thematic emphasis. Tellingly, media reporting in 2003 reached a national peak for positive stories about the ECoC as well as Liverpool in general and could be partially associated with the raising of expectations that is often referred to by stakeholders in other Impacts 08 reports.¹⁶ Such a raise in expectations, and the subsequent realisation that they may be difficult to meet in full, has been seen by some as the reason for a loss in confidence in 2005 and, particularly, 2007, which is reflected by a growth in negative reporting pre-2008.

In terms of volume, national papers produced a far higher number of non-football related stories about Liverpool in 2008, particularly in January, during the event's opening weekend. The growth in volume and diversity of story angles has resulted in a raised (positive) profile for the city. Such growth has been motivated by ECoC events but also facilitated by the establishment of a press operations team within the Culture Company with a clear remit to promote the city's cultural assets. The latter, which can also be seen as an ECoC-related outcome, has contributed to the city's becoming a more regular feature within weekend supplements (in the context of arts, travel, fashion and other entertainment or tourism stories) than was the case before 2003.

Overall, thus, the ECoC title has had an impact on the volume, attitudinal focus and thematic focus of coverage about Liverpool and has resulted in a strong and sustained narrative about the city as a cultural hub with artistic assets of national and international significance. Although other UK cities have also seen a growth in culture-related coverage over this period (notably, Newcastle-Gateshead, a favourite candidate to host the ECoC back in 2003), this can be explained on the grounds that they focused resources and city-wide communication strategies on their cultural offering. In the case of Liverpool, it seems unlikely that media trends would have changed so noticeably if the city had not hosted the ECoC. This is because of the deeply-rooted negative pre-conceptions that have traditionally prevailed within UK national reporting. The city's ongoing regeneration programme, in particular, the opening of Liverpool One and the refurbishment of its waterfront, would have attracted high volumes of local coverage and some attention nationally. However, such coverage would have lacked a distinct angle as these are developments that have been common in other UK urban centres such as Birmingham, Cardiff, Glasgow or Newcastle-Gateshead. Further, without the ECoC title, flagship national broadcasts such as the Culture Show or Sports Personality of the Year and, most importantly, UK and international media events such as the MTV Awards and the Turner Prize would have not been hosted in Liverpool. These are all significant media moments that have been brought to the city as a result of hosting the ECoC and they have guaranteed a positive cultural spotlight for Liverpool. Such experience has also set a precedent that makes ongoing positive cultural reporting on Liverpool more likely than was the case previously.

¹⁶ See final report: Impacts 08 (2010) *Creating an Impact*. Available at: www.impacts08.net

Areas for future reporting and additional research

This report presents a first overview of evolving media trends about Liverpool and demonstrates the value of establishing a comprehensive framework for media analysis in order to evidence some of the so-called 'soft impacts' of hosting the ECoC title. In order to understand the sustainability of such changes on the city's narrative and their medium to long term legacy, further data analysis and additional research is necessary.

The main areas that would be worth following up are the following:

- Building on the existing data, a follow up report could focus on the nuances of thematic and attitudinal changes. Such report should offer a more detailed qualitative analysis of the material identified to complement the current focus on statistical trend analysis.
- Using the same methodological framework, additional data should be collected in the years 2010 as well as five to ten years on in order to identify which trends are being sustained in the aftermath of 2008.
- Further, building on the existing data and other datasets produced by the Impacts 08 programme, additional research could be conducted to establish the extent to which the changed media representation of the city has altered the perceptions of individuals, potential investors and visitors, and their medium to long term sustainability.
- Finally, the media analysis presented here should be compared with the material collected about Glasgow, 1990 European City of Culture. Research funded by the Centre for Cultural Policy Research at the University of Glasgow resulted in an extensive media dataset, covering the period 1986 (Glasgow's bid nomination) to 2003 (Liverpool's nomination). This would offer a unique opportunity to compare media narratives on the ECoC as a catalyst for culture-led regeneration since the establishment of such concept as a government policy priority in the UK.

Appendices:

1) Media content analysis Coding Book - Thematic categories and themes

1 Image of the city / Representing Liverpool

1.1	Image & perceptions (of Liverpool)	Liverpool's renaissance, generic image, identity, iconic representations (if more specific, choose codes below)
1.2	Promotion / place marketing	ie. discussion about the logo, slogans, specific campaigns; Look of the city (treated as a way of promoting city messages)
1.3	Regional identity and interregional relations	Relation of Liverpool to Manchester, the NW, other parts of the UK - no City focus ; Note "major events" column for Strand 2; International projection (ie Shanghai relations)
1.4	Quality of Life / city living	Generic code - overall discussion on the state of the city in quality of life terms as opposed to image transformation.
1.41	Liverpool people, Scouse language, friendliness	Specific emphasis on the Liverpool people as core characteristic of the city, their ways, their openness, their humour, their accent etc
1.5	Sports & Football	Only when referred to as an overall iconic city issue;
1.6	Music & Beatles	Only when referred to as an overall city issue; Presented as icon of Liverpool
1.62	Entertainment	Only in ref to overall city perception - as a place where there is lots going on, TV, Soap operas etc
1.63	Celebrities	Only when referred to as an overall city issue; NB distinguish from 8.4; ref to WAGS etc
1.64	Hospitality	Reviews of restaurants, hotels, shops, service levels, taxi, Liverpool as a city of service
1.7	University/Research/Ed education/ student life	Only when referred to as an overall city issue; presented in the context of statistics, city leagues, how Liverpool compares with other places, Distinguish from 6.6.
1.8	Maritime Heritage / Waterfront/ other Heritage	Only when clear ref as iconic aspect of Liverpool; can refer to dockers etc – distinguish from 5.931; also include other discussion on historic city / heritage at large (distinguish from 5.93)
1.81	Poverty	Only when referred to as an overall city issue; presented in the context of statistics, city leagues, how Liverpool compares with other places, being a historical problem etc Incl. personal financial difficulties, e.g. house repossession. Distinguish from 6.47.
1.9	Crime	Only when referred to as an overall city issue; presented in the context of statistics, city leagues, how Liverpool compares with other places, being a historical problem etc Distinguish from 6.41; Special area of assessment in Strand 1.
1.91	Drugs/Alcohol	Only when referred to as an overall city issue; presented in the context of statistics, city leagues, how Liverpool compares with other places, Incl. Pub Life. - As 1.9. Distinguish from 6.42.

2 Economic development

2.1	Leisure tourism / visitor numbers	Liverpool as a tourist city, growth in visitors
2.2	Conferences / business tourism	Liverpool as a conference and convention centre, conferences organised here, bookings - ie rel to ACC
2.3	Inward Investments	E.g. office spaces, factory opening/closing; Distinguish from 3.1
2.4	Employment	Job creation, job losses
2.5	Business general	
2.6	Property Market	State of rent, house prices, real state etc

3 Infrastructure and environment

3.1	Physical regeneration (general)	new buildings, overall construction, city changes; effects of construction (ie. safety issues)- includes ref to Liverpool One,
3.2	Cultural regeneration (specific focus)	E.g. refurbishments/new cultural venues (specific)- includes the Arena/ACC as key venue for top events
3.3	Transport	Specific to transport issues, rather than buildings- ie. opening of new bus city centre circular, new train lines to Liverpool, new flight connections; <i>NB: changes to Lime street as a building should be coded as 3.1</i>
3.4	Environmental issues	Littering, waste removal, green agenda
3.41	Weather related	

4 & 5 Cultural activity / city's cultural system

Origin of performance

Use this code when article focuses on the question of international projection, world class status versus insular, parochial local focus; or alternatively, discussion on the value to emphasise Liverpool character as opposed to importing external culture

4.1	Internationalism vs. parochialism	NB: Internationalism = presented as positive; lack of = negative NOTE any specific ref. to aspiration as "WORLD CLASS CITY" or "PREMIER EUROPEAN CITY"
4.2	Home talent vs. foreign imposition	Focus on local work is presented as positive; international focus as negative
4.3	Other festivals and events, non-Liverpool ECoC, non Liverpool based	If main focus of the article is on e.g. Edinburgh, Manchester, Cultural Olympiad or London 2012 etc.

08 Events - city highlights

Eg. articles referring to named events that are iconic on a given year

5.0	L2008 bid	General
5.1	Highlight popular / mainstream event	high profile popular acts / celebrities (ie comedians, TV people, pop acts)
5.11	08 Highlights in general	Overview of programme, listings etc- 08 focus
5.12	ECoC Launch event(s)	Special media events to present the year
5.121	Opening ceremonies, 08	Generic area: music
5.13	McCartney concert / Liverpool Sound	Generic area: music
5.14	MTV awards	Generic area: music
5.16	Adelphi the musical	
5.17	World Firefighter Games	
5.18	Cilla Black panto	This is being promoted as an 08 event after all
5.19	Sport Personality Award	
5.2	Highlight free/ community event	Focus on grassroots, people focus ie: Theatre in the parks, Liverpool Streets ahead, AudioVision, Power plant
5.21	800 th anniversary	Note as reference, also if not central enough to be theme.
5.22	People's Opening at St George's Plateau	(Where focus is on free/community nature of the event
5.23	Tall Ships	Generic area: maritime
5.24	Portrait of a Nation	Youth programme- Finale in December
5.25	Superlambanana parade	Inc. discussion on the lambananas and their future
5.26	Spider, La Princesse,	La Machine, Artichoke, outdoors spectacular
5.27	Liverpool Pavillions –	Metal/Edgehill, Garston/Republic, Kirkdale/Rotunda
5.28	Creative Communities	Inc: Four corners, Waiting project, It's Not OK
5.29	ECoC closing event (Jan 2009)	
5.291	2009, Year of the Environment	
5.3	Highlight high arts/ world renowned artists	

5.31	Turner Prize, 07	Generic area: visual arts
5.32	Klimt exhibition and Vienna season	
5.33	Ben Johnson Liverpool Panorama	
5.34	Art in the age of steam	
5.35	Dreamthinkspeak	theatre at the Cathedral
5.36	Simon Rattle concerts	Berlin Philharmoniker and Liverpool Philharmonic
5.37	Eric's the Musical	
5.38	Le Corbusier, Stirling prize	
5.39	King Lear/Pete Postlethwaite	
5.391	Of Time and the City, Digital Departures	Film programme commissioned by Culture Company
5.392	Human futures / Pipilotti rist, SK-Interfaces	
5.394	John Tavener Requiem	
5.393	Benjamin Britten	
5.4	Mixed city events	Liverpool city events in general (ie. not 08 specific but established city events)
5.41	Matthew Street festival	
5.42	Summer Pops	
5.43	Other city events	Africa Oye, Dadafest, Arabic Festival, Homotopia, Comedy festival, etc

Cultural institutions

Use these sub-themes when article places emphasis on the venue, institution or team behind it rather on the actual activities / programme presented (which should be coded as event or art/cultural form)

5.6	LIPA	
5.7	National Museums Liverpool (NML)	Includes Mus. of Liverpool, World Mus., Maritime Mus., Slavery Mus., Walker Gallery, Lady Lever Gallery, Customs & Excise Mus., Nat. Conservation Centre, Sudley House.
5.8	Biennial (Visual Arts)	
5.81	FACT	
5.82	TATE	
5.83	Liverpool Royal Philharmonic	
5.84	Everyman and Playhouse Theatres	
5.85	Unity Theatre	
5.86	Bluecoat Arts Centre	
5.89	Other cultural institutions	E.g. the cathedrals, football stadia, new opening centres (e.g. The Blackie) the Empire or Royal Court

Art & cultural forms & activities

This is to be utilised in the case of generic reporting on types of culture, rather than clear emphasis on a highlight event (with given title/performer) or a specific city venue. This is not necessarily 08 activity

NB: Key cultural typologies that are official **08 programming categories** are **bold & underlined**.

5.9	Mixed art forms	
5.91	<u>Visual Arts</u>	Galleries/Art collections/public arts/VA in general
5.92	Museums	NB: not visual art (history collections)
5.93	<u>Heritage</u> /monuments	Distinguish from 1.8 (about the actual buildings, rather than exhibit of it - which would be museum)
5.931	<u>Maritime</u> / sea/ waterfront links	Distinguish from 1.8 and 5.93 (specific form of heritage)
5.94	<u>Popular Music</u>	Pop concerts, gigs, clubbing, pop bands etc
5.95	Performing Arts	Theatre, Dance & Music (e.g. classical concerts), comedy acts
5.96	Film & other audiovisual	Distinguish from 1.62 (TV/Entertainment)
5.97	Poetry/Literature/Libraries	
5.98	Creative Industries	Distinguish from Music (5.94) and Film/AV (5.96)
5.981	Fashion	Liverpool Fashion week, event
5.99	<u>Sport & football</u>	

6 Social issues

Event participation

(NB: note **08 programming categories**)

6.1	Cultural inclusion/accessibility for the people of Liverpool/ local access	Generic debate on access as 'spectators' rather than direct participants or contributors (6.3)
6.2	Inclusion/ Access for minorities groups	Incl. religious, ethnic groups, sexuality issues
6.21	Inclusion / access for young people	Incl. children, schools and family events
6.22	Inclusion / access for disabled people	Will relate to Dadafest and other
6.3	Wider Participation and direct involvement in culture (community participation)	This is about actual involvement as participant, volunteer, actor (not spectator)
6.31	Audiences and citizens reaction	This category may include any reference to people's opinion on special events as well as the future of their city post the ECoC / during the ECoC – record of aspirations, expectations, views

City social issues

6.4	General social issues	Only use when none of the below works
6.41	Crime, violence and safety	BG: It is important to establish the difference between crime (particularly violent crime) and issues around safety - in relation to crime (not health, for instance). Perceptions of crime is a particularly relevant topic for the Council and culture company so we may need to create additional sub-categories - include ref in NOTES for now so that we confirm approach
6.42	Drugs/ alcohol	
6.43.	Health / well-being	
6.44	Ethnic/racial issues	Not related to event participation; not race-related crime, e.g. racism
6.45	Religious issues	
6.46	Disability	
6.47	Poverty	
6.48	Social housing	
6.5	Neighbourhood cohesion	
6.6	Education general	Includes university where this is not a <i>Image</i> issue; e.g. some event taking place at university.

7 Finances, Management and Policy

7.1	Public funding	
7.11	Taxation	Includes Council Tax discussions
7.2	Private funding	
7.3	Ticketing and ticket sales	
7.4	Allocation of funds / spending	
8.1	Public/government leadership	Political dimension - where is the city lead to
8.11	Council activities & services	Specific portfolios,
8.2	Event leadership	Management issues, delivery issues re: 08
8.3	Cultural policy developments and 2008 legacy	Incl. Liverpool ECoC legacy. Distinguish from people's view of legacy/ expectations (6.31)
8.4	Key Personalities	Leading the way; not ECoC or government leadership

2) Methodology: International sampling

2.1. Search terms / keywords

General references to Liverpool

Search Terms – Papers in English

"Liverpool" NOT "sport" OR "football" OR "soccer" OR "Liverpool FC" OR "Everton" OR "Reds" OR "FA Cup" OR "Manchester United" OR "Liverpool Victoria" OR "Liverpool Street" OR "Liverpool Road" OR "Liverpool, N.Y." OR "Syracuse" OR "Liverpool St"

"Liverpool, N.Y." and "Syracuse" have been included because many references came up (in USA titles) to the town of Liverpool, N.Y., near Syracuse. Many of these have been filtered out by excluding one local newspaper (the Post-Standard of Syracuse, N.Y.), but some still remained. A similar problem appeared for the Australian town of Liverpool, New South Wales; however, here not suitable method of exclusion has been found so far (which explains the high number of references to Liverpool in the group "Major Australian newspapers").

Search Terms – Papers in other languages

"Liverpool" NOT "Liverpool FC" OR "Liverpool FC" OR "Everton" OR "FA Cup" OR "Manchester United" OR "Champions League" OR "Chelsea" OR "Mannschaft" OR "Liverpool Victoria" OR "Liverpool Street" OR "Liverpool Road" OR "sport" OR "deporte" OR "football" OR "Fußball" OR "fussball" OR "futbol" OR "voetbal" OR "calcio" OR "pilka nozna"

Specific references to the Liverpool ECOC

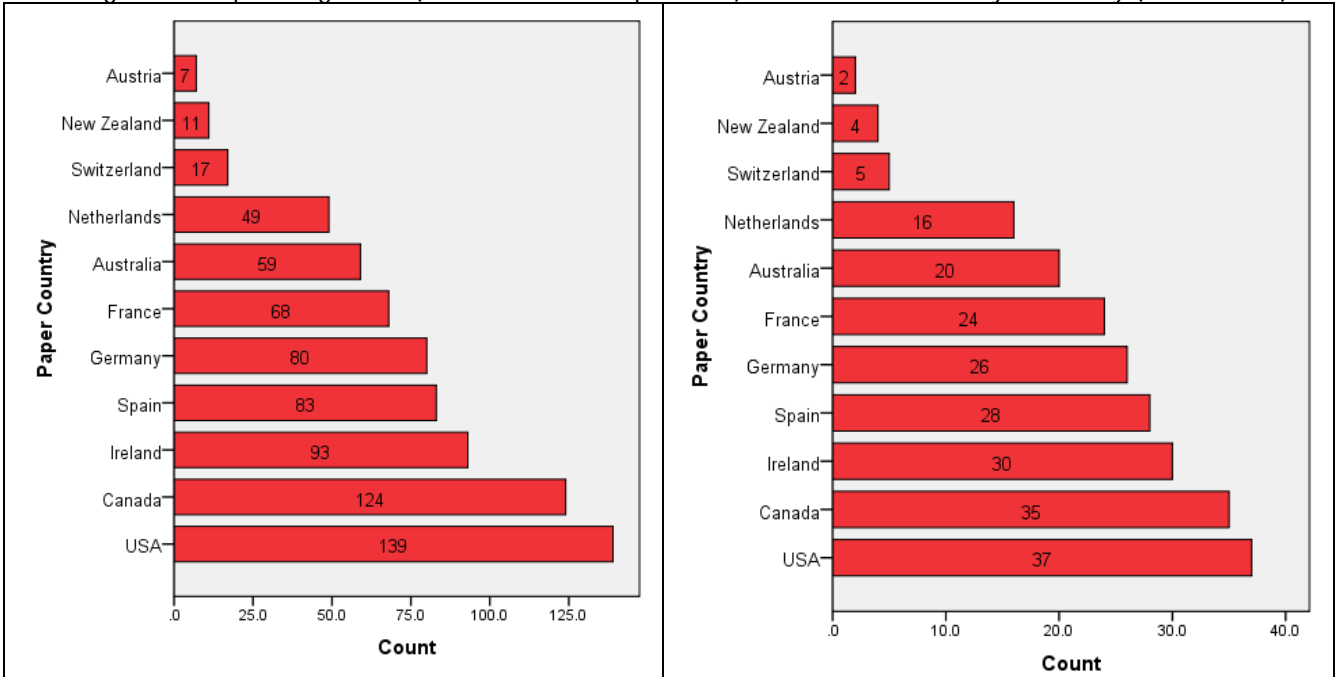
Different search terms have been used, depending on country and language:

- **USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, Ireland:** "Liverpool" AND "Capital of Culture" OR "City of Culture" (NB: no French titles found for Canada)
- **Germany, Austria:** Liverpool AND "Kulturhauptstadt"
- **Switzerland:** Liverpool AND "Kulturhauptstadt" OR "Capitale européenne de la culture".
- **France:** Liverpool AND "Capitale européenne de la culture" OR "Capitale de la culture"
- **Spain:** Liverpool AND "Capital Europea de la Cultura" OR "Capital de la Cultura"
- **Italy:** Liverpool and "Capitale europea della cultura" OR "Capitale della cultura".
- **Netherlands, Belgium:** Liverpool AND "Europese culturele hoofdstad" OR "Culturele hoofdstad"
- **Poland:** Liverpool AND "Europejskiej Stolicy Kultury" OR "Capital of Culture" OR "Cultural Capital"

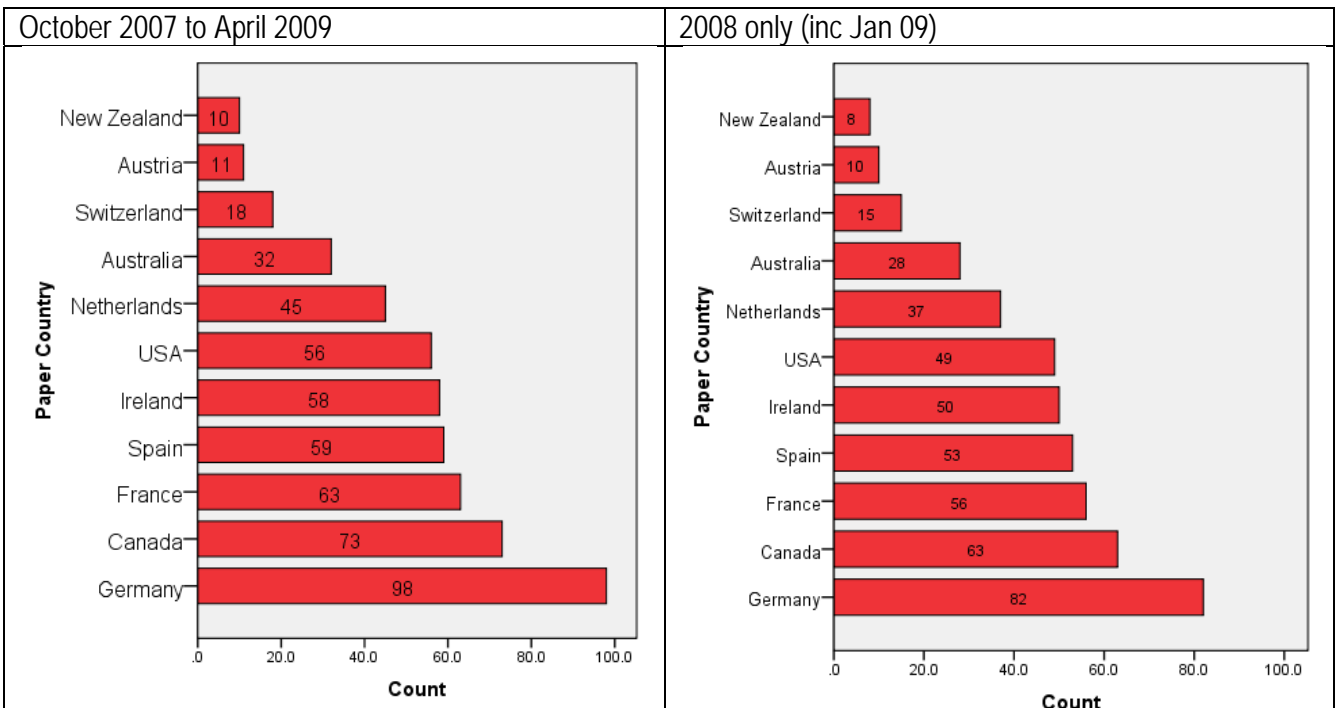
2.2. Sources of coverage

Total Liverpool coverage per country (Oct 07 to Apr 09 vs 2008 only)

Coverage on Liverpool in general (October 2007 to April 2009) ; and 2008 to January 2009 only (10% of total)

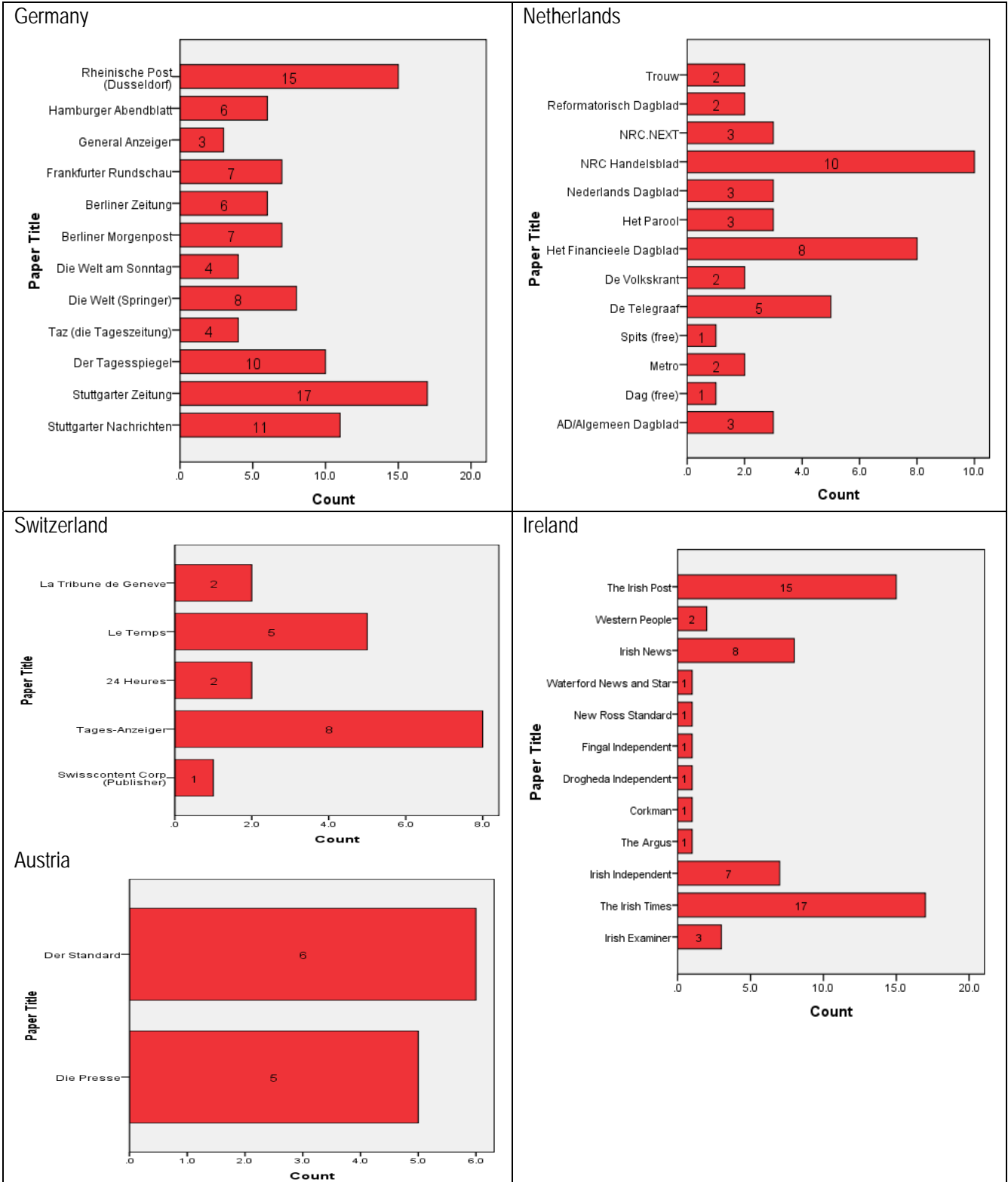


Coverage on the Liverpool ECoC specifically

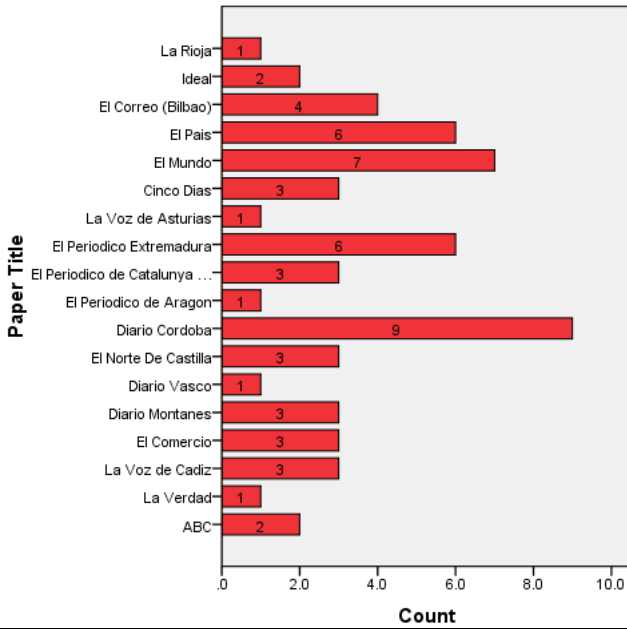


Coverage on the Liverpool ECoC: Paper titles per country

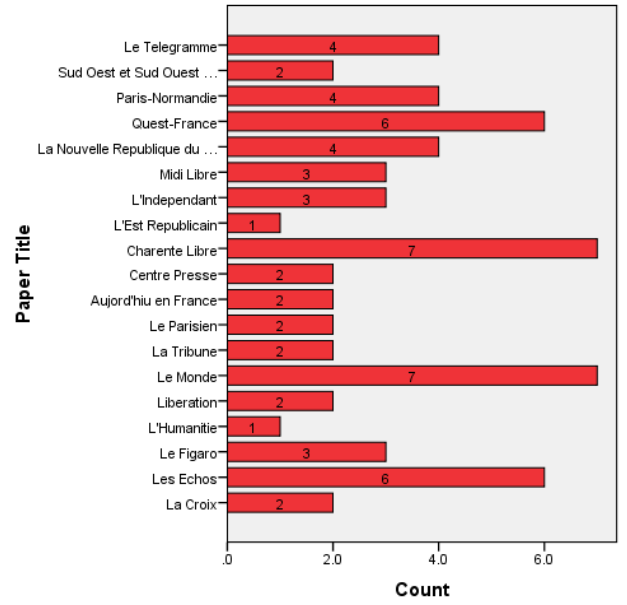
Germany is the country covering the Liverpool ECoC from a wider range of papers. This is particularly noticeable in papers based within cities that are involved in the hosting of the 2010 ECoC (Rhur area). This is also the case for Spanish papers, with a particular dominance of papers from cities that are candidates to the 2016 ECoC, such a Cordoba and Caceres.



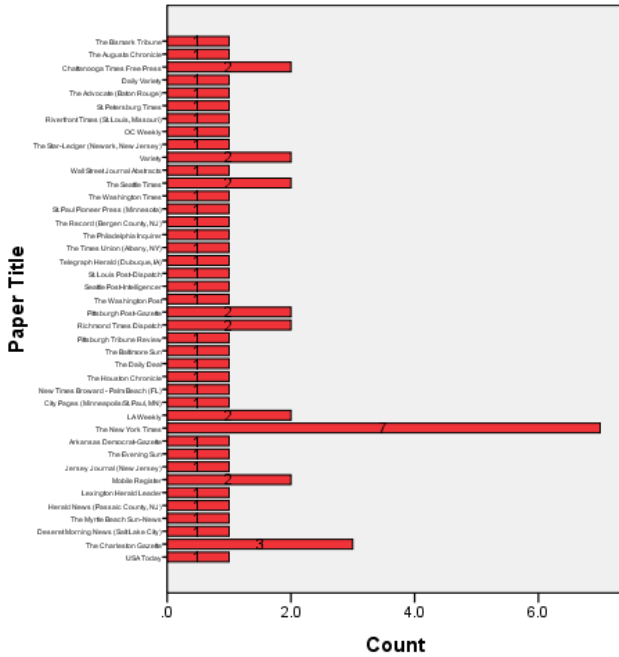
Spain



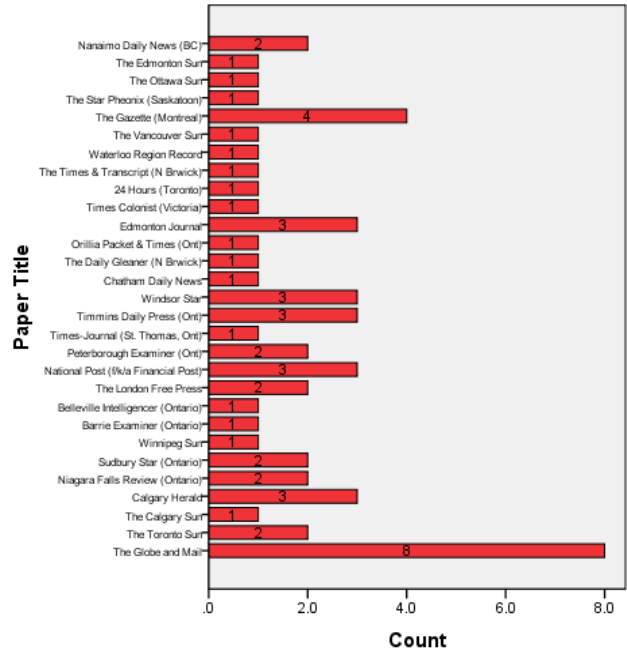
France



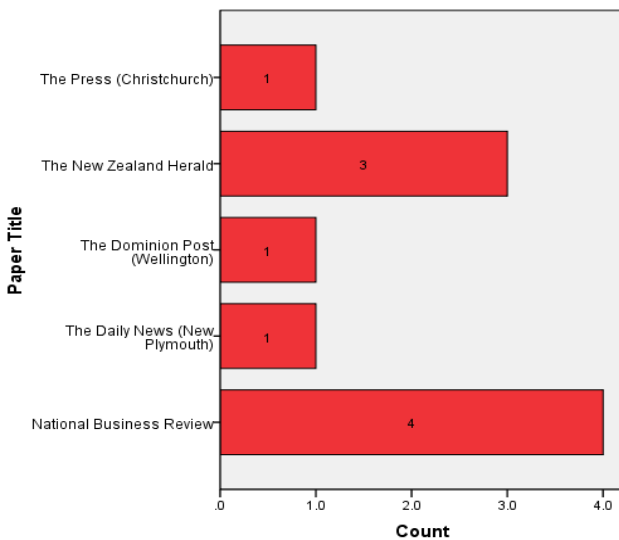
USA



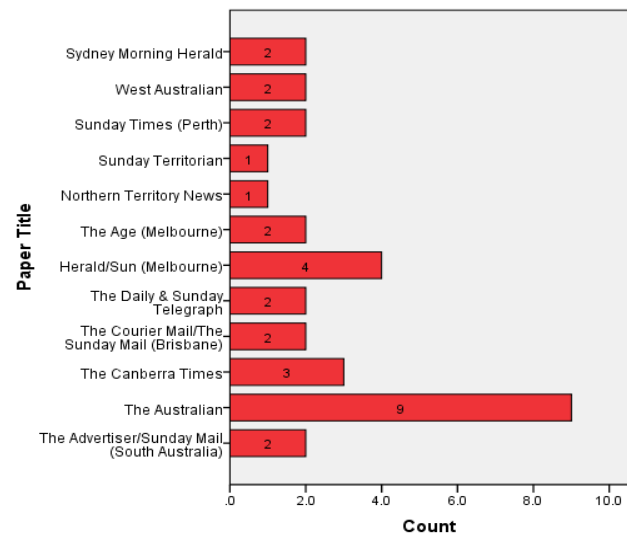
Canada



New Zealand

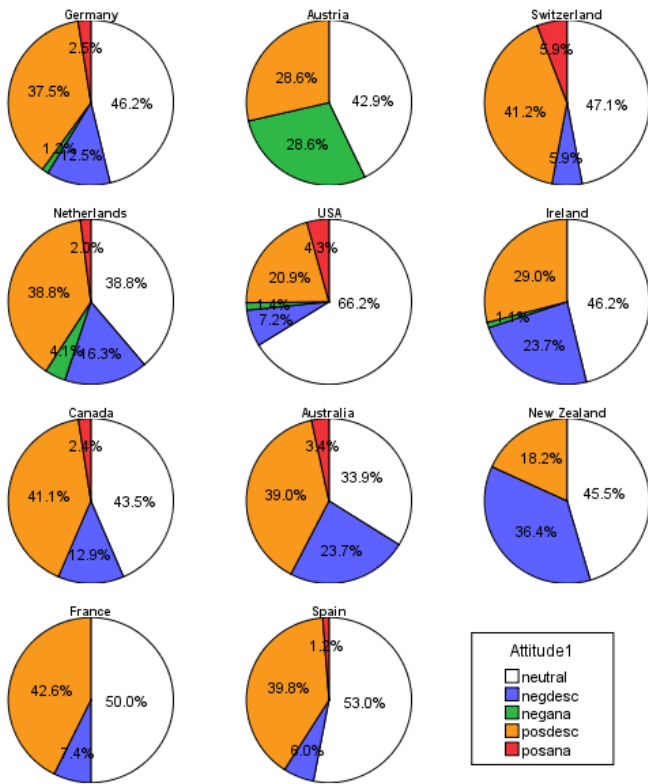


Australia



2.3 Attitudes towards Liverpool and the ECoC

General Liverpool coverage (all years)



Liverpool ECoC coverage (all years)

