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文化旗艦場館與都市再生之研究

—以貝爾法斯特•鐵達尼號紀念館為例

Cultural Flagship and Urban Regeneration:

A Case Study of Titanic Belfast

梁 郁

Liang, Yu

指導教授：劉以德 博士

Dr. Liu, Yi-De

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Abstract

This research aims at discussing how cultural flagships in cities can be used as a method for a cultural-led regeneration, especially in a city which still has many ideological contradictions. An effective cultural flagship project not only may bring multi-level benefits to an area but also may twist the image of the place. However, the key factor of this method to achieve success is to win the local's supports. As a result, the selection of 'which culture' to be promoted is a considerable issue. In the case of Belfast, even though the city has benefited from the cultural infrastructure, the choice of promoting the Titanic culture and the Titanic Belfast have both been criticised by many scholars and residents. A part of them do not identify the selection of a 'Sunken Titanic culture' as their new image or representation of Belfast.

Therefore, this research starts with a brief concept of a culture-led regeneration. Secondly, the author will discuss the notion and the use of a heritagisation which is the bridge to connect a cultural flagship and a culture-led regeneration process. In other words, this study will probe the appropriation and contradiction of using the heritagised Titanic Culture in four dimensions, including the economic value, the social value, the political value, and the cultural value. Finally, by integrating the theories from Gordach (2010) and Hayes (2009) to evaluate a criterion, this research will examine the five factors of a beneficial cultural flagship with the case of the Titanic Belfast: the vision, the design, the visitor attractiveness, the location and community fit, and the planning process.

Hence, the methodology of this study has a mixed incorporating qualitative point of interviews and secondary sources with different perspectives and approaches. A case study with the above elements of Belfast has been conducted in this study to investigate the reliabilities of the above theories. During the study, 187 opinions are divided among residents, stakeholders, and outsiders on their viewpoint of the application of the Titanic culture and the Titanic Belfast itself. The results from this study show that the establishment of the Titanic Belfast was unavoidable in Belfast's urban planning. The cultural flagship did achieve its economic target to attract outsiders and bring several benefits to Belfast. However, people are still hesitated in selecting the Titanic for Belfast's new image.

Keywords: Cultural Flagship, Urban Regeneration, Heritagisation, Titanic, Belfast

中文摘要

本研究旨在探討文化旗艦場館，尤其在那些具有爭議性的文化意識形態城市內，如何引領城市進行文化再生。這種文化旗艦場館的主要作用是能翻轉該城市的既定印象，若經長期妥善規劃，其效益亦促使該城市的經濟與觀光蓬勃發展並且吸引外資。然而推動「什麼樣的文化」在規劃一座文化旗艦場館是非常重要的，因為這要素將會影響與當地的連結性，若所推動的文化具有爭議性，此座文化旗艦場館的效益便大打折扣。以本研究的個案北愛爾蘭的貝爾法斯特市為例，它建立了一座鐵達尼號紀念館（The Titanic Belfast）並藉此推動「鐵達尼號文化」，但多數學者與當地居民並不認同單單一艘「百年沈船」能夠成為代表貝爾法斯特市的新城市印象，因此受到相當多的反彈。

本研究先由簡述文化領導都市再生的脈絡來了解文化與都市再生的結合為何。此脈絡之下的產物之一為本研究所要探討的主要議題：文化旗艦場館的定義與效用。接著將會介紹文化旗艦場館的定義及在都市再生中的效益。除了以 Hayes (2009)所提出的「文化旗艦場館評估表」中的四大要素：「遠見、設計、遊客吸引力、地域與社群的適切性」作為主軸探究外，亦將結合 Grodach (2010)的「文化旗艦場館策劃評估表」為第五要素來補充其原結構不足之處。此外，本研究中將一併探討「遺產化」作為聯繫「文化再生」與「文化旗艦場館」的橋樑，探索遺產化的定義、價值與效能，並討論「遺產化的鐵達尼號文化」作為建造該文化旗艦場館的主題之適切性與衝突性。

因此，本研究方法將以貝爾法斯特市中的鐵達尼號紀念館為例，透過文獻分析與田野調查，探究當地居民、遊客及文化規劃者(共計 187 位)對於以鐵達尼號文化與鐵達尼號紀念館作為主打貝爾法斯特市的多面向觀點的彙整，並且評估此文化旗艦場館的適切性，以作為未來研究方向之可能性。本研究結果歸納出兩大結論：從整體層面與決策者的角度而言，運用建立文化旗艦場館都市再生之效益在此個案中目前在某些層面能帶來相對的有效效力及經濟利益，然而從居民的角度而言，以鐵達尼文化作為都市意象的新象徵至今仍有許多的遲疑與爭議。

關鍵字：文化旗艦場館、都市再生、遺產化、鐵達尼號、貝爾法斯特

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1. Introduction

1.1. Research Background

Culture-led regeneration as a technique for urban regeneration is one of the popular campaigns during the recent years. Several scholars convinced that ‘culture(s)’ could seem as an effective method to drive multidimensional urban developments. These various cultures may engender an exposure opportunity for the city to highlight its unique and create different levels of attraction. In other words, the benefaction of a culture-led regeneration may emerge a knock-on effect on the cities’ development and twist the city’s image for a brand-new atmosphere (Binns, 2005). Moreover, this strategy may also increase public attention to raise the heed and cohesion of residents. As a result, under the premise of appropriate planning, the city’s economy and the identity of the locals may both be redeveloped.

One of the most well-known practices through this type of regeneration is by establishing a cultural flagship project. It may become an engine for cities to regenerate, especially in those cities that rapidly need a brand-new icon to create effectiveness or for specific needs (Evans, 2005). Obvious evidence of this kind of planning can be seen in Paris, Bilbao, Liverpool, Busan, Taipei and many more. This scheme, respected as a panacea, not only may draw in predictable tourists for further sightseeing activities but may also encourage the agglomeration of communities in cities through appropriate planning. Thus, even if the profit of this technique may be tempting, it is still understandable why many urban planners highly recommended to revitalise a city through a cultural flagship.

At the same time, the collision of a culture-led regeneration is also evident. The symbolic meaning of the project or the cultural flagship creation itself may both provoke conflicts rather than fusions. The main dispute focuses on the representation of the culture that brings out a tricky conundrum: which or whose ‘culture’ should be selected and promoted? Generally speaking, not all cities do have a strong unitary culture, but mostly they would have a wide range of cultures with their own proud and pride. In some

particular situations, the term of ‘culture’ may either become a thorny or a sensitive issue, especially in those cities that are divided by two or more ideologies. As a result, even though these complicit issues plague the development of regenerating cities, the foreseeable benefits of this method still fascinate urban planners willing to take the chance.

1.2. Research Motivation

In the case of Belfast’s regeneration, the selection of which culture becomes extremely significant. To re-image the city through a Belfast-Born-Product culture, the urban planners came up with the idea of relaunching a sunken ship named Titanic as their culture element. Through a ‘heritagisation’ process to build up a strong nexus between a culture-led regeneration and a cultural flagship project, the Titanic culture suddenly became the spotlight in Belfast. The decision makers; moreover, put forward to construct a multifunctional Titanic theme museum named the ‘Titanic Belfast, which was planned in 2004 and opened in 2012. With high hopes willing to sail the new honour of a brand-new Belfast from the sea to the world by this establishment, the Titanic cultural flagship is intended as the regeneration symbol for the city. Thus, this project may possibly bring attention and might draw in predictable tourists to visit Belfast; nevertheless, could a notorious sunken ship, or such commercialised culture be admitted by the locals?

On the other hand, owing to the background that the author has experienced, the linkage between Belfast and the author is profound as a strong intersection. As a personal testimonial, the unexpected transformation of Belfast since 1995 to 2017 has clearly been seen with the author’s own eyes. The author has lived in Belfast during 1995 to 1999 and went back during summer days during 2000 to 2010. She has studied in Belfast for a year from 2012 to 2013 and has programmed a research field trip during the summer in 2015. Even though there are still some issues which cannot be solved at the moment in Belfast, the 20 years of changing are absolutely astonishing—Belfast is becoming a friendlier and worth visiting city. Emblazonments have also been given from many authoritative institutions such as Lonely Plants (2012), Fodor’s (2012), National Geographic Traveler (2012), Trip Advisor (2011, 2014), European Group Travel Awards (2015), and The

Guardian and Observer Travel Awards (2016) due to the transitions that Belfast has done and created in the world. These rewards were highly correlated with the establishment of 'Titanic Belfast' and the usage of Titanic culture which both of them were highlighted in the Belfast's regeneration process. Hence, the author is curious about the whole culture-led regeneration process in Belfast which is also her main motivation for this research.

1.3. Research Aim and Objectives

Little attention has been given to the relationship between the above concepts. The aim of this research is to discover the value of a cultural flagship, the use of a heritagisation process, and the compromise of selecting the Titanic culture as one of the main cultural representations for the case study of Belfast's urban regeneration. Basically, this research will be divided into two major questions to elaborate as the following below:

- Why did the decision makers select Titanic as their primary culture and established the Titanic Belfast to regenerate Belfast, Northern Ireland?
- To what extent does the Titanic Belfast fit the criterion for a beneficial cultural flagship project?

For the first question, to investigate the reason and the preference of conducting the Titanic culture as the cultural element of the 'Titanic Belfast' is the main aim of this research. For sure, the policy-makers in Belfast had launched 'The Titanic' from the sea back to the ground which this 'Titanic culture/heritage' has been 'heritagised' and transformed as a brand-new culture element to regenerate the city. Therefore, this research includes probing the practice of a culture-led regeneration through the establishment of a cultural flagship project. The use of a heritagisation process will also be seen as a bridge to link the above subjects together. Also, to evaluate the value of a merit cultural flagship, a criterion is necessary. The final question is to evaluate the use of the Titanic Belfast to understand the benefit of the establishment after its opening in 2012.

1.4. Research Case

Belfast, a conflict city, which has been tagged with the name of ‘conflicts’ for decades, nowadays it is willing to transform itself for a better living lifestyle and to re-image for a brand-new pretension. However, the complicated historical background of Belfast should not be forgotten this factor highlighted the uniqueness of this young city for the research of urban regeneration study—there are different issues of ‘conflicts’ in the case of Belfast to consider while planning: the (old) conflicts of two ideologies (British and Irish), the conflicts of economic and social issues (Piecemeal Demonstrations and Regeneration Development), and the conflicts of the representative culture of Belfast (Titanic or something else). Given the fact that these ‘conflicts’ are inevitable, the continuous road of creating a brand-new Belfast imagery and a unique pride for both residents and outsiders is the most important purpose of the bipartisan government in Belfast since the peace agreement.

Unlike other post-industrial cities in the United Kingdom, the road of revitalising Belfast was far more difficult and complicated. After the sinking of the Titanic in 1912, the decline of the shipbuilding industry in Belfast started at the end of the 20th century, and this geographical area went directly into a part of the Irish Civil War. However, the tragic did not end. During the 1960s to 1980s, the coming outbreak of ‘The Troubles’, which is the conflict of those ethnic-nationalist, immediately spread out in Northern Ireland and destroyed Belfast.

Not until an important agreement, signed in 1998, did the ‘Troubles’ allow Northern Ireland to breath and alleviate the simmering tension in different regions. Supported by politicians and business people, the significance of the Good Friday Agreement—which brought relative political stability—had been hoped that large amounts of capital would flow into Northern Ireland and stimulated sectors (Ramsey, 2013). Both the Irish and British states believed that conventional economics is the method of accomplishing peace dividends and could also boost developmental progress in Belfast (Muir, 2013; Ramsey, 2013; Shirlow 2006). Hence, to achieve the shared goal and start a ‘New Belfast’, many

new plans has been brought out by the bipartisan agreement between two major parties.

Argued by Neill (2014), 'An Urban Renaissance' notion sprung out into the private sectors in Northern Ireland during 1998 to 2007. Led by the Department for Social Development (DSD) and the Department of Enterprise, Trade, and Investment (DETI), the key concept of this renaissance included two prompt developments: urban regeneration and tourism. While the former contains the imperative of Belfast's industrial sites redevelopment, the latter involves the need of immediate economic stimulus through commercial developments. The planners wished these regeneration projects in Belfast could transform this city into a friendlier living environment and also become a tourist destination to draw in outsiders. Therefore, related constructions were built during this period, for example, Belfast's riverfront, Castlecourt Mall, Laganside Courts, and the landmark Millennium Project, which unfortunately lost its iconic opportunity for Belfast, the 'Odyssey'.

Another reason that encouraged the government to focus on the above spheres in the beginning of Belfast's reborn was because of the European Culture of Capital (ECOC) competition for 2008. Belfast's government wanted to stand out from the ECOC competition and become one of the candidate cities in the United Kingdom because it was an enchanted opportunity for this city to show their determination of reborn. The benefits of rewarding the title not only included the frame of the centre of culture but it may also draw in a certain amount of money from the ECOC committee and other possible sponsors to give impetus to Belfast's urban developments. Therefore, the coordinated team promoted a reformed Belfast with the bid 'Imagine Belfast' to the world, hoping to follow Glasgow's winning footsteps in 1990. The people held high hope for this chance and believed Belfast was qualified enough to win the title; however, the city was eliminated and did not enter the second selection circle.

Even though the title of ECOC was not given to Belfast, the whole developing process of a cultural perspective revitalisation still continued (from 2003 to 2012 and beyond). To proclaim that Belfast is transforming from the dark past, developments in

environmental, social and cultural sectors can be seen in these decades. The change is not only about establishing new multi-functional buildings for better living infrastructures but also, more importantly, to rebuild the pride and honour back to Belfast with its own culture and heritages through heritagisation. As a result, an exclusive flagship project—the Titanic Belfast—was identified in Northern Ireland Tourism Board’s Strategic Framework for Action 2004-2007 to enhance the tourism industry. Expecting this ‘signature project’ would achieve international ‘stand-out’ and cause a significant impact on Northern Ireland’s tourism performance (Northern Ireland Tourism Board[NITB], 2003), including to draw visitors from home and overseas, it also became one of the major engines for Belfast’s regeneration.

To be honest, selecting ‘Titanic’ as one of the major cultural themes to promote Belfast is indeed a contradictory decision, not to mention its problematic invocation of heritage. Graham et al. (2000) defined heritage saying that it is ‘the meanings and representations attached to the past in the present’ (p.1). However, Belfast’s heritage was mostly labeled with continuing bomb alerts or unsafety ideology conflicts in neighborhoods, which one of the most famous outcomes was the establishment of the ‘peace wall’ to separate different communities. Therefore, the extreme mission in Belfast at that time was to employ a past memory that not only contains a sense of honour and pride from themselves but also could avoid any additional conflicts which may arouse dissatisfaction from any ideology groups in the city. That is to say, the planners were searching for a heritage that could possibly stand neutral. As a result, in order to meet the above conditions, planners skimmed through Belfast’s history, which one of the most famous and impressive periods was during the early 20th century when the shipyard industry in Belfast was in its heydays—the establishment of the Titanic was also at this stage.

Even though the culture of the Titanic did bring in the economic and social benefits into this city, local residents have different opinions due to the selection of Titanic culture. Not all of the people agreed it has become reprehensive of Belfast at the moment. A large amount of people disagrees the idea of this sunken ship as their mainstream city culture.

The reasons may include that a part of them have their own strong sense of identity, yet the main argument is because this topic it contains humanitarianism and the odd feeling of promoting a hundred-unspoken sunken ship, not to speak of being proud of it. On the other hand, there are people that were happy to see the new Belfast through presenting the Titanic which somehow ignored the dark period. Thus, this topic draws out an interesting phenomenon for deeper research.

To sum up, agreed by several scholars, Belfast is a city full of ‘contracts and contradictions’ which is dogged by local inertias. The affections from the troubles still exist in areas of Northern Ireland, which at the same time it is unavoidable to ignore this tricky topic during any urban planning. However, the foreseeable benefits of using culture and heritage to regenerate the city are hard to resist, let alone those policy-makers are also wishing to use this method and transform the image of Belfast from the past. Undoubtedly, the issue of ‘culture’ in the city of Belfast is still very divisive. Nevertheless, this sort of ambivalent feelings in some way are the uniqueness of this city and it also distinguished Belfast from other cities. Due to this point, if properly planned, this mixed feeling could become a distinctive selling point for tourism used to fascinate various types of tourists who have interests and to become a compromising cultural element for further cultural regeneration planning in Belfast. Hence, even though the balance between the pursuit of development and healing process in the city from the past is quite knotty (Neill, Murray & Grist, 2014), Belfast is still trying to move beyond conflict through a cultural urban regeneration and culture.

1.5. Chapter Outline and Study Process

This research is divided into five chapters which are listed below (See Figure 1.1):

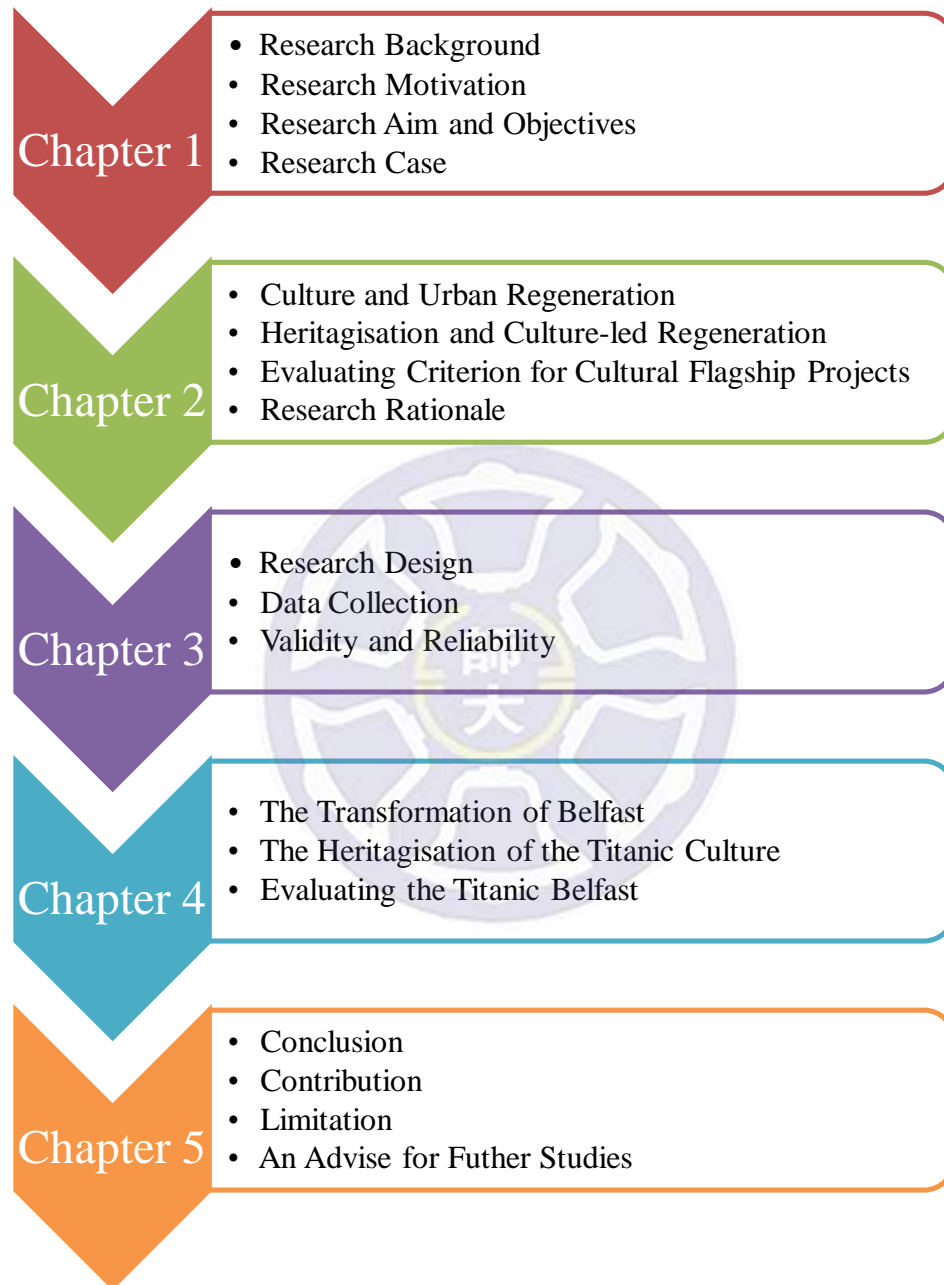


Figure 1.1 The Study Process of This Research

2. Literature Review

This chapter centralises on the literature in parts of the cultural-led regeneration, the heritagisation process, and cultural flagship projects. In the first section, to elaborate the role of culture in the regeneration process is essential because it is the base of the whole planning programme. Having a sense of the relationship between culture and urban regeneration, we can now continue to discover the term of a cultural-led regeneration process such as its concept, influences, and examples from other cities of this project.

Secondly, the notion, the process, and the definition of a heritagisation will be shifted and analysed in the beginning paragraph to deliberate the affection of this process. It may become an advantageous method if properly organized. Thus, a brief argument about the value of a heritagisation process will also be discussed through the four values including economic, social, political, and cultural. Moreover, the combination of a heritagisation process and models of a culture-led regeneration will be studied carefully in this section. Last but not least, the effect of establishing a cultural flagship project will also be investigated in this section with various examples.

In the third section, arranged from Grodach (2010) and Hayes's (2009) theory, an evaluating criterion for a sustainable and effective cultural flagship is also displayed as the main range in this section. The five categories are as the following: the vision, the design, the visitor-attractiveness, the location and community fit, and the planning process.

Finally, a simplified summary of the literature review will be set forth in a conclusion which the aim of this research is to discover how does a cultural flagship could become an engine to reborn urban cities through a culture-led regeneration. Furthermore, how can a heritagisation process become an adhesive for this project? All these questions will be probed in the next chapter.

2.1. Culture and Urban Regeneration

2.1.1. The role of culture in regeneration

In discussing the relationship between culture and urban regeneration, the term by combining culture into a city's regeneration process has been frequently used during the previous decades. In particular, culture as an element in the field of urban regeneration has been frequently utilised and has become an 'indispensable tool' since the 1970's which many policy-makers believe this combination would create multiplier effects in the regional economy and city marketing (Evans, 2001; Mooney, 2004). In other words, the term culture, which includes the patterns of behavior and the potential for the different field of goals (Comedia, 2003), has been transformed and simplified as 'cultural resources' for urban regeneration use. Some remarkable results were shown in many European cities.

This cultural planning, as Smith (2006, 2009) noted, is aiming to transform physical space and it is also one of the methods of government planners to integrate cultural resources into the everyday lives of people. If this cultural urban regeneration planning process has been strategically planned, it will be considered that those cultural resources can bring to a community diverse benefits, including development, pluralistic, social inclusion, improve the quality of life, and aspects of culture (Smith, 2006). Moreover, the ERM Economics (2003:2) adopted that this method of using culture in regeneration planning can create not only urban competitiveness but also emphasise the fact that 'excellence and critical mass in culture, art, sport, heritage [...] are all essential prerequisites to a competitive city and national economy'.

While the concept of culture in urban regeneration use has been frequently discussed, Evans (2004:5, 2005) identified the cultural context of urban regeneration and divided the concept into three major models for a clearer classification between the different levels of the cultural activity incorporation.

- Culture and Regeneration: Culture activities are not fully integrated into the urban development strategy process and they are excluded from the

regeneration sector—in this term, culture is only a part of the regeneration, not the core. Moreover, the size of the intervention has been often small-scale without comprehensively planned provision, for example, a business park or a public art programme.

- **Cultural-led Regeneration:** Cultural activities are considered as a catalyst of the regeneration process. Those activities are mostly high exposure signature projects due to its immediate affection on cities' image. Also, it may be designed for public or business use or a reclamation of open space. For example, establishing flagship infrastructures, or holding mega-events. The activity itself may also be cited as the sign of regeneration.
- **Cultural Regeneration:** Cultural activities are completely combined into the regeneration strategy, including environmental, social and economic sphere. In this model, the relationship between cultural planning, cultural policy, and regeneration development is closely associated.

According to Evans's brief definition of the three models by using culture as a key player in the progress of urban regeneration, this thesis focuses on the major content of a 'culture-led regeneration' model which it is by including cultural activities as becoming engines for the revitalise movement in places. To be more precise, cultural projects could become the medium for regenerating economically depressed cities and regions (Degen & García, 2012; Middleton and Freestone, 2008), for fostering a new image for cities with cultural activities (Doucet, 2007; Evans, 2005; Middleton & Freestone, 2008; Smith, 2006, 2009), for encouraging social cohesion with corresponding culture planning (Evans, 2005; García, 2004; Miles and Paddison, 2005; Lin & Hsing, 2008), and for building up a political process which includes a connection between local community identities and socio-cultural diversification to globalisation through culture (De Frantz, 2013). Hence, the following paragraph will be analysing the concept and effect of a cultural-led regeneration.

2.1.2. Culture-led Regeneration

Being seen as a magnificent vision for urban planning, the method of a culture-led regeneration has been widely spread from country to country through the perversion of policy knowledge (Lin & Hsing, 2008; Miles & Paddison, 2005). While facing stagnant economies after the industrial decline since the 1980's, these cities were wishing to solve problems of unemployment and deprivation as a result of globalisation, especially for those post-industrial city policy-makers such as Glasgow, Bilbao, and Liverpool. The impact of globalisation was tremendous that increased competitiveness between cities to struggle for recourses (Bianchini, 1993; Lin and Hsing, 2008; Middleton & Freestone, 2008). Therefore, the attractiveness of cities using a culture-led regeneration was irresistible when it has been confirmed by scholars its possibilities of resolving multi-dimensions of political or socioeconomic problems, for instance, declining urban areas, financial crises and economic restructuring (Bianchini, 1993). On the other hand, according to the strategy of culture-led regeneration that could renovate the quality of living standards and lighted the amuse of specific cultures, cities could also attract different investors and fascinate various tourists willing to spend time and money which could facilitate local development. Due to these concepts, expounded by Keating and De Frantz (2003), they claimed that:

“In a crowded international market, [by the use of a culture-led regeneration] can mark the city as distinct, giving it a brand image. This can indirectly promote its economic competitiveness by increasing its position in the quality-life indexes of international investment rankings. It may also have a psychological effect within the city, building self-confidence and civic pride among the population and even boosting optimism among investors.” (p.189)

However, the prospect of integrating cultural elements and activities into the regeneration process is far more luscious. Evans (2003) describes the use of a cultural-led regeneration as an ‘irresistible cocktail’ as it could bring foreseeable profits in both

environment and employment situations in a city, for instance, make changes to their city's image, prevent further job and population loss, create a high-quality environment, and produce advantages for economic developments. Moreover, Vickery (2007) claimed that this flavor, therefore, becomes the common and recurring aspirations in four important dimensions:

- To create an interaction between culture and commerce, social and institutional life.
- To inspire visionary ideas providing impetuses for cultural change and social participation without traditional social divisions.
- To express a visible international cultural consciousness.
- And the most important one, to reconstruct civic identity and to express collective aspirations.

As a result, these notions draw out the fact that a culture-led regeneration could not only bring multidimensional benefits in economic spheres but also in social dimensions. The effect is advantageous.

Discussing the affection of the social sphere in the use of culture-led regeneration, on the contrary, some scholars believe that emphasising on culture would spur the area and create closeness. For example, promoting grassroots cultural activities including arts and performance could have a strong evidence of attempting community groups into the process of social cohesion (Binns, 2005; Jones & Wilks-Heeg, 2004). To be more accurate, the motivation of improving social cohesion, reinforcing the identity of place and providing various opportunities for new and old local communities would also be influenced by this term and generate social capital if suitably planned. Moreover, Carnegie and Norris (2015) argued that the process of cultural-led regeneration has the potential to generate social benefits, especially for those disadvantaged communities. They claimed that cultural-led regeneration could also combat stigmatisation, build local capacity and improve community cohesion in an area with a condition that the participation of local communities in the cultural activities process is the decisive key

point. In other words, this process somehow could become a turning point to those communities, allowing them to have an opportunity to develop their own form of cultural capitals.

Many researchers have claimed the positive effects of a cultural-led regeneration in the process of social cohesion within the embedding of local cultures based on some reasons. The potential of engaging local culture in the process is powerful. For example, local culture could be collaborating with creativity to demonstrate the uniqueness of the place; furthermore, it can strengthen the cohesion of the area's civil-society and foster local identity by 'reviving' the resources and cultural activities of the place (García, 2004; Miles, 2005; Miles and Paddison, 2005; Lin & Hsing, 2008). To be more accurate, a cultural-led regeneration project needs to include the locality's cultural-historical meanings during the revitalising process or else it would become an elite-dominated and commercially driven cultural project (Miles, 2005). Negative influences may generate vicious cycles to dilute the local meaning and its cultural values (Carey & Sutton, 2004; Miles & Paddison, 2005; Lin & Hsing, 2008). Hence, while cities are approaching different strategies of culture-led regeneration, there are three major preferences when local governments adopt cultural resources for intervention in post-industrial urban regeneration establishment: cultural quarter, mega-events, and flagship projects for economic development. We will discuss the pros and cons of the above preferences with combining a heritagisation process together in the following chapters.

2.2. Heritagisation and Culture-led Regeneration

2.2.1. Heritagisation

Equipped with the meaning of 'an inheritance' with sets of values and collective memories, the idea of heritage using in practices is a controversial transformation process. The debate is generally contentious and till nowadays still many scholars rarely reached consensus. In spite of the inconclusive dispute, Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) gave definitions and differentiated the term 'past', 'history', and 'heritage' (see Table.2.1). Smith (2009) linked those three terms by claiming that 'heritage is a means of linking

past and present, and enlivening history’. In other words, heritage could be used as an element to communicate and link different generations (Graham et al., 2000). This concept was further proclaimed by Harrison (2013:4) as he believed that heritage could be seen as a creative engagement to help us shape our future. In addition, containing from a more in kind perspective, heritage itself is ‘a new form of a cultural production of the present that take recourse to the past’ (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995:259). The production of heritage could be seen in contemporary cultures, art production, and other commercial activities such as tourism (Peckham, 2003; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). As a result, heritage itself could be appreciated as both inheriting the past and producing in contemporary. However, to be more precise, the procedure of instantiating a heritage is called a ‘heritagisation’.

Table 2.1 The Evolution of Heritagisation

Past	■	All that has ever happened
History	■	The attempts of successive presents to explain selected aspects of the past
Heritage	■	A view from the present, either backward to a past or forward to a future and a contemporary use of the past, including both its interpretation and representation
Heritagisation	■	<p>A process in which heritage is selected, transformed, constructed, and used as a resource or instrument to achieve certain social goods (Bendix, 2009; Harrison, 2013; Margry, 2011; Poria, 2010; Roigé & Figolé, 2010; Sánchez-Carretero, 2015)</p> <p>■ A process which objects and places are transformed from functional ‘things’ to objects of displays and exhibition (Di Méo, 2008; Harrison, 2013), to cultural productions (Gillot et al., 2013), and to an element of urban design and cultural tourism developments (Bendix, 2009; Gillot et al., 2013)</p>

Source: Adapted from Graham et al. (2000)

In the English-speaking world, the word ‘Heritagisation’ was well known from Walsh (1992) on the issue of heritage space use as he argued that heritagisation is a pejorative way and it is a ‘false representation of the past’. This idea of ‘the destruction of culture produced by tourism’ was because the heritagisation of spaces were designed to revitalise an ailing economy—it was an ahistorical aestheticisation (Sánchez-Carretero, 2015; Smith, 2009; Walsh, 1992). At that time, the concept and the word of ‘heritagisation’ were still blurred in terms of English. Neither it was accepted as an appropriate word nor was defined clearly. A while later, not until a project that the Encyclopedia of French Cultural Heritage in North America has described the word ‘heritagisation’ as a ‘synonym of heritage building process’ which includes cultural, social, and political currents (movements and trends) as well as the building process of a heritage asset (heritagisation) and its perpetuation, successive adaptations and recognition (Encyclopedia of French Cultural Heritage in North America, 2007).

Additionally, in the French-speaking world, the word ‘Patrimonialisation’ was rather commonly used. Di Méo (2008) defined the notion into two views: (i) to a construction process of heritage applying to an object (things, work, property, building, sites, landscapes, etc.), or (ii) to a reality ideal (thoughts, value, testimony, event, practices, customs, etc.). That is to say, those that have been absent in the past, built structure objects, natural and cultural landscapes, and customs practices could all be recognised as an element for heritagisation (Salemink, 2016). This building process was also discussed by Davallon (2014) as he believed that a partrimonialisation is the process by which a collective identity has recognized the value of either tangible or intangible object and became heirs of them. Moreover, this heir group has also been given the obligation to preserve those objects in order to pass it to the future. Thus, ‘heritagisation’ and ‘patrimonialisation’ consists similar meanings in different languages.

According to the above depiction and to leave aside Walsh’s disparage term of heritagisation, both the word and concept nowadays rather become neutral and contain a brighter meaning of its effects. In fact, some scholars are relatively positive about this process. According to Poria (2010), she gave ‘the use of heritage’ an outbreak definition:

the practice of the use of heritage is a ‘heritagisation’ process—heritage is used as a resource to achieve certain social goods. Based on this notion, heritagisation becomes the ‘idea of heritage as a meta-cultural production and a social construction, including transmissions and preservation’ (Kirshenbaltt-Gimblett, 1995; Sánchez-Carretero, 2015). Roigé & Figolé (2010) highlighted and claimed that those processes of cultural production (both cultural and natural) elements are selected and reworked for new social uses. Margry (2011) even insisted that heritagisation is:

‘The process by which cultural phenomena or cultural objects, old and modern, are labeled 'Cultural heritage' by the involved actors and a consequence, get new meanings and undergo[es] transformative changes and become an instrumentalisation of the past for the future.’ (p.336)

Furthermore, other scholars believed that a heritagisation also contains a ‘valued inheritance’ and a ‘re-telling process from new perspectives for adapting new lives in new lands’ (Ashely, 2014; Bains, 2013). In short, heritagisation is not about the past but about the uses of the past in the present that are primarily concerned with objects and cultural products—is a constructed process (Di Méo, 2008; Gillot et al., 2013; Sánchez-Carretero, 2015).

On the contrary, if the above concept of a heritagisation is acceptable, it also means that the whole process has been ‘selected’ through someone—of collective identity groups or the authorities who have power or control of the area. Generally speaking, the selective heritage may be seen as one of the symbols that the area or city believes or approves the value which expresses a collective (social) affectation of meaning (Di Méo, 2008). However, the most intractable issue may be ‘who should select the heritage’ and ‘whose or which heritage should be represented?’ This argument has been strongly confirmed from both heritage and heritagisation perspective through many scholars. The complexity of the competitions between different cultural capital owners and symbolic struggles in the heritagisation process could not be ignored, which the decisions may cause ‘disconnection’ in the society (Salemink, 2016). On the one hand, not all of the places have a

strong unitary culture and heritage. Mostly they would have a wide range of cultures and heritages which each of them has their own proud and pride. In some particular situations, the term of culture or heritage rather becomes a thorny and a sensitive issue, especially when the region has been divided by several ideologies. On the other hand, this heritagisation process may become an instrument or variable in the struggles for power on local and super local levels of government due to its powerful influences of the potential to control others (Bendix, 2009; Littler, 2005). It could also be utilised as a strong tool to establish the right of an authority, to enhance their reputation, and to attract other investors to support (Di Méo, 2008). Therefore, it is understandable that who obtains the authority of planning may have the decision power of selecting which heritage should be promoted. However, at the same time, it should be kept in mind that this process may also draw out the contradictory fact that the selective power was given from the local residents to the authorities.

From the above arrangement and to give a short summary, there are three main points to understand: Firstly, it is undeniable that the relationship between heritage and heritagisation is somehow interlinked which they could share similar concepts and meanings. However, it might be understood that heritage itself in the process of heritagisation has been seen as an ‘element’, ‘instrument’, or ‘object’ for further social use. Secondly, the definition of a heritagisation could be clarified into a generalising concept : (i) It is a process in which heritage is selected, transformed, constructed, and used as a resource or instrument to achieve certain social goods (Bendix; Harrison, 2013; Margry, 2011; Poria, 2010; Roigé & Figolé, 2010; Sánchez-Carretero, 2015); and also a functional concept: (ii) It is a process which objects and places are transformed from functional ‘things’ to objects of displays and exhibition (Di Méo, 2008; Harrison, 2013), to cultural productions (Gillot et al., 2013), and to an element of urban design and cultural tourism developments (Bendix, 2009; Gillot et al., 2013). Last but not least, it is incontrovertible that heritagisation may contain intractable competitions between different cultural capital owners, which the struggling relationship between ‘those who have decisions’ and ‘those who do not’ should be also considered as well.

2.2.2. The Values and Impacts of a Heritagisation Process

With a brief concept of a heritagisation process in mind, we will now take a look at its potential influences and values from a more functional and pragmatic perspective. We understand that a heritagisation process could be seen as an element of urban design and cultural tourism developments (Bendix, 2009; Gillot et al., 2013), therefore, the allure of this method could see from its results. For one thing, heritagisation not only could be seen as a synonym of a heritage building process in both tangible and intangible heritage but also as a focal point to enhance the attractiveness of a place (Ashley, 2014; Turgeon, 2009, 2010 cited in Gillot et al., 2013). Additionally, in the previous chapter, a heritagisation process is also embodied with intractable competitions between different cultural capital owners, which those who control the voice may also exploit this method to enhance certain cultures. Thus, the process itself inevitably will be infiltrated with the conflict of different ideologies.

As a result, what all these notions make clear is that the impact of a heritagisation process is multidimensional and multifunctional. Not only could this process take advantage of the urban planning and cultural tourism but also it could cause-effect on different ideological groups. Therefore, for deeper investigation, the possible impacts and values of a heritagisation process could be understood in four dimensions, including economic, social, political, and cultural, which the four-dimensional framework was arranged from Hall and Arthur's (1993) clarification of the four values of heritage.

Firstly, from an economic perspective, heritagisation may be seen as a cultural activity element or technique for the authorities to regenerate the city. Its effects could create urban competitiveness which those cultures and heritage are essential prerequisites to the national economy and the city itself. In brief, heritagisation could result in highlighting the distinctiveness of a place, increasing a place's attractiveness and facilitating multiple developments in the city through tourism and urban designing (Ashely, 2014; Gillot et al., 2013). Many governments have also concern the possible impacts and immediate influences of this method particularly in the tourism sector, which

it could draw in predictable tourists for sightseeing (Hall & Arthur, 1993) and also twist the city's image for a brand-new atmosphere (Binns, 2005). In addition, by considering the functional concept of a heritagisation, it may also be recognised as a process of making heritage or as an element to establish relative museums that could achieve its economic values (Di Méo, 2008; Gillot et al., 2013; Harrison, 2013).

Secondly, Ashely (2014) comprehended the social value of heritagisation as claiming that it is an 'emotional resonance about underlying values that maintain identity, social order, collective relationships and a sense of belonging based on their links to a certain community or groups of people' (p.40-41). This link with the original concept of which Hall and Arthur (1993) believed that the social value of heritage is a strong essential key point of maintaining a sense of place which may create or strengthen the possibility of a group identity. Due to this notion, heritagisation may be seen as a useful contribution to process 'citizenship' because it can 'liberate expression, mainstream sameness, and/or strengthen individual historical consciousness' during the process in an area (Ashley, 2014:55). Furthermore, it may also combat stigmatisation from the past through a new value, to build up the capacity of the locals, and improve the community cohesion in an area (Carnegie and Norris, 2015). However, there is a precondition of this encouraging influence which the participation of the local communities in the process is extremely important. In summary, if well-organised with appropriate planning, heritagisation could become a discursive tool and a pivotal moment for areas and cities to build up their own 'sense of belonging', to increase social inclusion, and to enhance their confidence through this process (Di Méo, 2008).

Thirdly, the political value of a heritagisation process focuses on the power and influences of the use of heritage from a decision-making view. Hall and Arthur (1993) defined this category on the power of the authorities who have the decision power to select which particular heritage needs to preserve or be discarded, moreover, to use this selected heritage to indoctrinate a sense of ideological beliefs. In other words, the heritagisation process may have the potential power to control others which may be seen in two directions: Geographically and ideologically. The former, claimed by Littler (2005)

and agreed through Ashley (2014), Gillot et al. (2013), and Park (2014), had been noted that the use of heritage is not only for presenting the past but is also a potential medium for governmental attention to consolidate an area. Particularly, this process may also create, redefine, or reinforce territories through heritagisation process (Di Méo, 2008:16; Gillot et al.). The latter, argued by Ashley, the heritagisation process not only may be utilized as a tool for constructing identities (Gillot et al.), but it may also bring ‘expedient remembrance’ which could depoliticise differences and render broader issues such as racism, inequalities, ideology conflicts into a multi-cultural issue from the past. In short, it is understandable how attractive is a method for those authorities to integrate a heritagisation process in their policy-making.

Finally, the fourth value is the cultural value of a heritagisation process. From the original concept of Hall and Arthur (1993), they understood this value to elaborate the significance of protecting the multiple and rare species in the whole ecosystem and to proclaim the application of educating people through heritage. However, to consider from a more ‘cultural’ perspective may give another idea to highlight and expand the value of a heritagisation—it may enhance the beliefs and history of the area and the thought of preserving it (Davallon, 2014; Di Méo, 2008). To put another way, heritagisation could be seen as a turning point in the communities, allowing them to have an opportunity to develop their own form of the cultural capitals (Ashley, 2014), to enhance their confidences and solidarities (Park, 2014), and to moderate disputes in the process from a grassroots level. As a result, heritagisation may act as a powerful adhesive if the authorities have considered the area’s culture and identity comprehending for a planning process.

Hence, it is not surprising that heritagisation becomes a valuable method and a cultural element for any planning reason, especially in the field of urban planning and tourism. If the process is well organised, it could become a fascinating turning point for those areas and cities to build up their own ‘sense of belonging’ and to become tourist sites for multi-development attracting. That is to say, the process is seen as a discursive tool to assert cultural capital, sought recognition, and function as a point of contact where

the outside world is let in (Ashley, 2014). However, the balancing between what and how to present and turning which part of the past into a ‘heritagisation’ is still a complex issue for further research and discussing. In this research, the practice of heritagisation links with the use of a culture-led regeneration project. How do the two items work together? The discussion will be explained in the next section.

2.2.3. Heritagisation in Culture-led Regeneration Models

In this section, we attempt to understand the possibility of integrating a heritagisation process into a culture-led regeneration due to its generalising and functional concepts which we had discussed in 2.2.1. We have understood from the previous sections that the process of heritagisation is constructing heritage to become a reference to achieve certain social goods. Moreover, heritagisation could also be seen as an instrument of cultural activities and to represent its cultural value to the public through cultural productions and cultural tourism develops. As a result, this process may be seen as a cultural element and it does have the potential key, similar values, and valid impacts driving any Evan’s (2004, 2005) cultural regeneration models.

If the above relationship is acceptable, we could then draw a simple conclusion: the practice of heritagisation could go hand in hand with a culture-led regeneration. The examples could be seen in the two models which Bianchini (1993) had defined: ‘the cultural production’ and ‘the cultural consumption’. The former focus on cultural quarters and the latter contains both flagship projects and mega-events. As many scholars have discussed these two models for decades on the advantages and disadvantages of its effect, a brief introduction of the two models has been arranged in the following table:

Table 2.2 The Two-Sided Effect on the Culture-led Regeneration models

	Advantages	Disadvantages
<u>Production:</u> Cultural Quarters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Long-term process ■ Industrial Transformation ■ Localisation ■ Creative business ■ Various mixture of leisure, art, and business together in public space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Creative industries need long-term supports ■ Job losses is limited ■ Gentrification ■ Low tourism or investment attraction
<u>Consumption:</u> Mega-events	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Immediate image to public by presses ■ Multiplier Effect on Tourism in specific time ■ Participation from tourists and locals ■ Off-season balancing ■ Attracting more investments and tourists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Only a few companies can benefit from it ■ Short-lived programme ■ Series copy events ■ Disconnected with locals ■ Loss of authenticity
<u>Consumption:</u> Flagships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Become a landmark or image of a city ■ Multiplier Effect on Tourism ■ Permanent building ■ Space development ■ Increase job opportunity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Only a few companies can benefit from it ■ Expensive cost and to maintain it ■ Higher cultural capital ■ Tourism demand is higher than the local demand ■ Series copy starchitectures ■ Disconnected with locals

Source: Arranged by the author (2017)

As highly considered by urban planners, the three productions: cultural quarters, flagship projects and mega-events have been called catalysts for revitalising urban areas (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Binns, 2005; Evans, 2005; García, 2004; Miles & Paddison, 2005; Montgomery 2003; Smith, 2007, 2009). Because of the assets by adding bits of cultural activity elements, culture-led regeneration could take parts of the economic strategy—not only for creating jobs and economic transformation but also for city branding and imaging (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Binns, 2005; Evans 2005; García, 2004; Montgomery 2003; Smith, 2007). Therefore, by these means, these models could also create a knock on effects on the rest of the economy to drive other developments (Binns, 2005).

Conversely, the issue of conducting which culture-led regeneration model in a city's cultural policy and urban regeneration process has caused a heated debate between its pros and cons. The main advantage of a cultural quarter is its possibility of becoming a mixture-used public space for local residents, supporting local creative industries, and fascinating knowledge industrial works (McManus & Caruthers, 2014; Montgomery 2003; Roodhouse, 2010; Smith, 2009). However, there are three negative issues which is the dilemma of the area's gentrification, the taking over of buildings into offices by the companies, and the slow growth of economic factors due to the long-term financial supports on creative industries (Comunian & Mould, 2014; Montgomery, 2003; Roodhouse, 2010; Smith, 2009).

On the other hand, flagship projects and mega-events overcome the predicament of a cultural quarter, which their main characteristics are its immediate image to the public by presses to attract investments and tourists to come (Bianchini, 1993; Binns, 2005; Evans, 2003; García, 2004; Smith, 2009). Their multiplier influences on tourism and other predictable economic benefits with the taste of culture are the major factor that has driven these two productions to become extremely enchanting. Nevertheless, there is a discrepancy between flagship projects and mega-events. The biggest difference between the two methods is that most of the mega-events are short-lived programmes which exist in a short period. On the contrary, establishing a flagship project may be costly, yet it may

become the landmark or an image of a city.

Hence, there are indeed other risks to be noted if the process is not fully planned; however, the three productions are all important for the use of a culture-led regeneration. Each method has its own positive effect. A two or three-pronged consideration is feasible as well, but what is more important is to justify which method is the most needed for the cities' regeneration process. This research discusses the effects of establishing a cultural flagship project with the combination of a heritagisation process being as a bridge to connect a culture-led regeneration. Assuredly, the cost of a cultural flagship is tremendous and not all of the cities have the money to buy such expensive cultural infrastructure for inter-urban place making. Therefore, is the profit of the flagship project lucrative? The answer is unknown. There are successful examples such as in Bilbao; however, there are also numerous failure cases that have been given the name of the 'White elephant', and the most well-known project is the Millennium Dome (now renamed as O2) in Greenwich, UK. As a result, further particulars will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.4. Cultural Flagships Projects

During early the 1980s, cultural flagship projects were mostly conceived as a cultural centre with the combination of cultural activities in European cities. These flagships (or in other names which has the same implications such as iconic buildings (Sklair, 2006), grand projects, star architectures, and hard branding buildings (Evans, 2003) were planned as opera houses, concert halls, art museums and galleries (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Binns 2005; Grodach, 2008). Although these culture buildings can make a profit in the term of regeneration, more it is about the planning progress which policy-makers are willing these large-scale projects to rebuild the city through large and iconic buildings. Due to the notion that urban development may contribute to the local economy, not only would the project brings to a city a brand-new look, it would also bring investors into cities for future investment and economic growth, for example, tourism (Evans, 2003, Grodach, 2008). Consequently, it is not surprising that establishing a 'hard cultural infrastructure' becomes a vision or a method that encompasses regeneration

(Hayes, 2009; Uysal and Özden, 2011).

While these projects are considered as a ‘powerful physical symbols of urban renaissance’ (Bianchini, 1995:16), Zukin (1995) also claimed that by inspiring a vision of the city, a cultural flagship project would also capture the art, culture and design points from the city as becoming the spirit of it. Attoe and Longa (1898) described that this catalytic process is how ‘a building initiates and sustains a chain reaction of incremental activity in the surrounding area’ (cited in Sternberg, 2002). Smyth (1994) therefore gave a definition by claiming a flagship development is a ‘development in its own right’. To be more precise, the establishment raises a number of strategic issues because of its commercial capacity for becoming a marshaling point for further investment and also as a marketing tool for an area or city which it may or may not be self-sustaining (Smyth, 1994). Bianchini et al., (1992) also agreed on the notion and emphasised the relationship with urban regeneration issues as noting this kind of flagship projects are ‘significant, high profile developments that play an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration which can be justified if they attract other investments’. Therefore, the influence of a cultural flagship project during the urban regeneration process has been strongly recommended and played a considerable role (Bianchini, et al 1992; Smith, 2007; Grodach, 2008).

For the reasons mentioned above, the establishment of these cultural flagship projects will have physical presences for sure, however, the symbolic function of the project is also evident. To put it briefly, Hayes (2009) classified the types of cultural flagship projects into three dimensions: geographical, positional, and creational.

“Its geographical scope extends from a local influence to an entire metropolitan area or city. Its position as an element of a conscious marketing strategy may be to communicate urban regeneration through formal promotional planning, to advertise the city as a place for others to invest or spend. It can create demand for inward investment, should deliver the required benefits to attract investment and consumption and

may be a fundamental tool to stimulate the local economy.” (p.91-92)

The beneficial results are predictable as cities paid attention to the commercial impacts and the long-term effects that demonstrated the value of the cultural flagship project. Discussed by several scholars, they believed that cultural flagship projects could play as catalysts for plenty of benefits. Viewed in this light, the creation of cultural flagships certainly brought a new icon in a city and that it could become a brand new fantastic site for tourist attention and the tourism industry (Grodach 2008; Smith 2009). The project could also boost localised commercial activities and sustain environmental areas if well-planned (Grodach, 2008; Smith, 2009; Sternberg, 2002). In these circumstances, creativity provides a second perspective which not only cities can invest in cultural flagship projects in order to fascinate the most creatively talented people, but also the use of this term to establish ‘visional’ iconic buildings and locations (Hayes, 2009). Because of this concept, more importantly, it is that planners believe these iconic buildings can re-image a cities’ impression (Evans, 2003; Grodach 2008; Hayes, 2009). To discuss a bit further, Bowen-Jones and Entwistle (2002:189) even noted that these flagships are ‘likely to be relatively more effective if their selection takes into account local perceptions and attitudes, and if the species have links for the protection of cultural symbols and, ultimately, their cultural identity’. Nevertheless, the value is not only for investment or outsiders but the influence of a well-planned cultural flagship could also be seen as a symbol for emerging engagement and participation from the local residents.

It is no doubt that cultural flagship projects have those possibilities of the advantages and effectiveness of urban regeneration; however, the disadvantages of establishing it has also been criticised by the tremendous cost with unforeseen matters (Evans, 2003). Highly rated financial reasons are probably the main factor while not all cities have enough estimation for the gigantic expenditure and for higher operating costs. These projects might have failed because they were largely inappropriate and unsuitable for the local community and that the notion of engaging with residents was often tokenistic (Grodach, 2008; Jones, 2000 cited in Smith, 2009). This link to the idea of whether the locals have the sense of belonging to the cultural flagship project, or else it would be a loss of local

identity (Hayes, 2009; Miles, 2005; Smith, 2009). Moreover, some cultural flagship projects would invite renowned architects to design the shape in the view of his or hers reputation which might also cause a series copy, homogenisation, and disconnected with local cultures (Evans, 2003). Some scholars agreed and argued that the 'economic and physical revitalisation comes only at the cost of social exclusion and displacement' (Grodach, 2008) and that the building is 'an icon rather than the cultural building as part of an urban complex' (Farrell, 2000:32 cited in Evans, 2003:436). Therefore, there are only a few cities that have achieved their quest for global city status through spectacular cultural flagship projects.

As a result, Smith (2007) and others proposed that it is of an almighty importance of 'long-term legacy planning' both before and after the cultural flagship project. This concept has now been built into the process to prevent the waste of cost and to reduce political debate and conflicting pressures on the project. Yet, what needs to be emphasized is that these cultural flagship projects must connect to the region. For example, history, values or culture because the project could be typified by its 'celebratory' purpose that could connect a person or activity with a place or a moment in time (Hayes, 2009). Hence, as willing cultural flagship projects become a magnet to draw attention both inside and outside for the city regeneration, to enhance the meaning to the community is not only a way to interoscultate the attractions for residents but also to become selling points for cultural tourists and investors.

2.3. Evaluating Criterion for Cultural Flagships

Will it be worth establishing a cultural flagship on account of the extremely high expenditure of the construction costs? Also, how can we analyse the process to clarify if it is valuable or not? To be honest, the evaluation of cultural flagship projects is rather difficult as the DCMS defined that the value of culture is hard to measure the outcomes and benefits. As Hayes (2009) mentioned, he argued that the value of cultural flagship could be 'highly contested depending on the perspective of the stakeholder and judgments about the contribution to cultural or regeneration goals' (p.97). While early studies debate

on whether the value of the project could change over time, issues about how to evaluate a cultural flagship become fully important.

As a result, Hayes (2009) compiled a cultural flagship design rational evaluation criterion with Smyth's (1994) 'The planning perspective', and Aitcheson and Evans's (2003) 'Community-led cultural regeneration projects' (See Table 2.3 on p.10). He classified those two arguments into four major spheres that are the 'Vision', the 'Design', the 'Visitor Attractiveness', and the 'Location and Community Fit'. We will discuss this in the next section. Nevertheless, from Hayes's point of view, it is obvious that the evaluation criterion stands on multidimensional perceptions that concluded the major target of the creation project, the future value, and the success of the project, the exterior of the building, the implication of cultural value inside the project, and the integration of the community with the project. These factors draw out an important argument: establishing a cultural flagship project is not only about a high-cost building project, but it is an intermediary for an area's tourism capacity aiming to attract supporting visitors from the outside and the community itself (Hayes, 2009).

While the main evaluation criterion has been integrated by Hayes, there are still some dimensions that have not been considered by the evaluation. Grodach (2010) discussed that rethinking the process of establishing cultural flagship project is also as important as the advance planning. He argued that the literature has largely focused on 'explaining the roles of the cultural flagship and the various affections' in urban regeneration rather than 'examining the localised complexities of the strategy plan' (Grodach, 2010:2-3). Moreover, the ability of a cultural institution's effect on the regeneration process has also been neglected as well because a cultural flagship project should be related to artistic and commercial activities yet planners have not frequently highlighted these factors. It would be like gambling if the planners are only persevering that an architectural icon will catalyse an area's development (Grodach, 2010). Hence, adding Grodach's argument of rethinking the process of a cultural flagship will have a complete discussion of the entire assessment (See Table 2.3 on p.30).

Table 2.3 The Cultural Flagship Evaluation Criterion

<p>The Planning perspective Smyth, 1994</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ An overt strategy ■ Strategy & management may be project, area or city based ■ Success is not contingent on public versus private engagement ■ All organisations must take response for the impact of their development ■ Management of policy formulation, and implementation and evaluation process ■ Marketing concerns bringing together supply and demand factors ■ Design and management should arise from social relations in the affected areas and those envisaged for the area ■ Political legitimacy and economic necessity will demand participation of local residents and other interests
<p>Community-led cultural regeneration projects Aitcheson & Evans, 2003</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Valuing diversity ■ Embedding local control ■ Supporting local commitment ■ Promoting equitable partnerships ■ Defining common objectives in relation to actual needs ■ Pursuing quality across the spectrum ■ Connecting with the mainstream of art and sporting activities ■ Recognising the importance of Commercial-led investment ■ Balancing flagship projects with smaller initiatives ■ Working to develop existing skills bases and/or cultural interests
<p>Rethinking Flagship Cultural Development and Planning Grodach, 2010</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The level of potential demand by arts and commercial establishments ■ The availability of suitable and affordable spaces ■ The composition of the regional arts community ■ The approach of the sponsoring agencies towards cultural facility financing and community engagement ■ A wider planning process rather than as a catalytic process

Source: Arranged by the author (Grodach, 2010; Hayes, 2009)

From the Table 2.3, it is possible to discuss whether a cultural flagship project has reached its criterion or by not using these theories. As we have mentioned in the past paragraphs before, to put it shortly, the evaluation criterion can be classified into five dimensions that we will separately elaborate it in the following paragraph (See Figure 2.1 on p.32).

A. Vision

The vision of establishing a cultural flagship should be evident, especially its future aim and success point. If the core value of this flagship project is not at the outset of the scheme, it is possible that this project will lose its construction concept. On the other hand, this cultural flagship represents a symbol of revitalising, re-imaging, and re-branding the new image of this area or city under the frame of urban regeneration. In other words, these flagships which we can name as destination icons act as synecdoches for a place – they are part of a city but represent it as a whole (Smith, 2005). Therefore, the importance of a clear vision will become a purpose in accordance with the whole cultural-led regeneration planning process.

Based on these concepts, however, there are still many unfulfilled cultural flagships that lost their original values and become those ‘white elephants’ such as the millennium dome in London (Now renamed as O2). The main criticism is that these visions of the cultural flagship have lost their support from the residents of the cities because this massive giant edifice did not reflect the reality of the city. While the image of this city might have been portrayed, marketed, and sold to the commercial market, the biggest issue of losing those sustains of local residents who may cause the potential of the cultural flagship vision to become divisive and confrontational (Doucet, 2007).

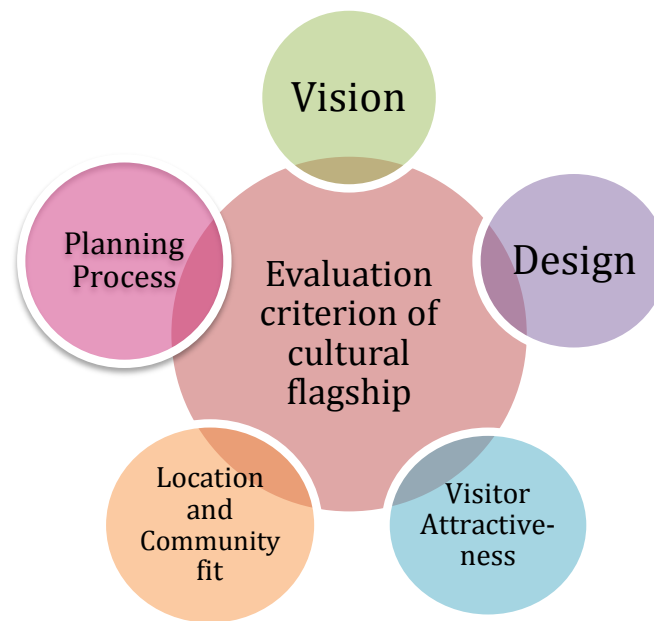


Figure 2.1 The Evaluation Criterion of a Cultural Flagship (Arranged from Hayes, 2009)

Therefore, can a cultural flagship exist between the commercial demand and the living demand? The answer has been verified by some cases with experiential evidence such as in Bilbao and Liverpool. It also pulls out another important norm of a more ‘successful cultural flagship project’—the reason for establishing this project matters a lot. Is this flagship for the local participants or rather a tourism factor that attracts outsiders? These questions linked closely with the vision of the cultural flagship. Thus, the importance of the vision of a cultural flagship is indeed massive, which would affect both the use and the design of the flagships and the reception and acceptance by the residents (Doucet, 2007).

Table 2.4 The Criterion of the Cultural Flagship’s ‘Vision’

Item	Criterion Question
Vision	Does the Flagship have a clear goal or characteristic and created with a major content?

Source: Arranged by the author (2017)

B. Design

To catch others attention, a good look is necessary because people love to see stylish and fancy things and this notion have also included architectures. Especially in this globalised world, to get in the spotlight and attract others you definitely need something ‘special’ for the shape and design of the cultural flagship. The reason is the design of the building will increase the visibility of the project (Grodach, 2008; Hayes, 2009). While the visibility of the cultural flagship has been enhanced, the attractiveness of it will also increase people’s interest and curiosity. Therefore, the possibility of numerous tourists for visiting this stylish and designable cultural flagship is foreseeable.

Nevertheless, in this category, there are two major perspectives on designing a ‘cultural’ flagship: to invite a renowned architect or a brand as the major core design standard or to permeate the area’s culture as the main design value in the cultural flagship project. In the first perspective, another more knowable statement is ‘Starchitectures’ which has already included the implication of a ‘starchitect’ designed signature buildings. The importance of the spectacular building draws out the importance of the symbolic role that it has played in both conveying legitimacies to its sponsors and marketing the city (Fainstein, 2013). These iconic buildings, therefore, become a fabulous ‘brand’ for cities to market, which it also could increase the area’s tourism capacity. One of the most famous cases in this issue is the ‘Guggenheim museum’ in Bilbao, which this iconic star architecture has brought a lot of appearances and created a ‘Guggenheim Effect’ since it was built in 1997. It is the first iconic building that ‘re-imaged an entire city’ (Evans, 2003 p.432) and it successfully boosted the visiting number after the grand opening till nowadays. Due to this case, the affection of inviting star architects to design a flagship project is not only about the exposure of it, but also about the attraction which those who are fond of the designed buildings for sure will be fascinated by the starchitecture.

However, this method does not always function to produce an improved urban milieu and become a successful catalyst for urban regeneration (Fainstein, 2013). Due to Ponzini’s (2013) argument, he claimed that there are some contradictions with inviting starchitects to design. For example, the design will be constrained by other participants

in the building endeavours containing constructions and both political and financial institutions. Moreover, famous architects might not have enough time to devote to the cultural project and that it may also cause serial reproduction issues. Last but not least, the design of the cultural flagship might empower the architect's reputation, yet it has the possibility to sabotage their professionalism and the technical proficiency of the establishment. In this situation, the project will be risky because the attraction of this cultural flagship will only depend on the starchitect's own design charisma rather than the relevance of the building itself.

On the other hand, the second perspective is discussing that without the prestige of star architects, these cultural buildings must have its own main design value as the core of the establishment or else the identification of the flagship will be unrecognisable. The attraction of this cultural flagship will also be uncertainty due to its unclear target of drawing different fields of visitors to visit it. Nevertheless, in this point of view, by adding the area's own culture into the design process will create a closer relationship between the cultural flagship and the locals. While the major core culture of the flagship is very grounded, the uniqueness of it will also increase to fascinate others who are interested. Thus, nowadays many cities that are planning to use a cultural flagship as a catalyst for urban regeneration will consider by employing their own local culture in the design.

For instance, the Liverpool museum is one successful example that merged both the locals' voice and tourists' interests together in a cultural flagship project. Designed by a Danish architect with his company 3XN, they wanted to create a structure that involves the culture of Liverpool, but at the same time hoping this project will not destroy the balance between the World Heritage site in Mann Island and the newly established modern cultural flagship. After the discussion with the locals and various opinions from different sectors, the final design of the cultural flagship was a 'reminiscent of the trading ships' (Dezeen.com, 2011). The designers also paid tribute to the 'Three Graces' as they added bits of the relief pattern on the façade for a new interpretation of the process. Nevertheless, the whole design project of Liverpool museum was very respectful and rigorous. The design not only contributed various voices and the core history of the city

but also turns out as a fabulous visiting attraction for both residents and outside tourists willing to explore this marvelous meaningful structure aside Albert Dock and River Mersey.

Hence, both schemes have their own pros and cons and, in fact, a combination of two perspectives will be even more powerful. However, with the proviso that a cultural flagship has ‘a promotional function as a distinctive place to showcase one or more aspects of culture’ (Hayes, 2009); that is, the ‘designed’ flagship building includes an important factor that it is ‘iconcity’ (Sklair, 2006). A successful cultural flagship is not only about its exterior, but also about the vision and the attractiveness culture of what this project is willing to provide to both the outsiders and the local residents.

Table 2.5 The Criterion of the Cultural Flagship’s ‘Design’

Item	Criterion Question
Design	Is the flagship a representative architecture?
	Is it designed by a startarchitect?
	How does those cultural critics comment on the external design?
	Is the entity of the flagship in accordance with the original design plan?

Source: Arranged by the author (2017)

C. Visitor Attractiveness

As discussed in the last paragraph, the exterior of a cultural flagship could immediately catch people’s attention for sure. The establishing process would indeed fascinate those people who are interested and increase the visiting tourism capacity of the area. However, the motivation of willing to visit the current place is another story. This concept draws out that the meaning of what this building is willing to represent matters a lot more than the outside design. In other words, the ‘cultural attractiveness’ is the key to lead the project to attract visitors. To be more precise, it is the intrinsic cultural value of the cultural flagship that distinguishes itself with other flagship projects and also becomes the unique selling and branding point for the area to develop or regenerate. Therefore, the

balance between attracting outsiders and providing benefits for the community with the cultural flagship becomes a significant target for further planning.

While the main aim of this category is to discuss the attractiveness of the cultural flagship to both the locals and tourists, there are some evaluating items which some scholars believe is the key of representing a more attractive and sustainable cultural flagship project. In the case of the Guggenheim Bilbao, it has been highlighted as a good example of ‘how a singular arts and cultur[al] development has been used for wealth generating purposes’ (Comunian & Mould, 2014:3). This concept points out that art-related establishments are also an important factor as attractiveness for visiting which draws out the fact that a cultural flagship should include or to become a promoting platform for the local art activities (Hayes, 2009; Grodach, 2008, 2010). By focusing on the community-based cultural activities, not only the linkage between the cultural flagships with the residents would be closer, but also these cultural flagships could support regional arts community, smaller initiatives, and other developments (Aticheson & Evans, 2003; Hayes, 2009; Grodach, 2010).

On the other hand, what should a cultural flagship offer to visitors? Hayes (2009) identified that a cultural flagship should provide three main experiences including education, learning, and entertainment. In his research, the evaluation was based on two cases: The Eden Project and the Millennium Dome. The former was a successful plan that it combined a clear vision of presenting the knowledge of ecology, sustainability, and climate change to attract those who have interests to visit. The full cultural agenda was created beyond the garden festival that it also integrated both education and entertainment values inside to promote a complete feast of ecology learning. Even though the whole project was a bit ambitious, the results of the visiting numbers increased and the wished objectives were achievable. The Eden Project was surely a success as a clear and attractive cultural flagship for a long-term growing programme.

By contrast, the latter was an extreme failure project that became a laughing stock from the presses as calling it ‘a flop’ or the ‘white elephant’. The original vision of the

dome was to house the Millennium Experience for celebrating the beginning of the third Millennium and to become a catalyst to help Greenwich area to break away from being one of the poorest parts of London (Lord Falconer, 1999 cited in Smith, 2009:189). Moreover, the project was also willing to provide ‘a blank canvas to create interesting and exciting content’ (Hayes, 2009:105). Even though the project remained a provisional attraction, the opportunity was wasted. The whole project was in lack of commercial and cultural interests which both education and entertainment value of the cultural flagship project was a shortage. In addition, the establishment of the dome was based on a short and limited vision without concerning the residents’ voices that the linkage between the dome and the locals was extremely rusty. Sad to say, it also stood empty for nearly six years after the celebration.

Hence, by learning from both cases, the importance of planning long-term attractiveness is not an uncomplicated mission; however, it is the linchpin of a sustainable cultural flagship project that planners should not ignore and disregard it. While the appeal of novelty and interest should not be neglected from the planning project, the balance of representing what ‘culture’ to fit in the area needs to be deliberated because to fascinate tourists may be liable due to curiosity, yet to satisfy the community is arduous. Nevertheless, the above situations draw out another important factor of a cultural flagship that the location of the establishment and fitting with the community should also be noted.

Table 2.6 The Criterion of the Cultural Flagship’s ‘Visitor-Attractiveness’

Item	Criterion Question
Visitor-Attractiveness	Does the flagship have a clear theme or objective?
	Does the flagship have a clear function including education, entertainment, and leisure use?
	Did the flagship achieve its goal of the expecting visitor number?

Source: Arranged by the author (2017)

D. Location and Community Fit

The location and community fit for a cultural flagship matters for the consideration in both regeneration and tourism planning. The cultural flagship may become ‘aspirational places’ as Kent (2009:xvi) noted it is ‘a social place to provide a location with more formal information’. Does the project fit in the area’s history, tradition and geo-demographics? The answer should be yes for a bonanza; however, the prerequisites are not that simple to achieve, especially when the project is linked to an urban regeneration process. Grodach (2008) claimed that not all of the design prescriptions of a cultural flagship would necessarily take into account of the needs of cultural institutions that it mostly depends on their location, context, and mission.

The implication of this problem is that not all of the cultural flagships are located in an area that is specifically defined as a cultural district (Grodach, 2008). To be more accurate, in the planning of culture-led regeneration, most of the cultural flagships were located in abandoned docklands, waterfronts, and less prestigious city districts aiming to revitalise the vacancy. The reasons are obvious to see: those planners are willing to use the cultural flagship as a catalyst to boost the declined area for investments and tourist incomes (Evans, 2003; Grodach, 2008). Thence, some of the cultural flagship cases were lucky, as their location was carefully selected and specially planned for attracting tourists visiting. For example, the location of Guggenheim Bilbao was deliberately chosen as Sudjic (1999) suggested: ‘obviously, the Guggenheim didn’t open in Bilbao for the sake of it; it was an attention grabber. It was part of a wholesale reconstruction of the city’ (as cited in Smith, 2009:181). Furthermore, agreed with Evans (2003:430), he claimed that the location of Guggenheim Bilbao linked with the cities’ major parks that it not only ‘dulled recreational nature, but also reinforces the privileged zones of the city’.

From the case of the Guggenheim Bilbao, it may have been confirmed as a huge success of the chosen location; however, a good location cannot confirm the success of a cultural flagship. The Millennium Dome was an embarrassing example as it had a clear initial advantage yet did not make the community happy and lost its ambition of targeting over 12 million visitors. The dome was endowed with proximity to central London

through a brand new underground line, majorly supported by both the government and business, and closely situated to large residential communities. Although the dome had these opportunities, the project failed due to the exacerbation of central government controlling and limited local engagement (Hayes, 2009).

From the above examples, despite the fact that the location may be suitable, will the project be recognised by the locals is another challenging point for planning. In this stage, conflicts between the new cultural flagship and the local community will bring out the tenseness of ignorance and unsuitable fitting. Even though the Guggenheim Bilbao had been labeled as ‘a successful project’, the connection of the cultural flagship with the community was very weak. It may cause enormous high visiting rates for the design, but it is a commercial and cultural production rather than a community-fitting project to promote its own Basque culture. Nevertheless, another appropriate approach to avoid these kinds of conflicts is to link with the existing local values that it may reflect a community’s value rather than impose a non-relevance theme. Bowen-Jones and Entwistle (2002:190) argued that community participation would ensure the effectiveness of the flagship and it will have emotional resonance and ownership among the local communities (Grodach, 2010).

A more successful case comparable to the dome and Bilbao was the Eden Project. It might not have an easy reaching location, yet the response rate from both the locals and tourists were more positive. The cultural flagship was located in a largely rural area with high unemployment and few long-term economic prospects (Hayes, 2009); however, it still made good use of the former quarry site. Surprisingly, the effect was far more enormous which the whole project had driven the regeneration process in Cornwall. Large support from the community and the local government was also a main factor of success. Moreover, the Eden project even connected with the mainstream cultural interests and developed local cultural initiatives and activities in Cornwall (Hayes, 2009).

In conclusion, the choice of a location of a cultural flagship is also an important consideration criterion for evaluation. Kent (2009:14-15) noted that: ‘A location can

define, and be defined by the flagship’. While planners are willing to use cultural flagships to regenerate an area, it would be necessary to mediate the area’s own history and geo-demographics inside the project to create a win-win process.

Table 2.7 The Criterion of the Cultural Flagship’s ‘Location and Community Fit’

Item	Criterion Question
Location and Community Fit	Which area was the flagship established at?
	Does the flagship been planned with a convenient transportation system?
	Do the local residents accept the flagship and does the whole design relates to the community?

Source: Arranged by the author (2017)

E. Planning Process

The reason for establishing a cultural flagship is because of its potential effect as being a catalytic project—it’s a facility planning process that focuses on a large proportion of financing and community participation during the programming procedure. As these cultural flagships are a concentration with a mix of commercial and cultural establishments together, planners were hoping that the icon would attract tourists or investment to develop the area because a cultural flagship differs itself from other styles of flagship projects in terms of image as well (Grodach, 2010). However, there are still some factors that have not been identified by scholars who argued that these cultural flagships are not as fancy as they look to the public. While considering the attributes of the immediate area should be paid high attention during the planning process, Grodach has drawn out three other major issues that also should be noted: the potential demand by arts and commercial plaits, the availability of suitable spaces, and the approach of sponsoring agencies towards cultural facility financing.

Firstly, as discussed by several scholars, not every place needs a cultural flagship which only a few cities have achieved the benefits from it (Evans, 2003; Grodach, 2010). Even though the plans are to regenerate a regional recession, planners still need to assess

the potential demand of the area such as the think of community's cultural capital and the 'existence of compatible arts and commercial activity prior to flagship development' (Grodach, 2010:21). Secondly, planners should consider the direct linkages between the cultural flagships and commercial spaces in the surrounding area because physical environmental factors and traffic issue also counts an important factor. Last but not least, the facility planning process is also important to the impact on the catalytic potential of a cultural flagship project. It is apparent in the approach to the facility financing and sponsoring agencies. By creating a fund to minimise building and maintenance costs through fees, it could somehow return back to the redevelopment and focus on cultural uses. Nevertheless, this process still needs to consider possible negative effects such as gentrification during the whole planning.

Hence, from the above discussions, it is obvious to see that many cultural flagship projects involve more than just an activator during the cultural-led regeneration process. It's not just an iconic cultural infrastructure rather than a determinate role in revitalisation which planners should assume as a wider planning process for a complete regeneration programme. After rethinking the development of a cultural flagship, many factors have not yet been directly related to the planning and therefore played significant roles in the outcome. As we have discussed the relationship between the art and commercial demands and those other additional factors, it should be noted that these factors are not necessarily sufficient to guarantee that a cultural flagship project will catalyze the whole development, rather it is indispensable during the planning process. Moreover, given the fact that cultural flagships have planned to regenerate an area and acted primarily as distinct spectacles to bait visitors, investments, and developments, it may be a bit suitable to 'look beyond the project boundaries and think of them in relation to existing arts and cultural resources' (Grodach, 2010:29).

To conclude, these concepts lead to a short conclusion. A cultural flagship project is not a 100% culture-led regeneration success method. If the project is sustainable, carefully, and suitably planned with a long-term project connecting with other regional developments, the utility of the catalytic therefore will be exerted.

Table 2.8 The Criterion of the Cultural Flagship's 'Planning Process'

Item	Criterion Question
Planning Process	Is the establishment of the cultural flagship necessary in the area?
	Does the cultural flagship have adequate finding and sponsorship to operate?
	Is the whole cultural flagship project a wider planning process rather than a catalytic process?

Source: Arranged by the author (2017)

2.4. Research Rationale

The central idea of this study is to explore how do a cultural flagship and the urban regeneration process works together, which the heritagisation process has been seen as the bridge to connect. Moreover, to discuss how this relationship can be used in cities that have ideological contradictions and therefrom evaluate the influence and practice of this establishment with the case study of the Titanic Belfast. In order to focus on the research objectives for better subsequent investigation, the questions have been formulated on relevant theories extracted from the literature review in previous paragraphs. To lay out a clear picture of this research, a more accurate particular has been listed below for further discussion:

- **Why did the decision makers select Titanic as their primary culture and established the Titanic Belfast to regenerate Belfast, Northern Ireland?**

Table 2.9 The Exploration of the First Research Objective

Findings on	Discussing Point	Theoretical References
Cultural-led Regeneration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The relationship between culture and urban regeneration. ■ The effect of a cultural-led regeneration. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The use of culture in urban regeneration (Evans 2001, 2005; García, 2004; Smith 2006, 2009) 2. The three models of culture and regeneration (Evans, 2001, 2005) 3. Cultural-led regeneration (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Binns, 2005; Evans, 2001, 2003, 2005; De Frantz, 2003; Keating & Miles, 2005; Lin & Hsing, 2008; Miles & Paddison, 2005; Smith, 2006, 2007; Vickery, 2007) 4. The two models of culture-led regeneration (Bianchini, 1993, 1995; Binns, 2005)
Cultural Flagship Project	The influence of cultural flagships to cities for regeneration processes and its disadvantages.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The concept of a cultural flagship project (Bianchini, 1992; Bowen-Jones & Entwistle, 2002; Evans, 2003; Grodach, 2008, 2010; Hayes, 2009; Smith, 2006, 2007, 2009; Smyth, 1994; Sternberg, 2002)
Heritagisation	The use of heritage in practices and the influences.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The concept of a heritagisation process (Ashley, 2014; Bendix, 2009; Di Meo, 2008; Gillot et al., 2013; Harison, 2013; Margart, 2011; Poria, 2010; Roige & Foige, 2010; Salemink, 2016; Sanchez-Carretero, 2015; Walsh, 1992) 2. The economic value and impacts of a heritagisation (Ashley, 2014; Binns,

		<p>2005; Di Méo, 2008; Gillot et al, 2013; Hall & Arthur, 1993; Harrison, 2013)</p> <p>3. The social value and impacts of a heritagisation (Ashley, 2014; Carnegie & Norris, 2015; Di Méo, 2008; Hall & Arthur, 1993)</p> <p>4. The political value and impacts of a heritagisation (Ashley, 2014; Di Méo, 2008; Gillot et al, 2013; Hall & Arthur, 1993; Littler, 2005; Park, 2014)</p> <p>5. The cultural value and impacts of a heritagisation (Ashley, 2014; Davallon, 2014; Di Méo, 2008; Hall & Arthur, 1993; Park, 2014)</p>
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Source: Arranged by the author (2017)

Before digging into the major issue of a cultural-led regeneration, to understand the relationship and practice between culture and urban regeneration by Evans (2004, 2005), García (2004), and Smith (2006, 2009) is significant. Evans also classified three models of a cultural planning process that brought out a brief presentation of a cultural-led regeneration. Since a concise understanding of the above concepts has been elaborated, the affections of a cultural-led regeneration have also been expanded with the backup of several scholars such as Bianchini & Parkinson (1993), Binns (2005), Keating & De Frantz (2003), Miles (2005) and Smith (2006, 2007, 2009). To draw out a more precise notion of this theory, Vickery (2007) sorted out four major points of a cultural-led regeneration should contain: to create, to inspire, to express, and to reconstruct. With these factors, it could be easier to comprehend the effect of this process in various dimensions, for example, to create closeness and social cohesion in communities and to demonstrate the uniqueness of the place to fascinate new opportunities (Binns, 2005; Carnegie & Norris, 2015; Jones & Wilks-Heeg, 2004).

In the frame of the cultural-led regeneration, Bianchini (1993) (applauded with Binns (2005)) identified two models (cultural production and cultural consumption) and three productions (cultural quarters, mega-events, and cultural flagships). The three productions have their own pros and cons in different angles. However, to discuss the reason and effect of establishing a cultural flagship is rather the main objective of this study. The cultural flagship project may overturn a cities' image if properly and carefully planned with the whole area regeneration programme, which is one of the questions that this study is willing to discover. On the contrary, the high paid cost and unsuitable culture may lead to failure with notoriety 'another white elephant'.

On the other hand, the bridge of connecting a flagship project and a culture-led regeneration together is by a heritagisation process. There has recently been much discussion about the use of a heritagisation process. Some scholars considered that the process is a destruction of culture produced by tourism (Walsh, 1992; Sanchez-Carretero, 2015; Smith, 2009); others would rather take the view that the process is for achieving social goods and for re-telling heritages from various perspectives (Ashley, 2014; Poria, 2010). As this study is to explore how does the Titanic culture been heritagised by the cultural planners and become an element for Belfast's cultural planning use, to understand the original notion of this term is necessary.

It is true that the term of 'heritagisation' has dumbly transformed during recent years, but the concept has not been clearly articulated, especially the influence of the process. Nevertheless, the author marshalled many literature from different scholars of this topic and classified it into four values for further discussing including economic, social, political, and cultural. From these points, the possible affections of a heritagisation process would be more clear-out to discuss with this study. Moreover, it might also become a valuable method for further use. Hence, even though the heritagisation process seems to be quite merit to attempt in reality, it should be noticed that it is still a complex issue—the balance between the heritagised product and its original cultural heritage value needs to be carefully planned.

■ **To what extent does the Titanic Belfast fit the criterion for a beneficial cultural flagship project?**

Table 2.10 The Exploration of the Second Research Objective

Findings on	Discussing Point	Theoretical References
Cultural Flagship Project	The evaluation of an effective and sustainable cultural flagship project: The Five Spheres	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The evaluation criterion for a cultural flagship (Hayes, 2009; Grodach, 2010) 2. The vision (Doucet, 2007; Hayes, 2009; Smith, 2005) 3. The design (Evans, 2003; Fainstein, 2013; Grodach, 2008; Hayes, 2009; Ponzini, 2013; Sklair, 2006) 4. The visitor attractiveness (Atcheson & Evans, 2003; Comunian & Mould, 2014; Grodach, 2008, 2010; Hayes, 2009; Smith, 2009) 5. The location and community fit (Bowen-Jones & Entwistle, 2002; Evans, 2003; Grodach, 2008, 2010; Hayes, 2009; Kent, 2009; Smith, 2009; Sudjic, 1999) 6. The planning process (Evans, 2003; Hayes, 2009; Grodach, 2010)

Source: Arranged by the author (2017)

The evaluation of a cultural flagship project becomes important in these recent years. Hayes (2009) analysed a criterion for these cultural flagship projects with four main factors: the vision, the design, the visitor attractiveness, and the location and community fit. The criterion could also become the checkpoint for the case study of the Titanic Belfast because it has considered various levels that it could study from different angles of a cultural flagship project. While Hayes (2009) mostly focused on the establishment itself,

Grodoch (2008, 2010) stood in another point of view regarding that the importance of re-examining the planning process of a cultural flagship project should also pay attention. In consequence, a simplified evaluation criterion will be conducted in this study to elaborate the effect and sustainability of a cultural flagship and its disadvantages with the case study of the Titanic Belfast.



3. Methodology

3.1. Research Design

In this research, the aim is to explore how a cultural flagship could become an element to regenerate and drive various developments in cities. The evaluation of a successful cultural flagship criterion has been conducted from the literature that it would become the major index for the case study of the Titanic Belfast. On the other hand, as the complexity of Belfast is obviously well-known, to probe the option of the heritagisation of Titanic as becoming one of the new cultural representations in Belfast is also necessary. Furthermore, different perspectives on the issue of the establishment of the Titanic Belfast among local residents, stakeholders, and tourists are also magnificent for this study to investigate. Hence, as understanding the complexity of the entity (Benbasat, Goldstein & Mead, 1987 cited in Chang, 2004), this research adopts a qualitative case study method to explain the current phenomenon and issues accordingly acquire knowledge of corresponding gregarious constructions (Chang, 2004).

Qualitative research focuses on how do the participants construct their world and to understand their feelings, attitude, and experiences during their social livings (Glesne, 1992). In other words, it is a method of ‘interpreting’ the social society not ‘numerically’ the living society (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). It is a method that has the advantage that they allow informants to focus their reflections on the areas where are most significant to them. A qualitative research includes the decision of appropriate methods and theories, the analysis from different perspectives, the diversification of various approaches and methods, and the role of researchers to reflect its research study as one of the knowledge productions (Flick, 2007).

The reason for selecting this approach is based on its circumscription—case study focuses on empirical investigations. Yin (1994) identified with three appearances for its usage: it has inquired into a contemporary realistic phenomenon, it has inconspicuous boundaries between the phenomenon and the context, and it has numerous evidentiary sources. Therefore, by using this method, it would be possible to solve or discover specific

cases, to provide the source of the research hypothesis, and to offer a practical example to compare with theories (Yeh, 2006). It is true that using the case study as the approach is suitable for this study, but this method also has its restriction which mostly these cases are particularity and the results are hard to summarise in other examples. Consequently, the main target of a case study approach is to understand the single object of study and to bring up some positive measures for further researching. The methodology design of this research can be seen in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 The Methodology Design of This Research

Design Principles	Data Collection	Data Analysis	Knowledge Interests
Case Study	Interview	Coding	Build Consensus
Participant observation	Documents	Content analysis	Control and Prediction

Source: Arranged by the author (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000)

As discussed in the previous section, the uniqueness of the post-industrial city Belfast by launching a sunken Titanic to become their culture element of a culture-led regeneration is the selection of this method. Multiple methods will be incorporated with this case study to delve into the complexity of the phenomenon including with three sources—semi-structured interviews, direct observation, and secondary recourses to elucidate and answer the research questions. The explanation and analysis of the data will be guaranteed by both triangulation techniques and coding to clarify the validation and contribution.

3.2. Data Collection

While this study focuses on a cultural flagship regeneration process, including the solution of which culture should be presented and how a culture can be used during the whole process, the data collection for this research needs to be multi-faced in collecting multiple pieces of evidence. Therefore, there will be two main levels of data collection for this research: secondary documents and expedition. The former will be collected from reputable institution's resources such as the government documents and the mass media.

The latter will be based on the author's personal investigation in both observation and participation during the expedition back in Belfast. Finally, as local communities, organisations, sectors, and tourists are the immediate or indirect stakeholders in the cultural flagship regeneration, their voices will also be collected from a semi-structured interview, social media, and online forums.

■ Secondary Documents

Documents will also be used for accumulating a circumstantial knowledge of the case and to answer the research questions. Data sources will be collected from historical documents, official governmental reports, websites, publications, local newspapers and also the mass media to offer both institutional and public textual narratives for the research. Moreover, content analysis is also another important analysing method for examining through documents, as it becomes popular for researchers in the field of tourism to convince readings of cultural texts and to help to draw various outcomes by looking straightly through the texts themselves (Slater 1998).

A. Reports from government and organisations

Official reports could reflect the administrative perspectives on related topics. There are a variety of publications and reports offering further developmental reference and academic research. Data that contains cultural planning, cultural tourism, and regeneration developments will be accessed from annual statistics. As the network between sectors and stakeholders in both local and supranational levels plays an important role during the regeneration project in cities, their point of view will replenish the evidences for this study. Nevertheless, the reports will be selected from these following organisations:

- Belfast City Council (www.belfastcity.gov.uk/)
- Tourism Northern Ireland (<http://www.tourismni.com/>)
- Department for the Economy (<https://www.economy-ni.gov.uk>)
- Titanic Foundation Ltd (<http://titanic-foundation.org/>)
- Gov.uk (<https://www.gov.uk/>)

B. Official Websites

Official Websites are the façade of the event or activities that enable visitors, investors, and researchers have a glimpse of the whole information. The government, organisations or foundations will periodically update official information that provides abundant data for this study. Therefore, by browsing the Titanic Belfast Official Website[TBOW] (<http://titanicbelfast.com/>) it is easy to gather data about this museum, including the providing experiences during visiting, the annual events, the additional entertainment services, and many official press releases data and videos. Moreover, the research also discusses the influences on the Titanic culture and the issue of promoting it. To look into the Titanic Foundation Limited[TFL] and Titanic Quarter Limited [TQL] (<http://www.titanic-quarter.com/>) will also be a contributing means to understand how they ‘create a dynamic maritime destination where preservation of heritage complements regeneration’ with other sectors and organisations (titanic-foundation.org[TFL], 2008). Other governmental sectors and organisations such as the Northern Ireland Tourist Board[NITB] (<http://www.discovernorthernireland.com/>), Visit Belfast (visitbelfast.com/), and the Belfast City Council will also furnish various evidences of discussing topics that will be applied to this study.

C. Press and Media Coverage

Media and press play the role as the fourth estate to supervise governmental administration and to report the information to public objectively. It is also an approach to collect various public opinions for this research. Therefore, this study will employ data from the Belfast Telegraph, the Belfast Daily, the Irish News, and BBC. In addition, videos from YouTube and Facebook Fan Pages are also an important material for analysis the positions of those organisations. This research will include the Titanic Belfast Official YouTube Channel, as it not only provides information about the Titanic Belfast’s present activities, but also offers the original establishing concept of

this cultural flagship project speaking by various viewpoints.

D. Interactive travel forums with reviews of travel-related content

Owing to the fact that it is unavailable to stay in Belfast for a long period and to implement a fieldwork study, interactive travel forums with reviewing comments will be one of the data to understand all kinds of opinions from both visitors and locals. The main analytical interactive travel forum is the 'TripAdvisor' that it can explicitly classify different mark levels of the visiting experience of the Titanic Belfast.

The selection of the visiting comments will be chosen upon the following reasons which it will contribute this study to understand the visitor's perception with the Titanic Belfast museum and Belfast this city itself by content analysis:

- (1) Comments between 31 April 2012 to 30 October 2016
- (2) Comments in only English
- (3) Comments from 5 stars to 1 stars
- (4) Comments that codes on the basis of correlative keywords such as 'images', 'reasons', 'design', 'attraction', and 'city' which links to the objectives of this study.

After the above selections, there were more than 170 comments that correspond with the standard. 134 comments are from tourists and 36 comments from the local including a planner of the visiting site. The full list of detail selection numbers will be contained in the appendix.

■ Direct and Participant Observation

The concept of observation is to systematically observe a phenomenon or a specific activity in a natural or controlled situations with the intended purpose (Yeh, 2006). The observing record should be written in an objective context in which to gather first-hand information.

There are many kinds of observing method, but in this research, there will be two

major ways to collect data: direct observation and participant observation. Firstly, direct observation has the advantage to collect data from the objective third party without interposing the object in a natural way. Despite the fact that this method could use various dimensions to observe the object, some confidential information will not be possible to have much understanding. Secondly, participant observation is a different way of collecting data which the observer will completely participate inside the observing objects. This will contribute the observer to experience the activities with other participants. However, the risk of this method is that the observer needs to be fully independently during the whole process, or else the level of observing sensitivity will decrease and cause some errors during data collection.

On the other hand, an on-the-screen awareness, direct observation has been conducted before and after the interviews to determine the tourist's and local residents' reactions toward the Titanic Belfast. The author has attended the Titanic Belfast Museum tour during its grand year opening in 2012 with photos as evidences. A more objective direct observation was during 28 July to 14 August in 2015, as the author walked to the museum and observed inside and outside the building for more than two hours per day by using notes and photos to record every observing information.

■ **Semi-Structured Interview**

The method of interviewing is an oral communication with an outline which the investigator has prepared in advance; moreover, the process is a direct conversation with the object by using discussing or dialoguing. It is an effected method for collecting data from the respondents such as their social-economic background, attitudes, opinions, and motivations. According to the attributes of this research, an in-depth interview will be applied in this study due to its possibility for collecting a deeper understanding of the issues from the respondents. Rather than defining constructs in advance, researchers can allow interviewees to express themselves in their own terms and subsequently derive the most relevant categories of responses inductively in an in-depth interview.

In the light of the situation, controlling during the interview by researchers and the

content of the interview, Bernard (1988) identified four major interviewing types: informal interviews, unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, and structured interviews. This research will utilise a 'semi-structured interview' which the method has been suggested that the interviewer usually 'maintains control over the interview, asking questions, but contributing little else' (Sorrell & Redmond 1995, Melia 2000 cited in Whiting, 2007). In other words, a semi-structured interview has these two features: a) with a regular topic with focal points, but not an inflexible structure, b) a flexible interviewing method to add or delete questions at any time during the interview with a prepared outline in advance. By using Semi-structured interviews, as Kavla (2007) noted, the hidden fundamental of the interviewees' motives, attitudes, beliefs and preferences can be obtained by both institutions and in-depth personal narratives for ensuing analysis (Kvale 2007). Moreover, the analysing method of the major data in this research will be using simple coding to distinguish evidence from the interview, which the contents will also be deliberated through the analysis.

This research aims to understand the influence of cultural flagships to cities in the regeneration process, the use of heritage in practice and the influences, and the debates in presenting Belfast of using the Titanic culture. Opinions from the locals are important for this study, which a semi-structured interview will be the most suitable method for collecting their perceptions and feelings. Therefore, the interview agreement is based on the new motifs from the literature and document review, including issues of regeneration and tourism strategy plan, cultural flagship projects, the experience of the programme, tourism and catalysis for the urban regeneration and sustainability.

According to the expedition during summer in 2015, the author had an interview opportunity with the Northern Ireland Tourist Board Regional Development Officer and Culture and Creative Vibe Development Officer Seaneen McGrady by email. Moreover, as willing to understand the viewpoint from the residents in Belfast, the author also randomly interviewed 13 local residents to discover their own personal opinions of the Titanic Belfast museum during the fieldwork.

➤ **Interviewees**

Thanks to the limitation of time and cost, the interview is based on consciousness questions that link to this study by using convenience sampling as the main method to select local interviewees in Belfast. On the other hand, the selection of cultural planners is by purposive sampling because this method has a more direct aim of picking interviewees.

I. Local residents

As willing to understand the influence of a cultural flagship-led regeneration in various dimensions, by using the case study ‘The Titanic Belfast’ would be the integer proposition of this research. Due to the fact that ‘time and space’ matters in Belfast, the selection of location and age both become an important factor in this study as well. The interviewees are numbered and listed as below (See Table 3.2):

Table 3.2 The list of Resident Interviewees in Belfast

	Interview Location	Gender	Age	Occupation	Number
1	Church	F	70~80	N/A	K1
2	Church	M	70~80	N/A	K2
3	Church	F	22	Graduate, Part Time Working	K3
4	Cathedral Quarter	M	25	Photographer	K4
5	City centre	F	21	Graduate	K5
6	City centre	F	22	Graduate	K6
7	City Centre	M	22	Graduate	K7
8	Queen’s University	F	19	Student	K8
9	Queen’s University	M	21	Student	K9
10	Cathedral Quarter	F	53	Artist	K10
11	Outside Belfast 20mins	M	53	IT Engineer	K11

12	Outside Belfast 20mins	M	69	Retired	K12
13	Queen's University	F	23	Graduate, Media Worker	K13

As the answers from the interview and fieldwork have become more and more similar without other new information, it means that the data has been saturated by degrees (Flick, 2007). During the interviewing in Belfast, most of the answers have started to duplicate after interviewing 13 people.

A clear introduction of the aim of the interview will be requested before starting. This includes the research objectives, the range of topic during this interview, the investor's personal information with a business card, and the necessity of recording through the whole interview with a semi-structured interviewing style. As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, by using a semi-structured interview is a flexible method at a time-limited interview, which it could increase the elasticity of questions during the whole access. As a result, this method could help the investigator to collect adequate data, especially in a case study that needs to rely on the respondent's own thoughts, time, and space (Yeh, 2006). Hence, the semi-structured interview is grounded on Hayes (2009) and Grodach's (2010) concept of a cultural flagship with a combination of the heritagisation affection to discuss the local's opinions on the case study of the Titanic Belfast (See Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 The Interview Questions for Local Residents in Belfast

Interview Questions	Theory Framework
■ Have you been into the Titanic Belfast before?	Intro
■ What do you think about the establishment of the Titanic Belfast for Belfast this city?	Vision, Location & Community Fit
■ What do you think about the design of the Titanic Belfast?	Design

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ What is your opinion by using the Titanic culture as the major tourism selling point? ■ What is your opinion by using the Titanic Belfast as a symbol of re-imaging a new Belfast proud? 	Visitor-Attractiveness, Location & Community Fit, Heritagisation
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II. Cultural Planners

Before the expedition, the author has done a few researches on the topic of this study, especially the reports from official organisations. In the beginning, the author contacted the person in charge of the Titanic Belfast; however, on account of the restriction that it is unavailable to conduct any academic or other interviewing fieldwork inside the Titanic Quarter (including the Titanic Belfast), the manager in charge could only grant two staffs and herself for a 5minutes interview without recording for this research (See Table 3.4 & 3.5).

Table 3.4 The List of Working Staff Interviewees in the Titanic Belfast

	Gender	Occupation	Number
1	M	Information Desk	M1
2	F	Guide Tour	M2
3	F	Market Manager	M3

Table 3.5 The Interview Questions for Working Staffs in the Titanic Belfast

Interview Questions	Theory Framework
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ What kind of experience do you want to give to the visitors when they are in Belfast? ■ How do you balance the expectations between tourists and residents? ■ What is your own opinion as a working staff in the Titanic Belfast? 	Vision, Visitor-Attractiveness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ What is the potential of the Titanic Belfast to be a catalyst of developing a better-quality lifestyle of Belfast? 	Vision, Location & Community Fit

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ What is your opinion by using the Titanic culture as the major tourism selling point for this cultural flagship? ■ What is your opinion by using the Titanic Belfast as a symbol of re-imaging a new Belfast proud? 	Visitor-Attractiveness, Location & Community Fit, Heritagisation
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Owing to the time limit of the fieldwork in Belfast, the author went to the Northern Ireland Tourist Board Office in the Cathedral Quarter and asked if it is possible to ask some questions with any cultural planner that had worked on the establishment of the Titanic Belfast project by email. After a few weeks, Seaneen McGrady, who was responsible for the development and delivery of the iconic Titanic Belfast visitor attraction, replied back and agreed to answer the major questions that linkages with this study. She has worked as the Northern Ireland Tourist Board Regional Development Officer and Culture and Creative Vibe Development Officer and had worked in this institution for more than 10 years. These experiences surely convince that her point of view of the case study will be credible (See Table 3.6).

Table 3.6 The Interview Questions for Cultural Planners in Belfast

Interview Questions	Theory Framework
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ What was the idea of establishing a cultural flagship project in Belfast in the beginning? ■ What is the potential of the Titanic Belfast to be a catalyst of developing a better-quality lifestyle of Belfast? 	Vision, Location & Community Fit
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ What is your opinion by using the Titanic culture as the major tourism selling point for this cultural flagship? ■ What is your opinion by using the Titanic Belfast as a symbol of re-imaging a new Belfast proud? 	Visitor-Attractiveness, Location & Community Fit, Heritagisation

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ What kind of experience do you want to give to the visitors when they are in Belfast? ■ How do you balance the expectations between tourists and residents? 	<p>Vision, Visitor-Attractiveness</p>
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3.3. Validity and Reliability

3.3.1. Construct Validity

In this study, the principle of methodological triangulation has played the role to correct operational measure for this research (See Figure 3.1 on p.60). According to Yin (2009), there are three main tactics to increase the construct validity of a case study: to utilize multiple sources of evidence, to establish a chain of evidence, and to have key informants to review the draft case study. Firstly, multiple sources will decrease the bias between the explanation of the case study and the inaccuracy of references. Therefore, to utilize a data triangulation is necessary for this research to understand various dimensions. This research has been conducted many secondary documents, including publications and reports from both the government and key organisations, media press data, and visitor comments from interactive travel forums. Moreover, an expedition back in Belfast for observing the case study and interviewing local residents are also other pieces of evidence for this study.

Secondly, to establish a chain of evidence in a case study can contribute a closer relevance between the case and theories. Thence, this study first focuses on the relationship between culture flagships and urban regeneration to elaborate the use of a culture-led regeneration. The next step is to discuss the heritagisation in terms of the concept and the practice of the Titanic Belfast flagship project. Afterwards, to arrange an evaluation criterion of a cultural flagship project. These theories connect and influence together willing to understand the reason of using the Titanic culture as their preference and the benefit of the Titanic Belfast as being the culture element of the culture-led regeneration in Belfast. Finally, the draft study has been reviewed by key informants that

linkage with this case study. Hence, it is possible to increase the data dependability of this case study research by means of the above methods.

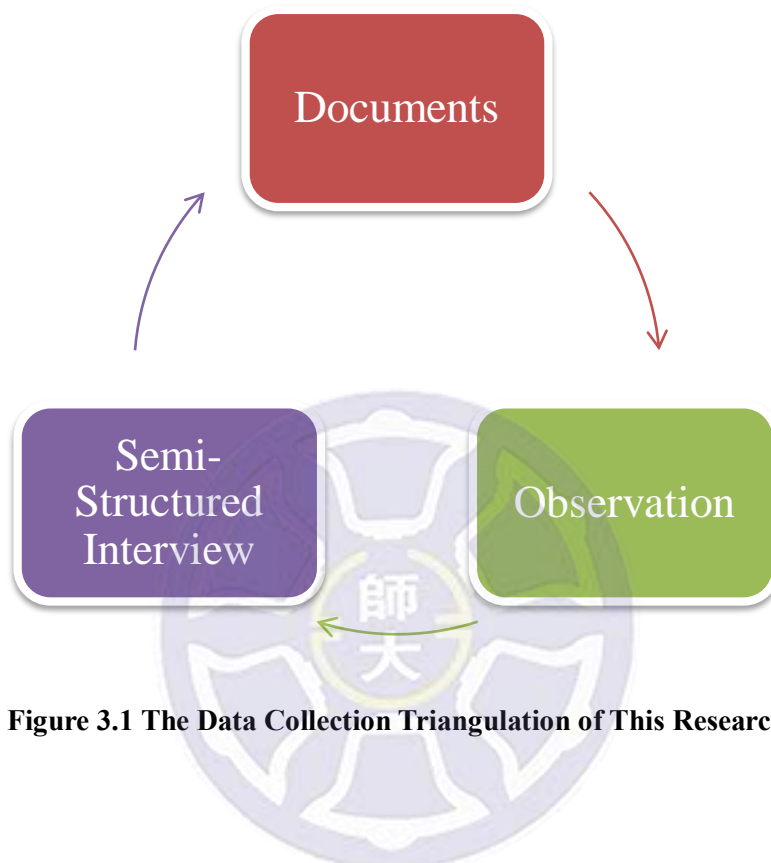


Figure 3.1 The Data Collection Triangulation of This Research

3.3.2. Internal Validity

The meaning of internal validity is to establish a non-spurious causal relationship in this research which both the conceptual definition and operational definition needs to correspond (Yin, 2009). Consequently, the internal validity is subject to increase the credibility between the founding of the research and the truth of the fact in this study. In this case, to discuss the use of Titanic culture and the establishment of the Titanic Belfast is an important factor which the reason has a close nexus together. Therefore, pluralistic resources are necessary to elaborate the connection between both factors. Also, to cross-check the research from multiple perspectives to avoid misunderstanding, first and second-hand documents and data have been collected from Belfast, academic researches, and credible official organisations.

3.3.3. External Validity

To establish a domain that a study's findings can be generalised is the core of the external validity (Yin, 2009). There are three main factors that may influence this validity: the research sample, the research time, and the research location and situation (Chou, 1990). Firstly, different samples could not be analogous owing to its features and its differences. Secondly, there are different backgrounds and characteristics during different moments. Thus, it is necessary to consider the timing to control the timeliness of the research. Last but not least, the location and situation also matter a lot in a research because they have their own specific cultural backgrounds, ideology, lifestyle, and substances in every area. Therefore, it is not easy to infer or apply a research resulting directly into another case.

In the case of the Titanic Belfast, the background of Belfast, Northern Ireland is already a unique culture divergent city. Even though this study is discovering the use of cultural flagships in urban regeneration use, it would not be a suitable planning path for other cases to employ it directly. It should be noticed that the value of this research is objective of discovering the use of a heritagisation in practice, the benefits of a cultural flagship in urban regeneration, and the selection of promoting the Titanic culture in Belfast as an element to regenerate the city. These results may become references to provide to those case studies which have similar background issues and requirements.

3.3.4. Reliability

Reliability is the quality of consistency and reliability during the research. If well conducted, it also works to reduce the errors and bias for further exploring (Yin, 2009). The general way is to operate every step, to detail the study process, to design a case study protocol, and to establish a database during the research to guarantee a stable result (Yin, 2009). Therefore, the data for this thesis will become a huge database for this research and will be based on the literature review in Chapter 2 and documents from credible platforms listed in Chapter 3.

4. Research Finding

4.1. The Transformation of Belfast

4.1.1. The Past Dilemmas and Urban Planning

While other cities in the United Kingdom have already stood on the modernisation of developing and regenerating urban areas such as establishing infrastructures to increase living qualities after the wars in the late 20c, the revitalisation process in Belfast was rather late due to the conflicts since the 1960s. At the same time, the halt of urban development in Belfast was strongly influenced by the ‘The Troubles’ in which different ideologies were antagonising each other—the population sharply decreased and the growth of Belfast’s economy was also stagnated. Basically, it was between two main different ideologies: The Protestants (the British or the Unionists) and the Catholics (the Irish or the Nationalists). By the names, the problems were seen as the conflicts between different religious identity or nationality issues, however, it was far more complicated. The unbalanced living standards were one of the major conflict points in Northern Ireland.

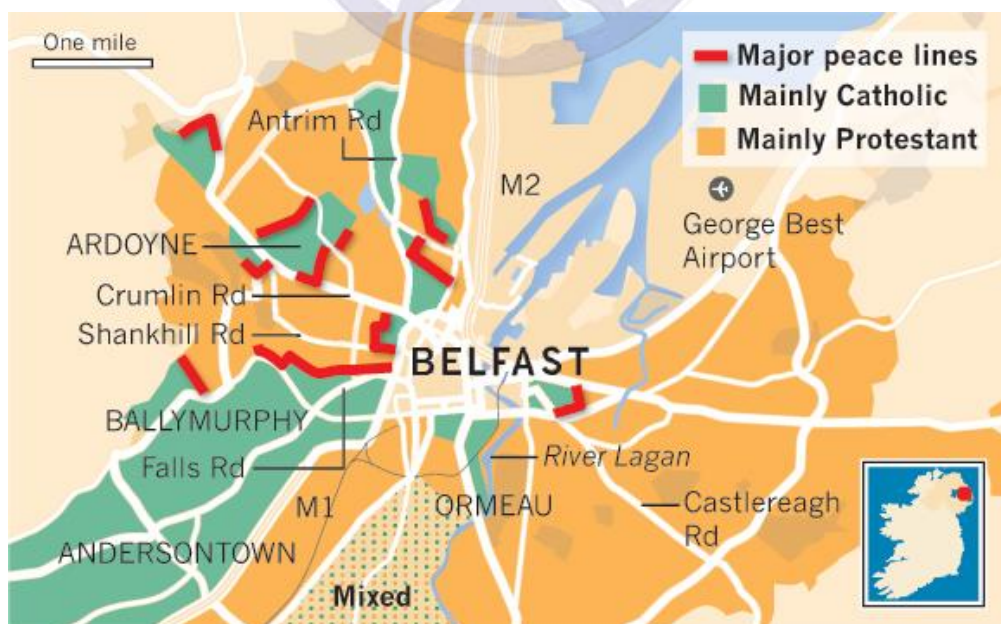


Figure 4.1 The Map of Belfast’s Peace Line Process

Source: <https://citiesintransition.net/fct-cities/belfast/>

Generally speaking, the unfair survival was one of the biggest problems that caused most of the non-stop conflicts in Northern Ireland. As we skim through the history, these two identity groups had different living standards: The Catholics were poorer and often unemployed; on the contrary, the Protestants were seen as the privileged classes in society with good jobs and better paid. A reasonable explanation of this disparity was because of the huge wealth that the Protestants had gained through their successful industries such as linen and shipbuilding, which these opportunities were closely related to the union and Britain. The Catholics neither truly benefit from the above industries nor enable to live safely. Therefore, wishing to have the jurisdiction of a self-government for Ireland, the Catholics rather supported the Home Rule¹ which was adopted by the (Southern) Irish nationalists in the 19th.

During 1919 to 1921 was the outbreak of the Irish War of Independence, which the independence issue was brought up to the table. Bolstered by the Catholics, the struggle of the Ulster area's (Northern Ireland) return to Ireland also increased. Nevertheless, the majority of the people in this region were Protestants, which they were fulfilled to be citizens of the United Kingdom rather than being liberated back to Ireland. The reasons were quite obvious due to the benefits which the Protestants have profited under the British governance, for example, occupations, prosperities, and religious freedom. As a result, to somehow solve this deadlock and to satisfy in those Ulster's favour, the British government enacted the 4th Home Rule Bill, the Government of Ireland Act 1920, and formalised the cleavage of Ireland into the North and South².

Although the British government made their concession, the contention in Northern Ireland did not pause. The confrontations were hardened during the 1960s, which the two ideologies faced a high tension of dissatisfaction, unfairness, and suppression. While the area was in turmoil, the 'Troubles'³ broke out in 1968. After the outbreak, the British

¹ A political slogan which the Irish wanted to have a self-government from the British Government from 1870s or 1880s to 1914. The (3rd) Home Rule was enacted in 1912 yet waited 2 years to implement it.

² The Southern Ireland was never truly functioned, yet it was replaced by the *Anglo-Irish Treaty* in 1921. It later became the Republic of Ireland under the *Republic of Ireland Act 1948*, which was signed in 1949.

³ Internationally known as the Northern Ireland (Ethno-nationalist) Conflict which started in 1968 and ended after the Good Friday Agreement in 1998.

soldiers came to Northern Ireland and tried to suppress the rebels. However, they rather brought conflicts, bloodsheds, and discrimination against the Catholics, for instance, the Bloody Sunday⁴ in 1972. In other words, these Brits caused even more collisions which thousands of people were murdered or killed under their unequal repression to the Catholics. Without the doubt, it is understandable why the two groups disgusted each other since ages and the dilemmas suspended the urban development process in this region.

Even though the conflict in Belfast has caused various troubles, the idea of redeveloping the urban city was still on the table, which the local government proposed a framework for the rebuilding of transportation and housing in 1969. To be more accurate, the term of urban regeneration in Belfast was more as an instrument to 'hollow the violence out of the city' because it somehow 'exacerbated the structural adjustment' and restructured the constitute of the renting city (OECD, 2000:27). One of the major targets in that period was to create peace areas for both armistice and neutral zone used to separate sporadic turmoil in various ideology communities. However, not until the 1980s did the authorities in Belfast bring forward a more consensus urban regeneration plan. The idea was included in the 'Belfast Urban Area Plan [BUA] (2001)' that the framework was brought out by the Department of the Environment [DOE] in 1987 and was formally adopted in 1990. As a result, the aim of the BUA was under three focal points (OECD, 2000:28):

- A. Maintaining and strengthening Belfast as Northern Ireland's regional centre
- B. Establishing a physical environment standard for both economic and social activities to upgrade living lives in Belfast
- C. Promoting the economic development with an orderly structure to increase the desire of investing in Belfast

The framework for sure had a larger ambition as it also included the main concepts of

⁴ It was one of the most protruding events and was also documented as the largest people being killed in a single incident during the period.

building mixed-use redevelopment opportunities and infrastructure to increase the viability of economy in the urban area of Belfast. Furthermore, the plan also considered and determined designated locations of tourism planning, leisure constructing, and other regenerating use in the city. Many large infrastructure regeneration projects were the focus options during that period to promote a ‘normalisation’ rebuilding process in Belfast. For example, one of the most important objectives during the 80s and 90s was to establish a huge shopping mall ‘The Castle Court Shopping Centre’ for the citizens in Belfast to shop and relax inside the city centre. This project was followed by the ‘Belfast City Centre Regeneration Policy Statement’ in 2003 for further development. However, the importance of this project was rather more symbolic than functional. The idea was to build up a new confidant for Belfast that both the city centre and the shopping mall became ‘an official symbol of a common prosperous future counterpoised to the perceived wanton destruction of terrorism’ (Neill, 2001:192; Neill et al., 2014:5).

Another example was the ‘Laganside Development Order 1989’ which it legitimated a new development corporation named ‘The Laganside Corporation⁵’ with the aim of regenerating large sections of unused lands around Belfast’s River Lagan. It was one of the longest-running regeneration projects in the UK during 1989 to 2007 (Jones & Evans, 2008). The project was an attempt to utilise the ‘potential of the property market to recover the city from economic decline and political turmoil’ (Sterrett et al, 2005:380; Plöger, 2007:19), and to create new economic space in Belfast (OECD, 2000:11). On the one hand, the reason for establishing the corporation was obviously because large regeneration plans need an executive organisation to give impetus to the process. On the other hand, the symbolic meaning was rather according to the conflict management process, the major concept of the plan was to ‘leave behind sectarian space with its antagonistic ethnic identities’ (Neill, 2004:193)’. Therefore, by using government money to encourage private investments in both business and leisure, the Laganside Corporation proposed various regenerating projects, including the Belfast Odyssey Millennium near the Belfast Harbour, the Waterfront Hall, the Hilton Hotel, and Lanyon Place for further mix land use.

⁵ Its authorities were transformed to the government’s Department of Social Development in 2007.

These Belfast's 'visioning regeneration plans' were later strongly supported by the authorities, especially during the 1990s as the conflict management planning took a big turn after the IRA⁶'s announcement on 'full respect for the rights and identities of both traditions in Ireland' (IRA, 1994: article 4) and its ceasefires in 1994. Moreover, Malcolm Moss, who was the Minister of the Environment in Northern Ireland and the first governmental minister that addressed such topic, declared a positive and optimistic strategic vision in 1995 for the future Belfast blueprint—the statement was seeking for the new path for Belfast's moving on during the next 20~25 years wishing that Belfast will become 'the sort of city [that they] could proudly hand over to future generations' (Moss, 1995):

'By stepping out into the future, say 20-25 years from now, envisaging what Belfast should look like, and working backwards from there, it can be possible to bridge the many differences and obstacles that currently hold back development' (cited in Neill, 2004:197).

The above notion of presenting a different Belfast was intensified when the Department of the Environment (DOE (NI)) published an article proclaiming the new Belfast vision as becoming as a 'competitive, socially inclusive, and sustainable city of the future' (1996:1). The appetite of 'a sustained period of normality' and 'the prospect of a permanent end to violence' in Belfast was pressing (DoE (NI), 1996: ibid:3). After the peace agreement in 1998, the aftermath of 'The Good Friday Agreement' quickly propelled many private developments in Belfast as it became a 'reassurance' for both the investors and authorities. With this voucher, the Northern Ireland Minister for Regional Development brought out a new vision of Belfast's future—Sharing—they believe having partnerships with other initiatives and to would be extremely significant for the rebirth of Belfast, with the leadership of the Department for Social Development (DSD) and the Department for Regional Development (DRD). Therefore, the document 'Shaping Our

⁶ Irish Republican Army, a group of people believing that all Ireland (including the Northern Ireland) should be an independent republic and also by using political violence as their main method to achieve.

Future: The Regional Development Strategy for Northern Ireland’ was born in this atmosphere and was published in 2000, which Mowlam (1997) claimed that:

‘It was symbolic of a new era for the people of Northern Ireland and a unique opportunity to foster agreed values, aspirations and goals, and to create a common vision of regional cooperation for growth and opportunity’ (p.1 cited in Neill, 2004)

For sure, the ‘Troubles’ issues influenced Belfast’s regeneration process; however, it should not be further exaggerated. Belfast did not deter from the force because governmental institutions were committed to seeking new pathways for ‘normality’ and ‘stabilising’ in this city. It was a case in point to reach economy intentions, which were necessary during that period due to the economic standstill and the political atmosphere. Therefore, public-private partnership cooperation programmes became valuable and profitable in Belfast, which the establishments of many large-scale regeneration projects were based on this collaboration to obtain adequate budgets. Furthermore, plenty of urban regeneration projects were published before and after the agreement and were in quest of appropriate timing to execute (see Table 4.1 on p.48).

From the Table 4.1 (p.48), it is understandable that the urban planners in Belfast are revitalising the city and that the number of regeneration plans truly increased after 2000. During that period, creating ‘normality’ in Belfast was the primary condition, which many regeneration programmes followed the area around Belfast and the city centre to establish livelihood constructions. Planners believed this method would tardily decrease those collisions and avoid other violence in communities to achieve compromises in Belfast (Carnegie & Norris, 2015). On the other hand, some authorities were seeking the benefit of using culture as an element for further policy planning because its value could be seen in both economic (e.g. Tourism and investment) and social goods (e.g. Cultural pluralism and social inclusion), which were extremely important for the development process in Belfast. Nevertheless, while Belfast’s government highlighted these above factors for sure, what was their reason?

Table 4.1 A Brief Regional Regeneration Planning List in Belfast from 1989-2016

Published Date	Title of Planning
1987~	Making Belfast Work
1989	The Laganside Development (NI) Order
1990	Belfast Urban Area Plan 2001
1998 (2000)	Shaping Our Future: The Regional Development Strategy for Northern Ireland
2002	Redeveloping the Titanic Quarter (Laganside)
2003	‘Belfast: State of the City’ initiative and Masterplan
2003	Belfast: Capital City’ development strategy 2003-2006
2003	Belfast City Centre Regeneration Policy Statement
2003	City Centre Regeneration Policy Framework
2004	‘Belfast: A Masterplan 2004-2020’
2004	Belfast Metropolitan area Plan 2004 (BCC)
2004	DSD – Belfast City Centre North West Quarter Master Plans
2004	DSD – Regeneration Policy Statement
2005	DSD –Public Realm Strategy for Belfast ‘People and Place – Reflections of a City’
2005	North West Quarter Masterplan
2006	Belfast City Centre Urban Regeneration Potential Study
2007 (2010)	Crumlin Road Gaol & Girdwood Park Masterplan
2008	South Belfast Strategic Regeneration Framework
2008	Greater Shankill Strategic Regeneration Framework
2009	Westside Regeneration Masterplan
2009	Northside Urban Village Regeneration Framework
2012	Belfast Urban Regeneration Potential Study
2012	Northern Ireland Regional Development Strategy 2035 (DRD)
2014	Belfast: Future City (BCC)
2015	City Centre Regeneration & Investment Strategy
2015	The Belfast Metropolitan Area Plan 2015
2016	East Bank Strategy
2016	Linen Quarter Public Realm Analysis & Vision

Sources: Arranged by the author (2017)

Despite the fact of the Peace agreement, some considered that the end of Direct Rule by the British government and the reinstallation of the Northern Ireland Assembly in Stormont⁷ in 1999⁸ both encouraged the regional planning schemes in Northern Ireland (Ploger, 2007; Muir, 2013), whilst others believed that the enticement of the ECOC 2008 bid rather gave more propulsion to the urban planners to rebuild their hometown, which they proposed their ambition for the bidding in 1999 as well. In addition, some argued that these concepts have also strengthened Belfast's cultural policy and cultural regeneration programmes which also turned out to boost Belfast's Cultural Tourism strategies with more specific schemes since 2000. As a result, the next chapter will be investigating Belfast's cultural regeneration process in details.

4.1.2. Cultural Regeneration in Belfast

The path of using culture as an element for regenerating Belfast was not easy in this city based on its ideological conflicts between the Catholics and the Protestants for decades. Despite the fact that the balancing of using which culture to promote was intractable, both the government and local communities still believed that these 'cultural industries' might contribute to the restoration of Belfast, especially to those most battered areas. Every community has their own beliefs, traditions, and cultural living life (Comedia, 2003); therefore, it would be more appropriate to cooperate with the locals to rebirth their own area with their own cultures, as they would be more pleased to participate in the process and to enhance the area's social inclusion by this method (Smith, 2006). On the other hand, this notion also echoed Belfast's governmental planning direction 'Sharing Our Future (2000)' to establish a respectful city with compromises and the hope of a sustained period of normality. Another more practical reason is the thought of cultural planning could be traced back to Belfast's physical regeneration plans because those neediest communities located in the North and West Belfast did not share the benefits of the process, for example, in terms of jobs and incomes (Neill, 2001)—those

⁷ Stormont is commonly known as Northern Ireland's Parliament Buildings owing to its location in the Stormont Estate area of Belfast, which is the seat of Northern Ireland Assembly.

⁸ However, the Assembly suspended and the Direct Rule re-imposed for four times during 2000 to 2007. The termination of the Direct Rule was in 2007 spring.

large-infrastructures were located mostly in the city centre or the east and south Belfast. Therefore, to solve the development imbalance between different areas, the governmental institutions drew out the plan of using tourism, arts sectors, and cultural activities to draw in outside investments for the regeneration process in Belfast during the 1990s—obviously, this method is rather more flexible and more local rooted to promote.

The attention of a more-cultural dimension regeneration with pragmatic strategy plans containing the cooperation with cultural tourism programmes in Belfast was rather emphasised after the failure of the competition of the European City of Culture 2008 bidding in 2002. Very unexpectedly that Belfast was dropped out of the list because they were once seen as a possible favourite for the title, which the promoters strongly argued that they (Belfast) were ‘gobsmacked not to have been included’ owing to the region’s volatile politics (Ward & Carter, 2002). From the official document of ‘European Capitals of Culture: Success Strategies and Long-term Effects’ (2013), Garcia and Cox et al. regarded the reason of Liverpool’s success as they demonstrated a broad participation in the ECOC competing process ‘from cultural organisations, businesses, and residents, which reflected the concept of the ECOC as a catalyst for change beyond the delivery of cultural activity’ (2013:63). To put it differently, in the case of Belfast, even though they created a foundation ‘Imagine Belfast 2008’ to implement certain programmes that link with the concept of the ECOC, criticised by scholars, they were not successful in bidding to be an ECOC because they ‘sometimes s[ee] different responses to the attempts [which] made through the bidding process to harness a wider group of stakeholders’ (Garcia & Cox et al., 2013:64). Moreover, in the report of ‘An Integrated Culture Strategy for Belfast’ (2007), the Belfast City council also claimed that their failure to be shortlisted was the ‘lack of evidence in terms of investment or plans for development of the city’s weak cultural infrastructure and lack of evidence of cultural excellence’—at that time, Belfast does not have an overall long-term cultural strategy for the city (BelfastCityCouncil, 2007:31). In other words, the bidding for ECOC to Belfast was more as a means to help the city become a competitive urban tourist destination and implementing long-term cultural activity projects rather than bringing together the cities’ various resources and to establish a common vision and partnerships to deliver a governance approach for

managing cultural tourism. Consequently, the result was not appreciated for sure, yet the urban planners in Belfast did not relinquish from this fall—they proclaimed many multifaceted regeneration plans wishing to ‘Renaissance’ Belfast (Neill, 2009) including transportation, housing, investments, communities, tourism, and cultural activities (See Table 4.1 and 4.2). Belfast may not be ready for the bidding of an ECOC, yet the process of preparing and programming has become a reward to this city, especially to promote both Belfast’ cultural tourism and cultural regeneration strategies afterward in its regional development.

Table 4.2 A Brief List of the Cultural Framework and Tourism Strategy Planning in Belfast

Published Date	Title of Planning
1998	The Cultural Sector: A Development Opportunity for Tourism in Northern Ireland
1999	Tourism Marketing Plan 1999-2000 (NITB)
2003	Cultural Tourism – Developing Belfast’s Opportunity
2003	Northern Ireland Tourism Board’s Strategic Framework for Action 2004-2007
2004	Good Relations Strategy – Building Our Future Together (BCC)
2007	Good Relation Plans (BCC)
2007	An Integrated Cultural Strategy for Belfast - Culture at the heart of our city’s development 2007-2010
2008	Planning Our Route to Success: Northern Ireland Tourism Board Corporate Plan 2008-2011
2010	Belfast Tourism Integrated Strategic Framework 2010-2014
2010	Good Relation Units: Current Projects (BCC)
2010	Visitor Information Plan (NIBT)
2012	Cultural Framework for Belfast 2012-2015
2015	Belfast Integrated Tourism Strategy 2015-2020
2016	Cultural Framework for Belfast – draft action plan 2016-2020

Sources: Arranged by the author (2017)

From the table (See Table 4.2 on p.71), it is obvious that the strategic plans of culture and tourism in Belfast are chained together year by year, which means they have a huge blueprint and a clear direction of the future of Belfast while planning. However, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, practical strategic plans were published in 2003, of which most of the plans during that period were engineered as ‘culture-led regeneration’ processes. That is to say, those urban planners were wishing these cultural activities could become a catalyst for the area’s regeneration process (in both the north and west Belfast) due to the valuable advantages of this method such as encouraging social cohesion with corresponding culture planning (García, 2004; Evans, 2005; Miles and Paddison, 2005; Lin & Hsing, 2008), fostering a new image for cities with cultural activities (Evans, 2005; Smith, 2006, 2009; Doucet, 2007; Middleton & Freestone, 2008), and becoming the medium for regenerating economically depressed cities and regions (Middleton and Freestone, 2008; García, 2012).

Practical examples of integrating Belfast’s cultural activities in its urban regeneration process could be seen in both cultural and tourism sectors. In the cultural sector, for example, the Cathedral Quarter in the North side of Belfast was identified in the Belfast Metropolitan Area Plan 2004. It was another instance of the culture-led regeneration project executed by the Lagan Corporation, which was planned as Belfast’s cultural quarter to attract local cultural societies to station in this area. Supported by the locals, this project aimed to create a ‘cultural hub of the city’ which is a mixed-used area including studios, galleries, and a community art form. The profit of establishing a cultural quarter in this area not only could ‘entice new businesses to the area but also could populate many of the vacant and derelict parts of the city centre’ by emphasising their own local culture and characteristics (McManus & Carruthers, 2014:80). Moreover, the Lagan Corporation executed programmes that reflected the history and heritage of the area to fascinate both local and visitors to come. They believed by these projects could integrate Belfast’s regeneration process and to transform its public image. Thus, the project of regenerating the Cathedral Quarter area was mostly planned for local use in the beginning. Even though the thought of combining tourism into the process was included in the long-term project as well, it was not the principle focusing area for

promoting Belfast's tourism during that period.

Another important example of the cultural planning in Belfast was in the tourism sector, which the 'Northern Ireland Tourism Board's Strategic Framework for Action 2004-2007' led by the Northern Ireland Tourist Board (NITB) and the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Investment (DETI) was proclaimed. Those planners brought out five major Signature Projects, including the Titanic (Maritime) in Belfast, Giant's Causeway in Antrim and Causeway Coast area, the Walled City of Derry, Christian Heritage about Saint Patrick, and the Mourne National Park area. These short to medium term investment projects were intended to create significant impacts on the tourism performance in Northern Ireland in the future, which they have the capacity to attract different tourists and investments coming to this area (Bianchini, 1993; Binns, 2005; Evans, 2003; García, 2004; Smith, 2009). To be more precisely, Mr. Kieran Donnelly, Comptroller and Auditor General of Northern Ireland Audit Office, reported the implementation of these signature projects as 'the best way forward for tourism in Northern Ireland and have the potential to achieve international standout and increase visitor numbers' is to establish these signature projects (2011:2).

Practically, there is a precondition for Belfast to successfully accomplish the above projects due to this city's past history. While Belfast and Northern Ireland's revitalisation process were mostly programmed in the late 1990s and early 2000s, which was relatively later than most of the European cities, most of the lands and areas in this region were not soundly planned yet. It could be hard to promote other cultural and tourism strategies, especially mega-events without these important infrastructures. Therefore, the region's physical regeneration must be ready before any cultural regeneration planning, especially to establish livelihood constructions in advance. However, on the other hand, this situation rather became an opportunity to Belfast to complete planning on its regeneration strategies. As there were many brownfields, mostly in the North and East part of Belfast, left over after the deindustrialisation, these areas become perfectly suitable for Belfast's urban regeneration to plan from scratch.

To respect for each neighborhood's history and locale, urban planners divided Belfast into distinctive cultural zones which those places and identities have been grown as a spur for Belfast's culture, tourism, and regeneration process. The establishment of the Titanic Quarter⁹ was based on the above concepts to revitalise the east part of Belfast. It was the birthplace for the famous tragedy the 'RMS Titanic' and also the proud past of this city owing to its powerful shipbuilding industry in the early 90s, which is understandable that this quarter is strongly related to the culture of maritime in Belfast. However, after the industry recession and the reduction of demand, it was hard for the shipbuilding company Harland & Wolff, who built the RMS Titanic and many other ships, to sustain as the past due to its income tightening. Harland & Wolff was willing to sell out parts of their lands that not only could turn out into other use for the city, but also to 'halve the debts' at the struggling Northern Ireland shipyard and to restructure its business and save jobs (The Guardian, 2001a). Consequently, the Norwegian shipping magnate Fred Olsen saw the potential of this wasteland waterfront area and bought it piece by piece from Harland & Wolff since 2001. He planned to turn the area into a £400m residential and commercial waterfront regeneration development with the name of the 'Titanic Quarter' (The Guardian, 2001b). Thus, with the cooperation with Harcourt Development¹⁰, the east side of Belfast became a magnificent blank space for new developments and multiple properties with the led by Titanic Quarter Ltd.

After the transactions, a combination of a cultural taste of regeneration was planned in this Titanic Quarter in 2002. Planners and stakeholders were thinking the possibility and potential of turning the Titanic phenomenon into a permanent tourism attraction to preserve the magnificent history of Belfast's shipbuilding industry. They wanted to transform this city into 'an industrial powerhouse' in the early 20th (Cowan & Gow, 2002). However, the knotty question comes next—the balance of what to promote and how to promote this Titanic culture was another huge challenge for Belfast. Through many investigations, evaluations and practical examples, the idea of establishing a maritime

⁹ One of European's largest waterfront regeneration projects located in the Belfast Harbour (now named as 'Queen's Island'), which the area is approximately 185-acre (75 ha) large.

¹⁰ One of Ireland's most successful property developers, which its sister company, Titanic Quarter Ltd, is developing the Titanic Quarter.

heritage museum was put forward under this concept. It summed up the needs of Belfast's reborn, including to regenerate the city's leftover areas, to discover this city's cultural treasures, and to (re)create an icon or a symbol for this city's new return, which we will examine this in the next chapter.

4.1.3. A Culture-led Regeneration Target Planning: Building a Cultural Flagship

While cities were regenerating or developing by these large-scale projects in the 1980s, the implementation of these concepts was rather late in Belfast. Even though there were many cultural or historical buildings that were built during the late Victorian¹¹ and Edwardian¹² era and have been restricted for modern use in the early 21st, it rather presented an 'old' style feeling for this city. In other words, the spotlight on something 'new' or 'different' still matters in Belfast as they were willing to twist their old and unattractive image by a brand-new signature project to draw in tourists and investors. Therefore, building a new, stylish, different, and unique infrastructure is necessary for a city like Belfast that it could bring different attentions (mostly tourism) and also promote the area with fresh issues (Evans, 2005; Grodach, 2010). For this purpose, agreed by Bianchini (1995), this new cultural flagship could be considered as a 'powerful physical symbol of urban renaissance' (p.16) which it could represent an immediate spotlight impact of a new brand to attend the final goal of 're-imaging the city's impression' (Evans, 2003; Grodach, 2008; Hayes, 2009). That is to say, the building itself could become a 'catalyst' to regenerate Northern Ireland's economic and social regeneration (House of Commons: Northern Ireland Affairs Committee[NIAC], 2007:108), and a 'new focal point' to fascinate local communities and international visitors for Belfast as well (RPS Groups, 2012:12). As a result, these factors point out that Belfast also selected a culture-led regeneration process for their reborn, which it is also one of the major discussing points of this thesis.

¹¹ Approximately around 1837 to 1901 under the region ruling of Queen Victoria in UK.

¹² Approximately around 1901-1910 is generally the thought of the Edwardian Era, named after Edward VII.

The selection of establishing a cultural flagship in the Titanic Quarter as the main promotion in Belfast's regeneration process was quite obvious, especially in the use of multiple exposure effects. In Bianchini's (1999) theory, there were three main culture-led regeneration models: cultural quarter, mega-events, and flagship projects, which all of them have the potential to draw in interest groups. However, due to the region's other regeneration process and the scale of exposure, it would be more necessary to build up a new cultural flagship for two main grounds. Firstly, Belfast had already proclaimed a cultural quarter project on the North side of Belfast named the 'Cathedral Quarter' led by the Laganside Corporation Ltd. It is with doubt by establishing a cultural quarter contributes to give impetus to the area's cultural industries and to provide working spaces for the local artists (McManus & Caruthers, 2014; Montgomery, 2003; Roodhouse, 2010; Smith, 2009), yet the straightway exposure on the international level might not be as attractive as holding a mega-event or building a flagship project for tourists. Secondly, the utility and benefit of holding mega-events was not a wise choice during the early 2000s. At that time, Belfast had just somehow recovered from the past conflicts and its living infrastructures were not established appropriately yet. Besides, most people might not be familiar with this city, but they sure did hear a lot of news and stories about the bombing in Belfast: the image of a 'conflict Belfast' was still in the public's deep minds. Thus, for the reasons mentioned above, even it is costly to establish large-scale flagships, with considerable planning, the profit might be even more cost-effective and more appropriate for Belfast.

Consequently, cooperating with the Titanic Quarter Ltd, the Belfast City Centre and NITB decided to build a multifunctional cultural flagship named the 'Titanic Signature Project' [TSP] (a £97million Titanic Belfast visitor attraction named as the 'Titanic Belfast' in 2012) under the framework of Northern Ireland's regional regeneration projects and the NITB Framework for Action 2004-2007. It was one of the five signature projects that the planners have evaluated to promote a brand new Northern Ireland image. Furthermore, they believed that this project would deliver world-class excellence and achieve 'international stand-out' to bring magnificent impacts on Northern Ireland's tourism performance (NITB, 2003). This activity centre was expected to 'enhance the

development value of the planned plethora of surrounding apartments and other commercial and retail projects' (Simpson, 2009 cited in Neill et al., 2014:73). Thus, as proclaimed as the largest development in the Titanic Quarter, the Titanic Signature Project was expected as the new pride of this city for the locals and to attract visitors who are interested in Belfast's maritime heritage. For these reasons, this cultural flagship was built as a multi-functional maritime heritage museum, including an education use building, a conference centre, and a leisure space.

As the notion of establishing a signature project was always on the mind of the urban planners and stakeholders in Belfast, the second question comes next—which topic should be suitable for promoting Belfast? Overviewing the history of this city, it would be a pity to not share the city's proud past of its amazing shipbuilding industry that it could also become an unparalleled tourism attraction. Several stakeholders and relative residents also agreed the thought of this notion not only they had some connections with this culture (or heritage), but also it's a refresh of one of their great histories that they should be proud of and be understood. Even though the answer is obvious, there are still some locals, tourists, and scholars who disagree with the idea of using the Titanic as Belfast's major tourist attraction site which we will discuss in the next section. Details of the vision, the use of the Titanic culture, and planning process of the cultural flagship will be fully discussed in 4.2 Heritagisation and in 4.3.1 Vision.

It is inferred from the above arguments that the benefit of establishing a cultural flagship in Belfast would be more valuable if well planned. On the one hand, this flagship could not only conduct to Belfast a variety of tourists and interests owing to its planning concept of a maritime heritage museum, but could also boost localised commercial activities for sustainability (Sternberg, 2002; Grodach, 2008; Smith, 2009). From Deloitte's¹³ three-year evaluation report (1 April 2012 to March 2015), it would be easy to see that they marked that the Titanic Belfast generated £105 million in additional

¹³ An international accounting and auditing professional service network founded in UK which includes audit, tax, consulting, enterprise risk and financial advisory services.

tourism spend for NI's economy sustaining around 893 jobs each year in the wider economy (Deloitte, 2015). For example, a £27 million project boutique hotel which offers more than 75 new jobs and 250 additional jobs was also adopted for the development process inside the Titanic Quarter (Mulgrew, 2014). Furthermore, the hospitality department servicing the flexible suites that are located on the fifth and sixth floors inside the Titanic Belfast has created up to 30 new jobs (McStravick, 2016). This evidence would be seen as a great start for a brand new cultural flagship process for regeneration use. The Market Manager of the Titanic Belfast (M3) also confirmed this concept, as she mentioned:

‘[The] Titanic Belfast is also the anchor project for the wider development of Titanic Quarter in which it proudly stands, helping to develop a new vibrant maritime community in what was wasteland from the old shipyards, being a catalyst for further hotel, commercial and residential developments’ (M3, 2015/8)

Also, the notion was confirmed by Deloitte's senior partner Jackie Henry:

‘Our extensive analysis has found compelling evidence that the original projections and targets relating to Titanic Belfast's economic, social and physical impact have been met and indeed exceeded. In particular, Titanic Belfast has proved to be an economic driver, providing jobs, unlocking investment and a significant boost to tourism’ (cited in TitanicBelfast.com, 2015).

On the other hand, what Belfast need immediately is a reverse image to move forward from the past. Bringing a new icon to the city could have a direct impact to outsiders and attract them to the city at any time and a new iconic cultural flagship could achieve this target (Grodach, 2008; Smith, 2009). Agreed by Smyth (1994), these cultural flagships will also become a marketing tool for the urban city. In Belfast's example, according to the data collection from the TripAdvisor through the 134 tourists' comments

that selected in Chapter 3 (for more detail, please see p.52 and Appendixes I), there were 48 comments mentioned their major reason to travel to Belfast was to see the Titanic Belfast as mentioning it is ‘a must-see attraction’:

‘This was my first trip to Belfast, and the Titanic museum was probably the site I wanted to visit the most’ (D110, 2016/9, Rank3).

and,

‘We wanted to visit Belfast since it was a short flight away, and were intrigued by the history of the city—both the good and bad. But we quickly discovered this new attraction and that, in itself, is a reason to make the effort to come to the city’ (D22, 2016/6, Rank:5)

also,

‘When I heard about the opening of the Titanic Belfast, it was the first thing on my list of attractions to visit when planning my trip to Northern Ireland & Ireland. I’ve visited one of the Titanic museums/ exhibitions in the US & Canada where the focus was on the interiors, the passengers on the ship and the tragedy. This was so much better. [...] Highly recommend a visit’ (D31, 2014/8, Rank:5).

Furthermore, there were more than 79 comments (for more detail, please see p.52 and Appendixes I) that agreed this Titanic Belfast link to the city, yet their comments on the inside displays were quite divergent. This also brought out the question of: ‘Is the use of culture tokenistic, inappropriate, and unsuitable?’ and the issue of ‘a sense of belonging’ from the comments of the local residents (Grodach, 2008; Hayes, 2009; Jones, 2000 cited in Smith, 2009; Miles, 2005). Thus, for further discussion, the argument from the visitors of the Titanic Belfast will be analysed in both 4.3.3 Visitor Attractiveness and 4.3.4 Location and Community Fit. The selection of adopting the Titanic culture will be discussed in the next section.

4.2. The Heritagisation of the Titanic Culture

The continuous road of creating a brand-new Belfast imagery and a unique pride for both residents and outsiders became one of the most important purposes of the power-sharing government in the early 21st centuries. The government proposed many cultural related reborn plans to those most battered areas after seeing the benefits of imputing culture into a regeneration process and also as to bid the title of the 2008 European Culture of Capital, for instants, *Sharing Our Future* (1998, 2000), *A Development Opportunity for Tourism in Northern Ireland* (1998), and *Tourism Marketing Plan 1999-2000 [NITB]* (1999). Those planners believed this method not only could bring economic benefits but may also reborn and retrieve the confidence of this city. Additionally, a more practical reason, this method may also trace back to Belfast's physical regeneration plans because of those neediest communities, which mostly located in the North and West Belfast, did not share the benefits. In short, the planners have seen the potential of using cultural activities to solve the development imbalance between different areas in Belfast. However, it was the failure of competing for the title of ECOC that evoked Belfast's attention to propose pragmatic cultural strategies afterward. Unexpectedly dropped out of the list, which they were once seen as a possible favourite for the title, Belfast was informed that they did not have an overall long-term cultural strategy for the city at that moment (For further information, see Chapter 4.1.2 Cultural Regeneration in Belfast).

Consequently, Belfast brought forward many cultural and tourism plans to certificate the fact that this city does have a rich heritage and culture yet have not been valued before. Two of the most important strategic planning for the future of Belfast may be the *Cultural Tourism—Developing Belfast's Opportunity* (2003) and the *Northern Ireland Tourism Board's Strategic Framework for Action 2004-2007* (2003) which were both raised a year after the drop out of the competition. Although those planning strategies strongly considered the impact of culture on their planning process, the latter, which is the main focus of this research, proposed the aim of establishing a new signature project located in Belfast's dockland.

Associated with the culture of Titanic and the shipbuilding culture of Belfast, this surprising decision caught huge attention from the public and aroused many opinions as well. The reason was quite obvious: during the early 20th century, it was one of the most famous and impressive periods in Belfast, where the shipyard industries in the city were in its heydays (c.1870-1910). Many incredible shipbuilders created ships and also the miraculous RMS Titanic that was the largest and the most extravagant creation at that time. However, the sank of the Titanic had washed away their pride during that period. Therefore, as being labelled as a ‘tragedy’ before, why after nearly a hundred years did the urban planners in Northern Ireland salvages the Titanic to shore and transform it into a stunning new heritage? Moreover, for what reason did they even establish a Titanic Signature Project—the Titanic Belfast—in Titanic Quarter?

As a result, related to the literature in Chapter 2.3 claiming that heritagisation is about the use of the past in the present, which is primarily concerned with objects and cultural products (Gillot et al., 2013), the process of transforming Titanic into a cultural element for further use could be seen as a heritagisation. Seeing the culture itself as a ‘valued inheritance’ (Bains, 2013), Belfast’s urban planners adopted this heritagised Titanic culture into their urban regeneration wishing it could bring a new ambience to the city. Possible reasons will be discussed in the following sections, including the historical relationship of the Titanic and Belfast, the process of heritagising the Titanic, the values of the Titanic heritagisation, and a short summary of this selection.

4.2.1. The History Relationship Between the Titanic and Belfast

Belfast was a merchant port city located in Northern Ireland and at the mouth of Belfast Lough, which produced and transported Irish linen, tobaccos, rope-making and started its shipbuilding industry in the 18th century. The grand opening of the Harland & Wolff shipyard in 1862, where the ‘infamous’ RMS Titanic was later built in 1912, could be seen as one of the rapid expansion symbols in Belfast’s shipbuilding industry as the company employed a vast number of workforces to continue operating the demand. At that period, Belfast was extremely prosperous as they were one of the world biggest and

most productive shipbuilding cities. Furthermore, what was even unprecedented to Belfast was the honour of the title of being an industrial ‘city’ which was granted by Queen Victoria in 1888.

All these factors strengthened Belfast’s ambition to develop this emerging city during the early 20th century as they received huge fortunes through its industrial success and became the largest shipbuilder in the world. One of their greatest implementations was the prospect of establishing the world’s largest cruise line. Commissioned by the White Star Line, Harland & Wolff proposed to build three new ‘Olympic-Class Ocean’ liners and started to design them in 1907. With the innovation of creating the largest vessels of the period, Harland & Wolff employed 15,000 labours and master craftsmen for the workforces which approximately 4,000 of them worked on the design, the structure, and the mechanics of the actual liners. These masterpieces carried Belfast’s pride which Titanic had been particularly represented as the ‘Ship of Dreams’ because these workers were so proud of their technical abilities to create the largest, most luxurious ocean liner of its time. Thus, the people in Belfast were strongly confident that the Titanic would be a symbol and also would be a predominate evidence of Belfast’s heydays of the shipbuilding industry if its maiden voyage was successful.

Surprisingly, not many people had even heard that this infamous ship was built in Belfast in the past. The shocking sank of the Titanic rather became an unbelievable strike to Belfast and the world. The unexpected news roused the whole world’s attention of this tragedy that the ship itself immediately became an extreme shame of Harland & Wolff and also of Belfast. Suddenly, the topic of Titanic was deliberately untold in its birthplace which the silence may be seen in two perspectives: Firstly, the huge tragedy was not a delightful talking topic. The Titanic had been seen as a ‘taboo’ which neither the Unionists nor the Nationalists wanted to mention. For the former, the sank of the Titanic was a crackdown and severely wounded the Unionist’s pride of their shipbuilding capacity as they deeply participated in the whole industry (Hill, 2014). For the latter, as they were barely engaged in the shipbuilding industrial process due to the ideological discrimination, the Nationalist did not have enough connection with the Titanic (Humphries, 2012).

Secondly, feared of the notoriety would effect on the shipbuilding industry and region, the Titanic was swept by the people under the carpet. As a result, merely a few people truly realised that Belfast was the birthplace of this unsinkable Titanic.

4.2.2. Heritagising the Titanic for Regeneration Use

Generally speaking, without the doubt the dockland is the birthplace of the Titanic and it is a clever decision to build a maritime heritage cultural flagship in this location. But with the thought and the connection of a wider regeneration process in Belfast, there seem to be other reasons for selecting ‘the Titanic Belfast’ or ‘Titanic culture’ as the major tourism highlight in Belfast. That is to say, even though there are many new cultural vision plans proposed by the authorities, it is not easy to regenerate Belfast through a cultural dimension. Thus, based on this area’s ideological conflict, the selection of which culture to promote becomes extremely important to Belfast’s urban planners.

Both surprisingly and predictably, the planners rather heritagised and re-launched an infamous sunken ship as a revitalising symbol to retrieve the past pride back to Belfast again with the famous quote—*She was all right when she left here*¹⁴. The Titanic culture, as Dr. Robert Ballard proclaimed, is ‘not about the ship, but about the people who built it, sailed on it, and perished on it or related to all the above’ (Titanic Belfast YouTube, 2012). The original thought of the process was to capture the great, wonderful, and the massive engineering period of Belfast: it was the period when the RMS Titanic was established. Understanding its value, the urban planners wanted to turn the culture of Titanic into a concept that would let the residents be proud of the achievement of Belfast’s former designers and shipbuilders rather than a loss of life. Therefore, with the collaboration of Belfast’s regeneration project involving the rebirth of the Titanic Quarter and the promotion of Belfast’s maritime heritage, it is understandable why the planners organised the Titanic culture as an element of culture-led regeneration—these factors together became a seductive topic for the rebirth of Belfast.

¹⁴ The origin of the quote was unknown yet it was praised nowadays, especially from the specific groups which believed the value of the RMS Titanic.

From the probe on different documents and reports, there are two main positive reasons that might explain the argument for this controversial choice: Firstly, the fame of the ‘Titanic’ is world-renowned and the fact that the Titanic was built in the shipyard of Belfast is undoubted. Thanks to James Cameron’s epic romance-disaster film ‘Titanic’ that came on screen in 1997, the sound of the ‘Titanic’ somehow outspread to the world, especially after the film’s great success of winning 11 Oscar awards including the Best Picture and the Best Director. The fictional story attached many audiences’ hearts who also had a clear image and the idea that the shipwreck was named ‘Titanic’; however, not many people knew the famous ship was born in Belfast’s shipyard. Secondly, while the two ethnosectarian groups issue is still somehow a tricky trouble in the post-conflict city, by promoting a culture that a hundred-year-old sank ship sounds much less terrifying than those decades in uncertainty and troubles¹⁵. These two gaps became an interesting selling point for the planners in Belfast as they were seeking a unique culture that was born in Belfast and could turn into a ‘sexy and saleable’ topic for the city’s tourism (Foster, 2014:19). In addition, the shipbuilding industry heyday in Belfast was also a great period of the era and pride that linkages with the thought of something unique in Belfast.

In consequence, against all odds, the iconic Titanic Belfast was opened in April 2012. Led by the Titanic Quarter Ltd and Titanic Foundation Ltd, both organisations were willing to attract visitors who are interested in the culture of Titanic and to promote the Titanic narrative in fields of human endeavour pride, inspiration, and innovation (titanic-foundation.org). Moreover, this multifunctional signature project is aimed to provide an ‘excellent experience’ to the visitors, including many educational maritime topics, a conference centre for events and a leisure space in the city to the public. Not only the curators anticipate this Titanic Belfast may increase the visiting numbers of people coming to Belfast, but also expect it will become a new pride for the locals to be proud of their magnificent maritime heritage of the city.

¹⁵ Even though the topic ‘Titanic’ and its building process have involved political issues between the two ideologies, it would not be the main focus part for this thesis.

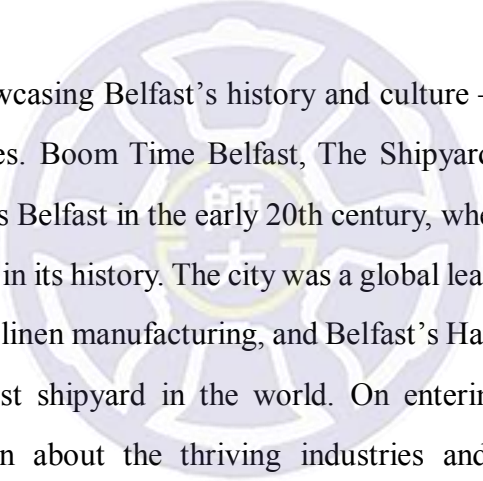
In brief, although this choice indeed caused new contradiction between different perspectives, it is still a clever decision to regenerate Belfast through their own maritime heritage. Belfast's urban planners had high hopes and believed this cultural flagship will be a legacy for the city to 'inspire', to feel good, and to tell the true stories of Titanic and this city (Titanic Belfast YouTube, 2011). Thence, the following sections will be divided into four parts to give a brief outcome of the values and impacts of the heritagisation of Titanic and its effect on Belfast's regeneration.

4.2.3. The Four Values and Impacts of Titanic's Heritagisation for Urban Regeneration

4.2.3.1. The Economic Values and Impacts of Titanic

Seeing as a unique new symbol for the transformation process in this city, the Titanic culture is a fantastic selling point for Belfast to transform its own heritage into a cultural tourism element from an economic view. As the birthplace of the RMS Titanic was on the Queen's Island, the heritagisation of the Titanic culture for tourism programmes in this area seems to be suitable and reasonable. In other words, this tourism-focused-planning not only may bring in economic value to Belfast but also it may become a new heritage building in the regeneration process. Johnson (2014) also agreed that the history of the Titanic and Belfast have both become a part of the economic effort for the regeneration of the city which 'positively capitalised on the commercial possibilities of heritage and cultural tourism to achieve it' (p.243). Moreover, this selection also confirms what many scholars have agreed that the method of heritagisation would highlight the distinctiveness of a place, aiming at increasing a place's attractiveness, and become a synonym of heritage building process (Ashley, 2014; Gillot et al., 2013). This method also does have the possibility to create a brand-new atmosphere for the area (Binns, 2005). Therefore, due to the above reasons, the authorities proposed to establish an iconic Titanic-theme cultural flagship in Belfast aiming to attract predictable visitors, facilitate other urban developments, and also re-image the post-conflict city, which this concept is related of which Di M  o (2008), Gillot et al., and Harrison (2013) had considered before.

The overall evaluation of the Titanic Belfast's economic value was far more impressive. From the document of the House of Commons (2007), the policy-makers and stakeholders believed that the reputation of Belfast will increase and bring in 100,000 visitors in every year by this significant Titanic flagship project. However, out of expectation, the grand opening of the Titanic Belfast in 2012 welcomed more than 7.59 million people and brought in £416 million (Belfast City Council, 2012). According to the results of TripAdvisor on 30 Sep 2016, there are more than 5,500 English reviews gave this site 'Excellent' from all 10,023 reviews (Detail results could be seen in 4-3). The marketing manager (M3) also gave the introduction to the experience that they wanted to show to the visitors:



'The site [is] showcasing Belfast's history and culture – especially in the first three galleries. Boom Time Belfast, The Shipyard and the Launch Gallery showcases Belfast in the early 20th century, when it was enjoying the greatest boom in its history. The city was a global leader in engineering, ship-building and linen manufacturing, and Belfast's Harland & Wolff had become the largest shipyard in the world. On entering the exhibition, visitors will learn about the thriving industries and exciting design innovations that led to the creation of Titanic: the largest & most luxurious ship in the world, as well as working in the shipyard and the pride of Belfast on launch day' (M3. 2015/8)

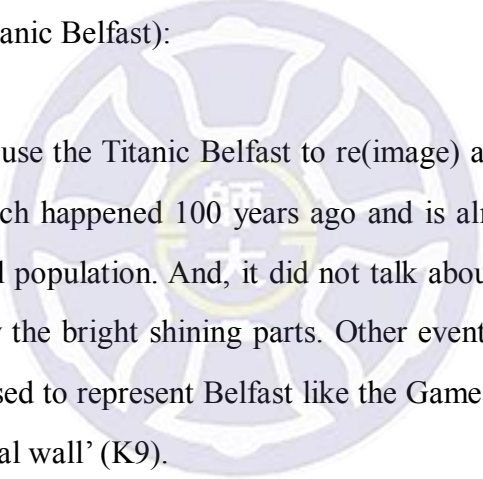
Moreover, from Deloitte's three-year evaluation report 2012-2015, they marked that the Titanic Belfast generated £105 million in additional tourism spend in NI's economy, sustaining around 893 jobs each year in the wider economy (Deloitte, 2015). Hence, the heritagisation of Titanic's economic values and impacts indeed attracted many revenues to Belfast in different dimensions.

4.2.3.2. The Social Values and Impacts of Titanic

The procedure of a heritagisation, as Ashley (2014) argued, could be seen as a ‘communicati[on] and relationship building practice with involving negotiation’ (p.4) which it also carries an ‘emotional resonance about underlying values that maintain identity, social order, collective relationships and a sense of belonging based on their links to a certain community or groups of people’ (p.2). With this brief understanding, the Titanic culture is expected to induce a new image not only to the visitors but also to the local residents. From the urban planner’s perspective, the original thought of the process is to capture the great, wonderful, and massive engineering period of Belfast, which is when the RMS Titanic was established, back to this city. One of the ex-Harland & Wolff worker Rodney McCullough (2011) mentioned that their plan of using the Titanic culture is willing to let the residents of Belfast be proud of the ship and their past maritime heritage. This notion related what Ashely noted by the process that a heritagisation might ‘liberate expression, mainstream sameness, and/or strengthen individual historical consciousness’ in an area under appropriate planning (p.10). Moreover, it also touched Di Méo’s (2008) argument saying that heritagisation may become a discursive tool for areas to build up their own sense of belongings, increase social inclusions, and to enhance the confidence of the locals. Thence, these planners who have high hopes believed and wished this Titanic culture would enhance the pride of being part of a Belfast citizen and strengthen the resident’s self-identity as well; however, the practice, in reality, seems to be quite divergent.

Even though the planners wanted to use this Titanic culture and the Titanic Belfast flagship to rebuild some ‘sense of belonging’ and to enhance community cohesion in Belfast, the resident’s opinions of them are completely schismatical. The answers were quite a variety from the interview. On the one hand, those who disagree the decision claimed that they don’t feel connected with neither Titanic nor the flagship—it rather caused alienation and marginalisation among the local communities (Etchart, 2008). That is to say, the culture of the Titanic and the Titanic itself for sure have brought economic and social benefits into the city; nevertheless, not all of the people agreed it has become

representative of Belfast at the moment, especially with those community groups that have a strong sense of identity or disagree the idea of the Titanic as their culture. Some of the residents rather claimed that even if those past memories still caused some uncomfortable influence, the linkage is much more direct to their city and to themselves (K1, K2, K8, K9). However, the truth is not because they favour that part of the history, it is more about the ‘sense of belonging’. In other words, the linkage of the Titanic culture is not strong enough to residents—their voices were not being heard—most of them have badly been left behind the whole project. Agreed by Dawson (2016), this controversy involves a ‘nexus contradiction’ between the Titanic heritages because ‘the needs of the community and the transformation brought by the city planners’ is unbalanced (p.147). Therefore, it is also hard for the locals to be proud of it even when it turns into a new selling point (e.g. The Titanic Belfast):



‘It is pointless to use the Titanic Belfast to re(image) a new Belfast as it was an event which happened 100 years ago and is almost never talked about by the local population. And, it did not talk about the dark side of the story but only the bright shining parts. Other events which are more recent could be used to represent Belfast like the Game of Thrones or the Troubles, the mural wall’ (K9).

On the other hand, for those who had experienced the dark past, those who had related to the culture, and those who had been into the Titanic Belfast activities have more positive opinions of the whole restoration. Mostly they were grateful for the new transform of Belfast as the Titanic culture brought a new ambience to the city and was also pleased with how the Titanic Belfast gave this city a new life to be proud of its own rich culture and heritage. This practice also linked with the concept which Carnegie and Norris (2015) had claimed that a cohesion of a community may have the opportunity to be strengthened through appropriate social planning. Further detailed information about the residents’ feedback will be fully discussed in 4.3.1 Vision and 4.3.4 Location & Community Fit.

In short, frankly speaking, the complicated ideological issue indeed causes many difficulties in the social planning of Belfast's regeneration, which the Titanic culture for sure conveys an identity issue which differs from the two ideologies in Belfast. However, will this 'other' identity fit inside Belfast and Northern Ireland? Will this heritagisation of the Titanic culture become a 'sense of belonging' to the residents? According to the interview results, answers are still unsure at the moment. Maybe in a few more decades when the people in Belfast could accept the concept, the locals will be proud of the heritage and the Titanic culture, but it still needs a bit more time to prove. Hence, in the case of Belfast, the method of heritagising the Titanic may combat stigmatisation from the past through a new value and strengthen the possibility of a group's identity to enhance its social inclusion. However, it may rather increase the contradictory issues due to a major point: not all of the citizens in Belfast have had a strong relationship or identity with Titanic and its culture.

4.2.3.3. The Political Values and Impacts of Titanic

The issue of using which culture to represent in Belfast is quite tensioned as any answer could be a conflict point in this city. This act involves what Hall and Arthur (1993) have argued of the power of the decision-makers, which they predominate the option to select the most valuable heritage to indoctrinate a sense of ideological beliefs. That is to say, to have the potential power to control others, the decision making and selecting of the heritagisation process in Belfast is far more important and complicated.

In the life of the present, the affections from the troubles still exist in areas of Northern Ireland for sure, but policy-makers are willing to transform the image of this place from the past. Therefore, from their perspective, to employ a past memory that contains a sense of honour and pride from Belfast becomes an extreme mission, which utilising a heritagisation process could answer their movement. The reason is because this process not only could be seen as a potential medium for the government to consolidate an area (Ashely, 2014; Gillot et al., 2013; Littler, 2005) but also it may create, redefine, or reinforce territories through the process (Gillot et al.; Di Méo, 2008:16). Furthermore,

the heritagisation process contains an ‘expedient remembrance’ in areas which it may have the strength to construct identities, depoliticise difference, and render broader issues (Ashley; Gillot et al.). As a result, it is true that the 1998 peace agreement gave a ‘commitment’ to Belfast for a better spatial planning environment; however, not much development policy touched the most complicated issue in Northern Ireland. The turning point was when the planners brought out the concept of regenerating the Queen’s Dockland, as they also thought of the possibility to present the area’s unique maritime heritage through a cultural flagship.

Under the above factors, the building of the Titanic culture was being ‘wrapped, sold as religiously, politically, and ethnically neutral’ as Foster (2014:21) had identified. This concept has also been agreed by Etchart (2008) as she noted that this Titanic culture would become ‘newness & neutrality’ towards the two ideologies and would decrease the political disputes of the use of cultural issues in the neutral place named ‘the Titanic Quarter’ (Alexander, 2014). It is hard to ignore the identity problems in Belfast; however, in this new quarter, those problems might have a chance to let go with the approach of consisting ignorant to the pressing community needs and tensions (Etchart, 2008). Moreover, this method could also ‘carry the burden of reimagining Belfast in a post-conflict situation’ (Hill, 2014:41) and ‘soften the language of conflict’ to reach a peace process at the same time of regenerating the city (Neill et al., 2014:69). Agreed by one of the local residents (K3), she thought of the heritagisation of Titanic in Belfast and concluded:

‘I think by using tourism to help Belfast is a good way. There are different parties but still there are some that are standing neutral and wishing to make something interest for the outsiders to read and to learn about. It might be able to calm down a bit of the tension. The Titanic might have helped this. It’s hard to make the British feel Irish and the Irish feel British but it would be fine to let everyone stay on a comfortable and neutral and learn different things such like the Titanic Belfast and saying....Oh, that’s interesting or that sucks! But more about to let everyone know and learn the history and to understand why all the blues and reds are like this. Even

though [the Titanic] is a miserable topic, but still it may be interesting’
(K3).

In contrast, the major danger of this ‘neutrality’ policy in a place like Belfast, might cause deeper ‘alienation and marginalisation among the local communities’ (Etchart, 2008). Discussed in the previous section, the ‘left behind’ feelings and without a sense of belonging to this neutral Titanic culture turns out to become the new ‘ideology’ issue in Belfast in both physical and emotional reasons during policing. The former was mainly focused on the unused dockland in which the areas are a brownfield for regeneration for sure, yet is not the main area for the majority of the local communities to benefit from it. The latter was due to the newborn developing area, the fact that the cultural connections between the Titanic heritage and the locals are also not that touching enough. Therefore, when using the ‘Titanic culture’ as a political method to sustain and execute some policies in Belfast, the above two factors may somehow have exacerbated the estrangement in between the urban planners and the communities which need to be considered during the decision making.

In sum, as Foster claimed that the fame of Titanic is both the gigantism of the ship and the human loss, the planning process is the transformation of Belfast’s culture into the *representation* of Belfast’s culture (p.20), the shaping of the local past culture into present forms is what the governments are executing right now. For sure, there are still many disagreements about the use of the Titanic or, to be more accurate, disagree with the ‘display’ or ‘vision’ of the Titanic culture. For a city like Belfast, it may be easy to play consensus or rather be indifferent to its future; however, as Neill (2006) argued, ‘integrating the past into the forging of on-going cultural, place identity, and representation is a difficult task’ (p.110-111). It’s hard to completely ignore the conflicts, but he also mentioned that:

‘What is remarkable in ‘post-conflict Belfast’ is that the city in less than a decade has gone from leaving the memory of Titanic “on a sunken plain of the psyche” not wishing to draw much attention to its “ambiguous pride

and embarrassment” [but rather active] the celebration in representing the post-conflict city through association with the greatest of all 20th-century symbols of human hubris and the lost confidence of modernity’ (p.114).

After all, whether or not the Titanic culture will influence or control the Belfast citizens’ point of view to construct a new identity, for sure the government is executing this method to depoliticise differences in Belfast.

4.2.3.4. The Cultural Values and Impacts of Titanic

The cultural value of the Titanic is precious as it created many legends and have been given the name of the ‘unsinkable’ ship, which the practice of heritagising the Titanic culture also caused some contradiction. Regardless of its enormous influences on the popular culture and the truth of a true tragedy, the heritagised Titanic indeed brought hope to Belfast’s regeneration process and gave this city another treasured heritage to be proud of. The urban planners also believe the Titanic culture or the Titanic Belfast itself is not only about the establishment, but, more importantly, about those stories that are behind the process which enriched the heritagisation of Titanic’s history in Belfast. To some interest groups, the Titanic is a breakthrough for them to celebrate their past history with a more positive perspective and to give them more confidence of being a Belfast citizen. One of the staffs working in the Titanic Belfast also noted his thoughts on this process, saying that it was one of the reasons why he wanted to work here (M1). The above evidence confirmed of which Ashely (2014) and Park’s (2014) argued about the cultural value of a heritagisation: by this process, it allowed specific groups to have the chance to develop and enhance their own form of cultural capitals, confidences, and solidarities. Furthermore, as Davallon (2014), Di Méo (2008), and Hall and Arthur (1993) have claimed on the effect of a heritagisation, this heritagised Titanic culture not only is being protected and preserved by the planners but it also is transformed as a significant educational topic to the visitors (For further information, please see Chapter 4.3.3 Visitor-Attractiveness and 4.3.4 Location and Community). Thus, it is undeniable that the ship

does have its own cultural worth in Belfast's regeneration process which it truly encouraged some locals to preserve this heritage in contemporary.

In contrary, to brand and to feel proud of this notorious ship to some people is quite uncomfortable. Agreed with Neill (2006), he rather believed that it is too 'heavy' to brand the city with a shipwreck. Other scholars also agreed with Neill's argument and proclaimed their opinions of the inappropriate presentation because the tragic story rather became 'a local triumph' in Belfast (Ward, 2012:246). For example, the grand opening of the Titanic Belfast had attracted many presses and media competing to report, which this outburst prompted an odd position for Belfast—it is like a 'celebration' and this city is exploiting its links with a sunken ship that had lost 1500 lives on its maiden voyage (Hill, 2014:40). Indeed, the celebration is not about the loss of lives but the grandeur of the ship itself and the whole pride of the shipbuilding industry, yet the process of reclaiming the memory of the Titanic back to Belfast surely involves a 'recontextualisation' inside the Titanic Belfast especially about 'the disaster in relation to the industry and enterprise' during the early 20th century (Hill, 2014:41). However, as Hadaway (2014) had argued, as the history has been 're-engineered', it could not be permitted to speak on its own account, especially in sorts of contradictions and complex issues including re-building communities or re-branding the city (p.51).

From the reports and advertisements, what the planners were wishing to show about the Titanic culture was the massive engineering, for example, in NITB's Titanic Guide (2009), the ship is introduced as 'a remarkable feat of Edwardian engineering and craftsmanship' and it is responsible for 'the largest and most luxuriously appointed ship' that has ever been seen (cited in Hill, 2014:40). However, in reality, what brings the visitors to Belfast was the 'tragedy' that should not be deliberately ignored from the project—the balance between 'celebration' and 'commemoration' of the Titanic culture for Belfast is still a tricky issue. To be more precise, the debates are not because the idea of establishing a Titanic Belfast cultural flagship is unsuitable, but more about the way of presenting the heritage of the Titanic should be more concerned such as Hill (2014) questioned:

‘If the fascination that the Titanic provokes is, of necessity, bound up with the ship's demise and resulting loss of life, then the visitor centre's failure to engage adequately with the feelings and emotions generated by the deaths may also signal a degree of misunderstanding of what is driving 'Titanic tourism' in the first place’ (p.44).

All in all, the stakeholders believed that the Titanic is an incomparable treasure which only Belfast has the most favourable position to tell the great establishment. Moreover, this topic has the capacity to be as an element of the regeneration process in Belfast in various dimensions which is a great value as well. As Hill (2014) claimed that the Titanic culture is ‘not only of helping to revive an ailing post-industrial economy but also to symbolise the reimagining of Belfast in a post-conflict situation (p.41), it may be somehow a ‘success’ in the tourism sector to plan with the Titanic culture. Nevertheless, the balance between ‘celebration’ and ‘commemoration’ should not be deliberately ignored from the project. To be more precise, the debates from the results are not because the idea of establishing a Titanic Belfast cultural flagship is unsuitable, but more about the way of presenting the Titanic heritage should concern more. Hence, the heritagisation of the Titanic culture for planning use is indeed a powerful adhesive—it is an unstoppable and unavoidable method not only to revive an ailing post-industrial economy but also to symbolise the reimagining of Belfast in a post-conflict situation.

4.2.4. Section Summary

The reason of heritagising the Titanic culture for urban regeneration use could be discussed in its pros and cons. There are three main positive reasons that might explain the argument for this controversial choice of selecting the Titanic culture. Firstly, without controversy, Belfast is the birthplace of the Titanic and it is reasonable and undoubtedly the most suitable city to introduce the history of the Titanic. Part of the local residents in Belfast have a strong connection with an interest in the Titanic itself or the shipbuilding industry, for example, the descendants of the shipbuilding workers or the Titanic

passengers, the workers of Harland & Wolff, and the personnel of this Titanic culture industry. Moreover, quite interesting in Belfast was that the geographical areas did not limit these interest groups. In fact, these groups still gathered together for establishing huge projects with this Titanic culture. They truly hoped this unique, spectacular and grandiose Titanic Belfast would re-image the city.

Secondly, thanks to James Cameron's epic romance-disaster film which famed 'Titanic' to be world-known; however, not many people knew it was born in Belfast's shipyard. In other words, no matter if the urban planners in Belfast did promote this Titanic culture or not, this culture itself has already had a number of fans or sources which might support any planning related with the Titanic. This draws out the feasibility of a Titanic-themed tourist attraction because there is a touristy market for the demand—not surprisingly, from the analyse of the 134 visitors, more than 50 people commented their aim of travelling to Belfast is particularly for this flagship.

Finally, this selection had circumvented the tricky issue between the two ethnosectarian groups in this post-conflict city by which promoting a hundred-year-old sank ship sounds not that terrifying than the uncertain troubles. It may cause inappropriate feelings and might overshadow other abundant heritages; however, from the planning spectacular, it is irreplaceable for Belfast to deliver this opportunity and turn it into a valuable attracting topic for tourism and regeneration sake.

In contrast, this Titanic-theme selection indeed has caused misunderstanding gaps between the urban planners and local residents. On the surface, promoting the Titanic culture as the major spotlight on Belfast seems meaningful, but it reaches a debate that not many residents felt actually satisfied with this decision after the interviews with two main reasons. Firstly, the Titanic was built in Belfast is a fact, yet not all of the residents agreed this 'culture' is a representative of this city. Silenced for many decades, this topic was almost never talked by the local population. On the one hand, these Belfast shipbuilders were so proud of their technical abilities to create the largest, most luxurious ocean liner of its time. On the other hand, when Titanic hit the iceberg, suddenly those

expectations and glory there all washed away into the deep cold ocean. After sinking in 1912, this tragic disaster had pushed the citizens of Belfast to be shushed. Moreover, when the region started to go through the bloody troubling issues, the sound of the Titanic was merely forgotten.

While the disagreement of the selection of the Titanic culture was mostly because of the commercial, political, and cultural reason, the opposite sounds of the residents were quite obvious. Most of the locals in Belfast were quite surprised when the relaunching news of the Titanic was outspread everywhere in the early 2000s because they think that is too adventurous to reimage a city with such calamitous symbol. Furthermore, due to its bad reputation, some of the residents felt embarrassed of this judgment as well. Some of the interviewees claimed their thoughts about the decision: *'I don't know. Honoured by a sank ship?'* (K1, K2). Moreover, the display of presenting the Titanic was also another argumentative issue because the curators only focused on the bright sides and ignored many negativities which one of the visitors commented that it is *'distasteful and insulting to the memory of those who died and their relatives'* (D90). These factors bring out the second discord which some of the residents think that this top-down decision-making did not comprehensively consider the residents sounds in the planning process. That is to say, part of the locals did not have enough 'sense of belonging' with the Titanic yet.

In sum, to promote the heritagised Titanic culture as Belfast's new direction may seem fantastic to attract more tourists and investors to come, it should also be noted that the culture of consumerism is not equal to a person's identity. As a result, to be precise, not all of the citizens, particularly in Belfast, do agree that the Titanic is representative of this city and feel proud of it at the moment. In other words, it is quite understandable why some of the locals were feeling ridiculous of heritagising a sunken ship and turning it into a selling point to attract outsiders to visit Belfast.

4.3. Evaluating the Titanic Belfast

The Titanic Belfast was aimed to provide an ‘excellent experience’ to the visitors, especially after its grand opening in April 2012. With high hopes, this unique Titanic Experienced flagship was also expected to increase the visiting numbers coming to Belfast; furthermore, to become a pride for the locals to be proud of their magnificent maritime heritage and the history of the city. However, how could we understand or evaluate the extent of this ‘excellent experience’ which the planners have advocated? In the second chapter, the author had identified a possible evaluation criterion for a sustainable cultural flagship regeneration project by arranging Hayes (2009) and Grodach’s (2010) theories. Thus, this section will analyse those five items with multiple planning reports, documents, and planning concepts from the cultural planner. The feedbacks from among the media, the tourists, and the residents will also be included as well.

4.3.1. Vision

As Smith (2005) claimed that these cultural flagships icons would act as synecdoches for a place, the importance of a clear established vision must be carefully considered in the beginning of the process. The future success of this cultural flagship should also be explicitly included as well. The reason may be seen in two dimensions. Firstly, from the planning and operational perspective, it would be easier to target and programme the follow-up guidelines, different terms of projects, and relative standards through these clear visions. Secondly, from the audiences’ perspective, the vision may reflect its value and attractiveness which may cause different anticipation to visitors. What is this cultural flagship aimed for? Whom are their visitors, tourists or residents? In other words, the vision of the cultural flagship might become divisive and confrontational without the support of the visitors (Doucet, 2007). Consequently, these questions, as many scholars have argued, are far more intense and it needs more consideration during the planning process (Doucet, 2007; Hayes, 2009).

In the case of Belfast, the precondition was surprisingly fulfilled as they brought out

a clear vision of giving a ‘Titanic Experience’ to the visitors. The vision of creating the Titanic Belfast is rather clear and epic as they had identified the project in the NITB 2004-2007 for Action Plan since 2003 as one of the five key tourism signature projects for development. Moreover, it also is aimed to enhance the cultural enrichment and the occupation offering in Northern Ireland based on both Titanic and Belfast’s maritime heritages themes. Thus, according to the report of RPS Group’s ‘A titanic engineering project’ (2012), a report for applying ‘Engineering Project of the Year 2012’ to Engineers Ireland, the six objectives of establishing the Titanic Belfast was included (See Table 4.3):

Table 4.3 The Six Objectives of the Titanic Belfast’s Vision

The six objectives of the Titanic Belfast’s Vision	
■	As the home of Titanic, to turn Belfast into a key heritage centre linking with the city’s maritime heritage and industrial past by the Titanic Belfast though assets
■	As a frosting key to enhance and produce a strong sense of identity and pride within the people of Belfast and Northern Ireland through its heritage
■	To create a ‘world-class visitor attraction’ with the theme of the Titanic and the massive shipbuilding heydays heritages
■	Becoming Northern Ireland’s largest visitor attraction and Belfast’s unique tourist destination by building its originality and innovation for positive tourism impact
■	To become a contribution to the regeneration process in the Titanic Quarter by linking with other maritime heritage sites to form the Titanic story
■	To become the key linkage between the sites on the Queen’s Island and other Titanic-related heritage sites in Belfast and Northern Ireland to create networks

Resource: Arranged by the author (RPS Groups, 2012)

From the table, looking at the overall situation, the vision of the Titanic Belfast is quite ambitious which it both contained the cultural-led regeneration process and the heritagisation of the Titanic culture together in a single project. While viewing in details, there are three results of which the planners have proclaimed the Titanic Belfast’s target. Firstly, the flagship itself would act as a stunning tourist destination to attract visitors, especially to those who had never been to the beautiful island of Ireland to travel and

learn. Secondly, as being the key network connection, the practical act of the Titanic Belfast inside the whole regeneration plan is far more important as it could be seen which Seaneen McGrady mentioned:

‘Titanic Foundation Ltd (TFL) is a registered charity, responsible primarily for the Titanic Belfast building (they lease the building to a commercial operator) but which also has as part of its remit, the development of Belfast as a Cultural Heritage Destination. Maeve Curran, from TFL, co-ordinates the quarterly Titanic forum meetings which are attended by many of the organisations in Titanic Quarter, including businesses, PRONI (Public Records office), Belfast Met (Further Education College), SSE Arena as well as representatives of all the visitor attractions. They work together to ensure all the businesses connect and create business awareness/opportunities’.

Last but not least, the creators had pulled out an important concept of the Titanic Belfast: this cultural flagship is not only about the RMS Titanic, but also about the significant maritime heritage of Belfast’s shipbuilding legendary era. That is to say, they tried to deliver the spirit of the Titanic into an interesting, unique, and splendid characteristic of this flagship. The planners also want the people of Belfast to be proud of this establishment, which their supports, emphasized by Doucet (2007), are extremely important as well. Consequently, the Titanic Belfast has been expected as a project of becoming a new cultural nucleus in Belfast (TitanicBelfast.com). Nevertheless, do the visitors have the same impressions of their experience inside the Titanic Belfast?

➤ **Reviews from the Visitors**

A. Tourists comments of the vision of the Titanic Belfast

Views differ widely on the visiting experience after the tour of the Titanic Belfast. It is clear to see from the chart that 134 tourists responded differently to the vision of the cultural flagships (see Figure 4.2) (for more detail see p.46 and Appendixes I). The results and comments from the resident dimension will be discussed in 4.3.4 Location &

Community Fit.

According to the tourist perspective line chart, it is obvious that the results have shown a clear message: the tourists' tastes of the Titanic Belfast's vision are very distinguished. Due to the same number of people selecting the highest score and the lowest score (37 people), the line chart shows that those who loved the concept of the vision agreed with the display and representing style, yet for those who did not agree such planning vision is not satisfied with the project. Also, there are merely 35 persons who stood neutral on the vision of the Titanic Belfast. As a result, the satisfaction from the tourist dimension of the Titanic Belfast's vision is a truly personal orientation, which we will discuss the reasons in the following paragraph.

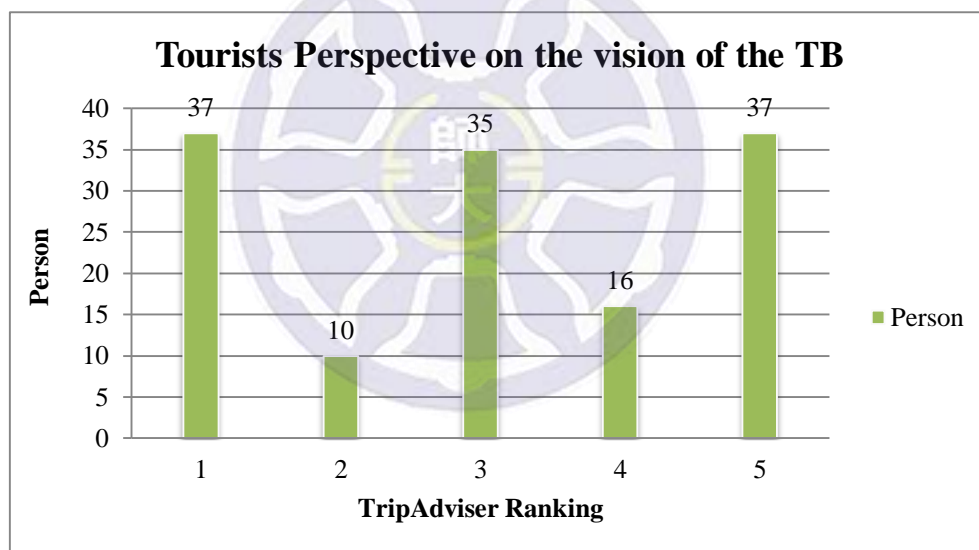


Figure 4.2 The Visitor Perspectives of the Vision of the Titanic Belfast

To be honest, the Titanic Belfast has been criticised by visitors on various grounds and one of biggest disagreements and dissatisfactions was its vague concept. For those who disliked it and felt deceived after their visit, the main reason was the misunderstanding of Titanic Belfast's motive: to give the visitors a 'Titanic experience'. Without a doubt, a large number of the visitors came to the Titanic Belfast aiming to see the 'RMS Titanic'. Mostly they thought that Belfast might have given more details of RMS Titanic's stories, heritage, and especially about the part of the sinking due to the

fact that the city is its birthplace. They assume the Titanic Belfast is a ‘museum’; however, it is rather a visitor attraction, which is claimed by the operators. Moreover, due to ethical reasons, there will be no artifacts from the RMS Titanic—artifacts from the original Titanic and White Star Line will be included for deeper understanding of the shipbuilding industry of Belfast. Some of the results mentioned that they were fascinated by this site due to the name of the flagship (D126), but it also lets them feel a bit disappointed by the displays as some of them stated that the Titanic Belfast is ‘a letdown without the truth of the Titanic’ (D117). Furthermore, arguments such as ‘the idea was good and informative, but could be better’ (D104), ‘Not much about the Titanic itself more about Harland & Wolff’ (D112), and ‘Should have more personal stories, less about Belfast the city, more about the people’ (D116) were commented. The disappointment of the visit also included those who thought that this flagship was a ‘commemorative museum’ as a tourist also disagreed with the whole vision as saying:

‘It seems as though the people who designed the museum wanted to stay firmly away from any negativity surrounding Titanic or the ship building industry. Why, for example, was there no mention of the sectarianism that existed in the dockyards or the fact that there were so few Catholics employed? You do not get any sense what so ever of the sheer scale of the human tragedy of Titanic. There is a theme-park feel to some parts of [the] Titanic Belfast which is distasteful and insulting to the memory of those who died and their relatives’ (D90, 2013/3, Rank:1).

On the contrary, for those visitors who agreed with and liked the concept gave quite good reviews of the site. They gave positive feedback of the establishment and mostly commented that they learnt a lot about the history of Belfast, the shipbuilding industry, and information on the ship and the crews who built it as well. The difference could easily be seen during the review as those who supported the Titanic Belfast love the fact that they could experience the transformation of the city and the glory heydays back in the early 20th century. For example, ‘What you get is a much better understanding of the city in which the Titanic was built, its people and the social background of the disaster’ as a

visitor had wrote (D5). Moreover, there are also reviews that wrote: ‘It’s about the workings and evolution of the city’ (D11), ‘It gave me a totally different viewpoint on the Titanic!’ (D14), and one of the tourists had written:

‘Although I’d read the reviews and friends had raved about it I still wasn’t prepared for the sheer scale, professionalism, interest and enjoyment this brought. Covering the history of the growth of technology in Belfast, including shipbuilding, through the building of the Titanic to its infamous history and the undersea investigation of the wreck, this was an amazing set of exhibits. The “joy-ride” included was great, and there was no queue when we visited. Absolutely spectacular, world-class without any doubt’
(D58, 2016/10, Rank:5)

Thus, the overall conclusion is that the experience of what the planners wanted the Titanic Belfast to give to tourists is extremely subjective. Even though the advertisements and their official website has emphasised their characteristic, the misunderstanding of Titanic Belfast’s vision and its vague position as a museum or a visiting attraction still confuses many visitors. Therefore, it cannot be determined that the cultural flagship has a successful achievement or not, yet for sure it indeed draw in many tourists willing to visit the site and have a strong back up supporting teams to sustain the whole project to operate.

B. Resident’s feedbacks on the whole Titanic Belfast’s visions

From the interviews of the 13 local residents on their thoughts on the whole establishment process and mostly their opinion of the Titanic Belfast’s vision, the answer was quite obvious that most of them agreed with the success of the regeneration process in the Titanic Quarter yet have different point of views to the flagship itself. Of course, for those who had been into the Titanic Belfast or will go to the quarter for leisure and working activities have more positive opinions of the whole restoration. They mentioned that the Titanic Quarter is ‘a fun place but still needs to grow. It’s something good for

Belfast but not many of the people know the Titanic area yet, so that's kind of a developing area. And the Titanic Belfast is part of the tourist things that could bring some foreign friends to visit as well' (K4), 'I think it's a good way because Belfast has got many negative things' (K8), and 'To turn Belfast with something interesting is better than focusing the bloody past' (K13, K10). From an interview with two friendly Belfast people who are great friends and have seen the whole transformation of Belfast, they told their experience:

'I think it's probably an essential and a key in developing Belfast which [the Titanic Belfast] is an interesting place to visit. And somehow it is unavoidable because Belfast has such a rich heritage. I think that anyone who remembered the particular area here that was before the maritime era was different. And as you know we had cold days here. So right now, everything is all opened and become such a vibrant area. It has all transformed in the city.' (K11)

and,

'[The Titanic Belfast] sure did change the image of Belfast especially from the negative past in the 70s. I think that this change tried to give us a new pride to this city. Some people wanted to visit here to see and it is chances of appreciation of our own city' (K12).

On the other hand, there are also some disagreements from the locals. Their thoughts on the Titanic Quarter regeneration were fine but questioned the vision of the Titanic Belfast as included: 'It's kind of weird to represent Belfast with a sunken ship' (K9), 'I think to represent the political issues about our city is more connected rather than the Titanic' (K6, K7), and 'I don't know. Honoured by a sink[ing] ship?' (K1, K2). Hence, for a short conclusion, without a doubt the residents of Belfast appreciate the regeneration of the Titanic Quarter, but stand on a bit divergent on representing the city with the Titanic Belfast.

4.3.2. Design

Having a stunning exterior of the building is indeed the goal of every flagship project to attract the visitors wishing to visit and to promote it to others (Grodach, 2008; Hayes, 2009). As one of the concepts of establishing the Titanic Belfast was to anticipate the reappearance the ‘Guggenheim Museum Effect’ in Belfast. The design of the cultural flagship was carefully planned under the paths such as the case of ‘Liverpool Museum’. Designed by Eric R Kuhne (1951-2016) from CivicArts with Todd Architects as the leading consultant / architect and with cooperation from Harcourt Developments, this project had the aim of achieving two goals: to preserve the authenticity of Belfast’s maritime and industrial heritage and to transform the Titanic Quarter into a dynamic waterfront area. Thus, the designers evolved the project through seven major stages and other alternative options (See Figure 4.3 and 4.4 on p.105).

The stages were in relation to Belfast’s maritime heritages especially with the Titanic itself. The design meanings of the building were chained together as to accumulate the strength of the stories in the shipyard of Belfast and the image of the North Atlantic. Therefore, the cultural flagship consisted of the designs from the Water Crystal Cluster, the Amorphous Iceberg, the White Star, the Dynamic Shards, the Four Ages of Shipyard Prows, the Plated Bows, and to the final complete entity that named ‘The Four Hulls, One Crystal’. In the beginning, the prototype of the establishment was given by the idea of the ‘ice-cold’ feeling from the North Atlantic, which captured the designers and was drawn into a shape of crystal building.



Figure 4.3 The Seven Stages of the Design of the Titanic Belfast

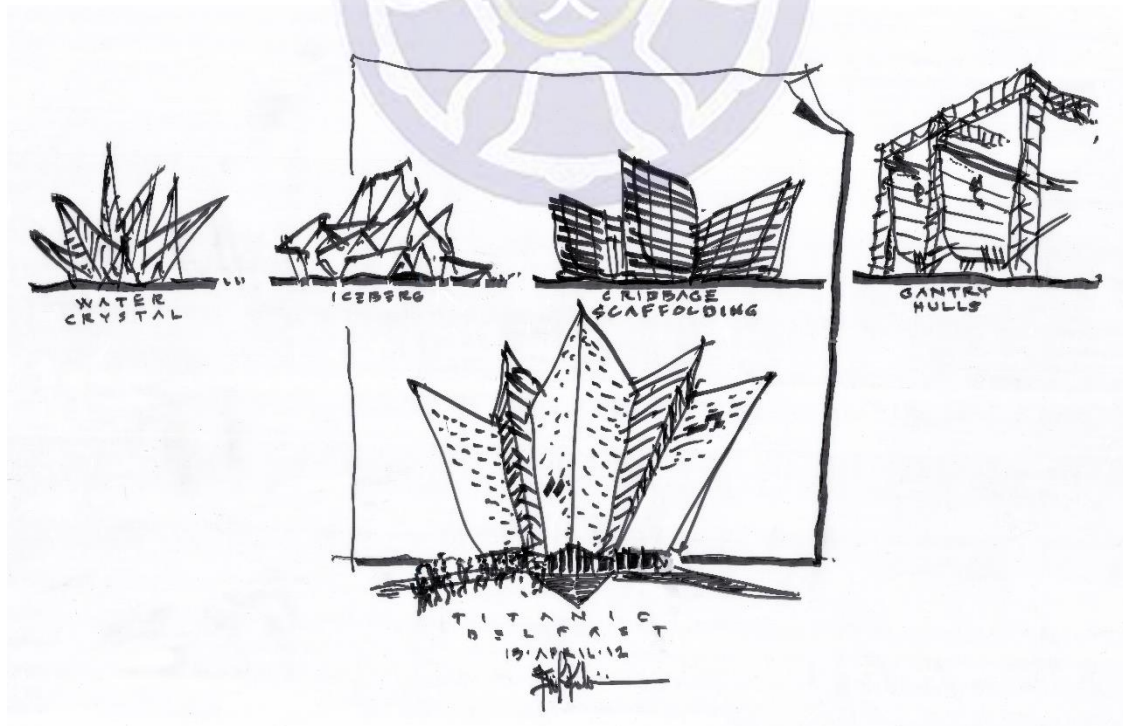


Figure 4.4 The Draft Exterior Design of the Titanic Belfast

Source: <http://midlandsinfrastructure.com/projects.asp> Assessed in 19 Nov 2016

Moreover, they created ‘a jostling mass of flat planes and hard edges’ on the exterior of the building with the idea of ‘a cluster of feathery facets clinging to deck handrails and cable stays’ meaning that the mix texture styling of Belfast’s shipbuilding industry (FutureBelfast.com). Next step, the amorphous iceberg, as the crystal structure has been proclaimed clearly, the designers moved on to discover the balance of adding a concept of a ‘solid ice’ to direct the whole process. To be more precise, the designers added the image of icebergs into the design of the building. They wanted to capture ‘an irregular, amorphous mass of those floating giants’ and ‘their eroded profiles sculpted along their natural fissures’ of the movements of an iceberg (FutureBelfast.com).

The third stage was designed through the White Star Line’s logo (Figure 4.5), which was the brand owner of the RMS Titanic, as they identified the structure into the shape of a star and one of the angles points directly to the slipways of the shipbuilding industry of Belfast. More meaningful for this design was the linkage to the RMS Titanic that the slipway also sent her out the dock of Belfast for its Maiden voyage towards the North Atlantic. As to imitate the dynamic colossal energy between the impact of the ship and the icebergs, the fourth stage added the idea of ‘crystal shards’ to give more composition to the building.



Figure 4.5 The Logo of the White Star Line

Source: <http://www.brandsoftheworld.com/logo/white-star-line>

At the fifth stage, the idea was to deliver the thought of the ‘Four Ages of Shipyard Prows¹⁶’ in the city. The designers used an archived photo of ships hulls which were built in the North yard as their major inspiration to tell the story of Belfast’s shipbuilding conversion—there were four ages of the building transformation including timber, iron, steel, and aluminium. The fifth point of the star was designed to point to the city centre, which was protected by the four halls and the whole project was ‘radiated like a compass rose’ (FutureBelfast.com) (See Figure 4.6). On the next stage, owing to the fact that the Titanic Belfast was built on the former site of Harland & Wolff’s Plating Works, the plated bows were designed as skin metal plates for the building which changed ‘the star points into liner’s bows’ and gave the image of ‘raising up upon their keel blocks with the cradle of the Arrol Gantry¹⁷’ (FutureBelfast.com) (See Figure 4.7). Last but not least, the final stage collaborates all six stages into its final picture into a ‘four hulls, one crystal’ situation, which means that the hulls ring around the crystal and creates an atrium (See Figure 4.6). Furthermore, its outside decoration was ‘clothed in their faceted plates of aluminium echoing waves and ice’ (FutureBelfast.com; Costecalde & Doherty, 2012).



Figure 4.6 The Four Hulls, One Crystal

Source: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-23506518>

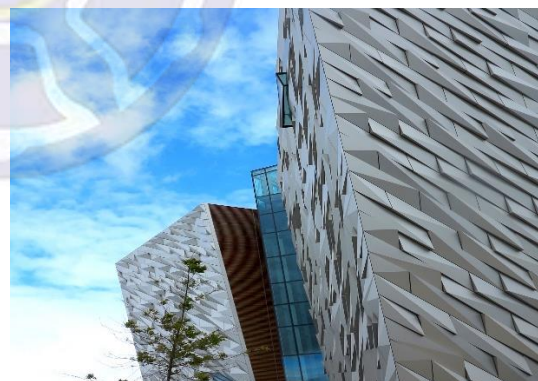


Figure 4.7 The Faceted Plates

(Photographed by the author, 2015)

As a result, the above elements that were prehensive of the maritime heritage of Belfast were all perfectly combined together in the finished design of the Titanic Belfast—they represent a cornerstone of Belfast’s folk memory and identity (Costecalde & Doherty, 2012; Welch, 2012). Parts of the building embedded multiple metaphors gave

¹⁶ The forward part of a ship's hull, in other words, the portion of a ship's bow above water.

¹⁷ It is an enormous steel gantry that was erected over the two new slipways and built for the construction of Olympic and Titanic at Harland & Wolff. It was used during 1908 to 1960s in Belfast.

the cultural flagship a strong relationship to its location, history, and culture; furthermore, not to mention that the height of the structure and the square footage are the same size as the RMS Titanic. In other words, the design and the entity of the cultural flagship itself was in accordance with its original designing plan in which the leading architect Eric R Kuhne himself also claimed that:

‘CivicArts / Eric R Kuhne & Associates has worked for seven years to conceive, design, and create an international destination in Belfast that celebrates five centuries of its maritime legacy including the building of the RMS Titanic. As Concept Design Architects, we have created an architectural icon that captures the spirit of the shipyards, ships, water crystals, ice, and the White Star Line's logo. Its architectural form cuts a skyline silhouette that has been inspired by the very ships that were built on this hallowed ground’ (cited in Frearson, 2012).

Moreover,

‘And from this plan grew the form and the shape of this monumental building that celebrates the iconography of over 400 years of ship building, innovation, and creativity in Belfast’ (Deloitte, 2015: 2).

Consequently, the design comments from experts and specific organisations after the official launch on 31th March 2012 were quite obvious. Critics were full of mockery of the establishment when the fulfill concept was first released in 2008 until its grand opening in 2012. They satirised the Titanic Belfast as it was a ‘new depths of inanity in their literal architectural expression’ (Meredith, 2012) and scoff at it by nicknaming it as ‘the Iceberg’. Despite the fact that the building was nominated in the ‘2012 Carbuncle Cup shortlist¹⁸’ on its first appearance in public, the design of the Titanic Belfast still rewarded a lot of applause from the visitors and reviewers of its stunning out-looking

¹⁸ It is an architecture prize given annually by the magazine Building Design to the ‘ugliest building in the United Kingdom completed in the last 12 months’.

design which drew loads of visitors to experience it. As a result, the Titanic Belfast itself was not only a building full of Belfast's maritime metaphors but also a unique masterpiece that created an 'iconicity image' (Sklair, 2006) of what the 'Guggenheim Museum' had brought to Bilbao— 'the boosted number of visitors and a reimage of the entire city' (Evans, 2003).

➤ **Reviews from the visitors**

While Hayes and Grodach both confirmed that the design of the building would increase the visibility of the project, and according to the results, most of the visitors might not fully understand the major ideas and concepts of the design factors, yet they agreed and they were praised for the stunning appearance. The comments of their admiration were included as: 'It is a lovely architectural building outside' (L2, D54, D77, D79, D103, D122), 'the building is impressive' (L18, L35, D3, D25, D76, D90, D91, D108, D109, D125, D129, D133), and 'a very interesting / fabulous / beautiful / magnificent / fantastic / stunning / spectacular / amazing building (L11, L22, D12, D21, D22, D26, D47, D52, D67, D72, D84, D86, D106)'. The flagship itself is conspicuous to catch people's eye, which some visitors agree that the whole project is 'very impressive to look at from a distance' (D21). In addition, as Hayes believed that a cultural flagship has the function to showcase the aspects of a place's culture, one of the visitor's comments truly captured the spirit of the design in which Eric R Kuhne and his team wanted to present as claiming:

'The structure's sheer impressive scale and enormity is absolutely staggering, and certainly dramatic with its impressive dazzling aluminum panels' (D2).

In other words, the 'iconcity', which Sklair (2006) had argued for a successful cultural flagship design, has truly been presented and created into the Titanic Belfast. However, there are also some negative comments and dislikes about the design mentioning: 'It's a dull building without any outdoor sights beside some sculptures that reminded me of a mermaid' (D89). Nevertheless, probing through the comments on the design of the

exterior of the Titanic Belfast, it still received high ratings from the visitors since its grand opening till nowadays which achieved its target of giving a brand-new look in an area.

4.3.3. Visitor-Attractiveness

The interior of the cultural flagship is what fascinates and persuades most of the visitors to plan their journey to the amenity; in other words, visitors are willing to explore the intrinsic culture of the cultural flagship. In the case of the Titanic Belfast, both the curators and planners had already thought of using the Titanic culture as their key theme for the whole programme since the beginning for two reasons. Firstly, the location of the Titanic Belfast was the original district where the RMS Titanic was built dating back to the early 1900s. Secondly, the story of both the establishment of the ship and the birthplace city is incomparable than other Titanic relative museums. These reasons become the fantastic selling point for Belfast to transform its cultural values into cultural tourism elements, especially when this city has a strong and unique heritage or brand for planning a cultural flagship. Moreover, when the first idea of the Titanic project was proclaimed in early 2002 (the same period when the idea of the Titanic Quarter was put out), a marine archaeologist and executive director of the Vancouver maritime museum James P Delgago stated that:

‘Belfast as a whole can be marketed as Titanic's birthplace, and not just to Titanic buffs. Most Americans are not aware Titanic was built here, but even for those who were, there was no public access to Harland and Wolff until very recently. You've got to find a balance between access and keeping that special “insider” feel. Titanic is a story of tragedy and pride, and a reflection of the community that built it, and the place to tell that story is the city of Belfast’ (cited in Cowan & Gow, 2002).

For sure the idea of what to present in this Titanic Signature Project was another tricky issue for the planners. They also had a clear limitation in front of them at the very beginning—artifacts from the Titanic's wreck site will not be included under ethical

reasons. Due to this precondition, curators were seeking different perspectives for the experience of this culture flagship. There are still some advantages for Belfast to drive on this project, especially when this city is the birthplace of the amazing RMS Titanic; however, the major idea of creating ‘an experience that is rooted in the people and place of Belfast’ rather became their clear direction (Alexander, 2014:88). To be specific, the project was aimed to tell the story of Belfast, the city’s shipyard history, and the birth of Titanic. Tucker (2012) even noted that the Titanic Belfast was not just about ‘the loss of life’ but it is also ‘a celebration of the achievements of the former designers and shipbuilders of Belfast’ (The Guardian). Moreover, the Director of Real Estate of the Titanic Belfast stated:

‘This will be the real deal, a mix between a museum and a theme park, presenting historical information in the form of infotainment’ (Meredith, 2009 cited in Neill et al.; 2014:77).

Under this concept, the signature project collaborated with the Titanic-themed banquet facilities inside the cultural flagship as it would add a mix taste to present a sort of memory as a sign of respect to the ship’s lost. Therefore, to create such ‘infotainment’ to develop the attractiveness of this project, there were three main points that the curators considered to present inside the multi-layered narrative experience from the early Edwardian city to the new vision of Belfast’s future blueprint: the highest academic standards for the concept of learning, the best of experiential entertainment with technology to recreate time and space, and the appeal to the family audience without alienating the scholar (Alexander, 2014:89). These concepts, which correspond to Hayes (2009) argument, were presented through effective presentation of historical events that could develop an inner connection with the visitors to understand and involve them with other people in other times and also the political economic environment during that period. As Alexander admitted, a more personal involvement design will allow visitors to ‘identify with and embrace new subject matter, as well as to take on board the context and palette of surrounding emotions’ (p.91).

Table 4.4 A short Introduction of the Floors Inside the Titanic Belfast

Basement level	It includes 520 secure, underground parking spaces that it directly connects to the ground floor entrance. Moreover, it also provides lockers and taxi waiting spots.
Ground Floor	‘The Giant Atrium’—The main welcoming entrance of the whole flagship designed as a ‘cathedral-like, public space, open to all’ area to everyone. A café shop, a souvenir store, and ticket-box & information desk is also located in this area. Moreover, due to its ‘60-ft high ceiling gantry, it also allows for aerial acrobatics while multiple viewing platforms & floors at various heights provide unique options for musical stages’ (TitanicBelfast.com).
First Floor	The start of the nine interactive exhibitions gallery journey (1~4 floors) ‘connected by timber-decked balcony walkways beside walls inscribed with the names of former Harland & Wolff vessels’. Rewarded Sandford Award for Heritage Education.
Second Floor	The second floor includes the schools’ education centre and the Andrews Gallery—a large space with regularly-renewed art exhibitions, conference space and less formal dining events.
Third & Fourth Floors	The upper exhibition floors contain a ‘shipyard dark riding experience’ and also a host of presentations that was prepared by numerous contributors including Dr. Robert Ballard ¹⁹ about the underwater exploration and archaeology.
Fifth & Sixth Floors	‘The Titanic Suite and Mezzanine Level’—only opened for specific used such as conference, wedding or any banqueting venue, this private function rooms can seat 1,000 guests and it offers an elegant surrounding in a unique design based on Titanic’s interiors (a replica of the grand staircase).

Source: Arranged by the author (Costecalde & Doherty, 2012)

¹⁹ An ocean explorer who is the president of the Institute for Exploration, scientist emeritus from the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, and Director of the newly created Center for Ocean Exploration at the University of Rhode Island’s Graduate School of Oceanography (Costecalde & Doherty, 2012:6)



Figure 4.8 The Galleries Inside the Titanic Belfast

Source: Titanic Belfast-Souvenir Guide 2012 (Photographed by the author, 2016)

Thus, the compelling building was designed as a ‘visitor attraction’ to draw in those who are interested in the story of the Titanic and the city of Belfast. Moreover, it is a six-floor flagship (See Figure 4.8) including a basement floor with car parking areas, community and education spaces, a temporary gallery, retail and catering, and a conference space for business and wedding use (See Table. 4.4 on P.112).

From the Table 4.4 (p.112), it is obvious that this Titanic Belfast is a multifunctional design. It contains educational, entertainment, and leisure use for various types of visitors. The flagship was designed to represent the stories and the maritime history of Belfast with different interactive and technology elements, including an indoor entertainment-ride experience in the galleries. There are platform spaces for both local and international art activities, for example, the Andrews Gallery which have been furnished inside as well. Furthermore, the building also contained large spaces for a conference (The Titanic Suite and Mezzanine Level) and musical stages use (The Giant Atrium) that is quite interesting

and clever—according to the data in 2013, the Titanic Belfast has hosted more than 350 conferences and sold 1,376 bottles of champagnes (Smyth, 2013) and the number boosted after 2 more years (Deloitte, 2015).

As a result, the whole interior design was well thought out as the planner considered it in multi-dimensions. Before the grand opening in 2012, they roughly expected that the Titanic Belfast would attract 425,000 visitors annually. However, the outcome number exceeded expectations as 807,340 visitors walked inside the door in the first year and 41.57% of the visitors were from outside Northern Ireland (Belfasttelegraph.co.uk, 2013). According to the report ‘Deloitte’ published in October 2015, the visiting number was over 2.5 million after the grand opening including ‘approximately 1.9 million admissions to the galleries; 150,000 conference delegates and 100,000 visitors to special exhibitions such as Game of Thrones, Lego etc.’ (p.1). The market manager of the Titanic Belfast (M3) also confirmed this honour as she claimed that:

‘[The] Titanic Belfast has changed the tourism footprint of Northern Ireland since opening, creating a new brand of international tourist to the destination, so much so that over 40% of all Titanic Belfast visitors said that they were only coming to Belfast because of the existence of [the] Titanic Belfast. Making the city more international’ (M3, 2015/8).

Hence, despite the fact that the Titanic Belfast is costly (with a total cost among £76 million), it sure achieved the main aim of the establishment and boosted the local economic especially attracting so many visitors to come. However, what are the opinions of those visitors? As the author has arranged their comments into six main topics, including the theme, the style of introducing, the displays, the ride, the facilities, and the environment (See Table 4.5 on p.115), we will now examine each classification more closely in the following paragraphs.

➤ **Reviews from the visitors**

According to Hayes's theory, a sustainable cultural flagship should provide education, learning, and entertainment experience. The visiting attraction of the Titanic Belfast for sure is mainly about the Titanic culture or the 'RMS Titanic' itself, which most of the visitors were fascinated by this selling point. Even though the advertisement of the project was willing to provide a 'Titanic experience' rather than just a museum form of present, the visitors responded differently to the concept and the whole representation of what the Titanic Belfast has shown to the public (See Table 4.5).

On the one hand, those who rather considered the Titanic Belfast as a disaster did so due to the misleading theme of the 'Titanic Experience' and the name of the 'Titanic Belfast'. As both concepts were rather ambiguous and unknown, there was a lot of visitors who 'thought' that this flagship is a 'Museum of the Titanic' and also thought there will be some artifacts of the sinking ship or deeper information about the sinking. Moreover, some of the visitors were attracted to the 'replica of the grand staircase of the Titanic'; however, the site was not opened to the public because it was located in the upper floors only for conference use.

Table 4.5 Visitors Responds to Their Visiting Opinions

	Liked	Disliked
The Theme	Learnt a lot about the history of both the Titanic and Belfast	Misleading, unimportant information, dis-organised
The Style of Introducing	Interactive exhibits are interesting	Too much reading! No interactive with people
The Displays	N/A	No Artifacts, lack of authentic
The Ride	A novel idea! A Gondola Ride!	The ride is LAME and pathetic! Unintelligible Ride!
The facilities	The Restaurant was quite nice	A very expensive cafeteria
The Environment	N/A	Too long so wait. Busy. Too much people 'Jostling' around.

Source: Arranged by the author (TripAdvisor, 2016)

If the visitor wants to have a peek of the replica, the only way is to buy the set of afternoon tea package which also costs another fee. While these were the main displays, there were also other dissatisfied points from the visitors, including too much reading rather than people's interacting, an unintelligible ride, and too noisy and crowded for exploring the exhibition. The last complaint was quoted from the author's actual testimony. Surprisingly, even at an early Monday morning at 9 am, lots of 'tours' including visitors speaking in Chinese, Spanish, French, and English made the ground floor every crowded: approximately 5 to 6 guiding-tour groups per hour in different languages. There were also numbers of visitors that came to the site by themselves in different ages from elders to young kids.

On the other hand, according to the visitor comments on the Tripadvisor, more than 78% of the visitors gave higher rankings above 'Average' to the Titanic Belfast (2016). While a huge percent of the visitors claimed whether or not they understood the history of Belfast and the Titanic before, they have learnt a lot from this visitor attraction. To be more accurate, the Titanic Belfast is very interesting with full of interactive edutainment such as the Shipyard Dark Riding Experience that was such a surprise for further learning during the whole tour. Furthermore, a visitor also commented that:

'The museum is world class and offers a truly immersive, interactive experience for young and old alike, although my 75 years old dad said it felt a little like a Disney World experience. I; however, loved it and know that it will totally appeal to the generation who have grown up in a more "virtual experience" world. I thought the use of technology was incredible! So many opportunities to experience what the Titanic was like. I loved that the museum also included sections on life in Belfast at the time, the importance of the Belfast ship building industry' (D38, 2016/10, Rank:5).

Thus, the controversy of the 'Titanic Belfast' to various visitors were mostly about the different visions among the visitors, the curators, and planners. While most of the visitors gave this site quite a good rating and truly captured the major concept of the 'Titanic

Experience', there were still a lot of visitors that were very displeased and dislike the theme and the whole showcase.

4.3.4. Location and Community Fit

A. Location

As Hayes (2009) had claimed that some cultural flagships were located in a largely rural area with high unemployment and few long-term economic prospects such as the Eden project, in the case of the Titanic Belfast, it has some similarities as well. The reason is because choosing the location for a beneficial cultural flagship project is extremely important, especially when the project has a great linkage with the area's culture-led regeneration process. Therefore, located on the east side of Belfast City Centre, the Titanic Belfast was centered inside the Titanic Quarter and in the heart of the Queen's Island²⁰. It was also the original shipbuilding location owned by the Harland & Wolff shipyard that established the RMS Titanic dated back in the early 1900s. In fact, the true reason for creating this cultural flagship inside the dockland; (same as the case of Guggenheim Bilbao and the Millennium dome); was owing to two main reasons: firstly, the city's regenerating process—the dockland was a brownfield that has shone its brightness after the peace agreement in 1998 for further development use. Secondly, both the urban planners and parts of the local communities that had a strong relationship background with the RMS Titanic, for example, the descendants of the H&W workers, were hoping this cultural flagship project would become their second pride to be an honour of this city. Moreover, the whole programme sounded bright with full of hope, which was supported by both the government and business and closely situated to large residential communities such as the Millennium Dome case. However, there were still different arguments about the fitting of the Titanic Belfast among the citizens in Belfast.

The dockland was in disrepair and the site fell into disuse during the 1980s due to the deindustrialisation impact that caused huge shocks to Belfast's important industries such as shipbuilding, linen, and engineering. Even though some of the industries such as

²⁰ Originally named Belfast Harbour before 1995. It is the major maritime hub in Northern Ireland.

H&W have struggled to survive through the dramatic transformation of the decline, it was not possible to rebuild the dockland back to its heydays. On the other hand, these past old industries rather restricted the creation of leisure and entertainment development in this area. The turning point was when the project of regenerating the Titanic Quarter had begun in early 2000. Planners were seeking that this brownfield could turn into a brand new mixed-use residential and commercial area that contained the concept of developing this area for employment use (Urban Initiatives, 2004:3). They reconstructed the whole land wishing to establish a new city centre quarter that could become a new sustainable community with its own distinctive sense of place—to recreate the pride of establishing the Titanic by refreshing its shipyards into a 21st century design contentment. By turning this ‘Titanic Quarter’ into one of the city’s major parks, this process to reinforce the privileged zones of the city was also concerned in the Bilbao case as Evans (2003:430) noted before. This concept also corresponded Kent’s (2009) notion as he argued that ‘A location can define, and be defined by the flagship’ (p.14-15). Therefore, the location of the Titanic Belfast was chosen upon these reasons.

One of the potentials of this area for establishing a cultural flagship owes to its fantastic geographical location which is easily accessed by local, national and international areas. This convenience, which Grodach (2008) had proclaimed, could also be easier to achieve the ‘context and mission’ of building the Titanic Belfast—to draw in many tourists to this visitor attraction and to prompt the economic interests to attract investors. Therefore, for example, by crossing the two Bridges ‘Queen Elizabeth Bridge’ and ‘Queens Bridge’, it would be easy to connect to the core area of Belfast City Centre in the south. Not more than a 3km drive in the northeast direction, Belfast City Airport is just on the main road. The Ferry terminals that connect Belfast to Scotland are also located on the west side of the Belfast Harbour in the York Dock/Spenser Dock area.



Figure 4.9 The Walking Minutes from Belfast City Centre

Source: <https://www.williemiller.com/>

In the meantime, convenient transportation services are also a plus for driving in visitors. The planning not only contained pedestrian areas via a footbridge (See Figure 4.9) to cross to the Queen's Island, but also provided different services for visitors to choose according to their needs. For example, it is a 25 to 30 minutes' walk from the city centre to the building with approximately 2.4km only. Driving or riding a bike to the Titanic Belfast is also possible with both car-parking and bike-parking services available inside the flagship. There are two railways stations near-by; however, it is still a 15 minutes' walk from the station to the location. A bus route operated by Translink can directly transport visitors back and forth from the city centre and the Titanic Belfast as well. As a result, the transportation system around the cultural flagship is far more convenient than it has been seen which many visitors strongly recommended as well in their feedbacks after their visit.

➤ **Points from the Visitors**

The location of the Titanic Belfast was carefully planned as it was the birthplace of the original shipyard. Yet, not all of the visitors, especially tourists, understood the meaning. However, after the introduction inside the Titanic Belfast, most of them will go out and take a closer look at the docks (L2) because it is not only ‘an important location for the shipbuilding’ and ‘a history of the area and development of Belfast’ (D16, D22), but also, nowadays, it is also a sign of the reborn of a new Belfast. In other words, as this redeveloped area has been regenerated by many new industries, the Titanic Belfast itself also provided jobs for so many people who immigrated to the city from more rural areas (D15). In addition, due to the walking distance between the Titanic Belfast and the Belfast City Centre, it is not far away for a pleasant stroll walk. For most of the visitors, both the locals and the tourists strongly considered the delight of their walk (D33, D36, D100, D116, L11):

‘I walked from the town centre to the museum, took around 30mins and is a nice walk along the river’ (D108, 2016/10, Rank:3)

Moreover, for those who had taken other transportations to the Titanic Belfast also gave a lot of appreciation, for example:

‘On the plus side, there are left luggage lockers in the basement and it’s close to Belfast City Airport, so not a bad way to kill time if you’re waiting for a flight’ (D111, 2016/7, Rank:3)

and

‘It’s well worth a visit but a long walk from Belfast city centre, Taxis only cost about £5’ (D117, 2016/8, Rank:3)

Therefore, according to the above comments, the location of the Titanic Belfast was quite well planned for both its meaning and convenient for tourism.

B. Community Fit

Alternatively, the issue of whether the Titanic Belfast fits in which the community of Belfast or not has caused a heated debate between its pros and cons. Noted in the last section, the decision to promote such Titanic culture to the public and be proud of its establishment was very unusual, especially when it also became a major tourist attraction and as an image of revitalising a city that had a poor impression. As the effectiveness of the cultural flagship will involve emotional resonance and ownership among the local communities (Bowen-Jones & Entwistle, 2002:190), in Belfast, due to the complicated history and social division, not all of the citizens have had such a strong relationship with the Titanic culture. Those who have had strong connections are, for example, ex-workers from Harland & Wolff, descendants from the workers of the Harland & Wolff, citizens which have lived in the east area of Belfast, local planners of the Titanic Belfast, staff that have been working in the Titanic Belfast, and those who have worked or are still working for other Titanic culture relative activities. As a result, the rankings on the TripAdvisor on this 'community fit' issue from 36 local perspectives after the visit were completely divided (See Figure 4.10) (for more detail see p.52 and Appendixes I).

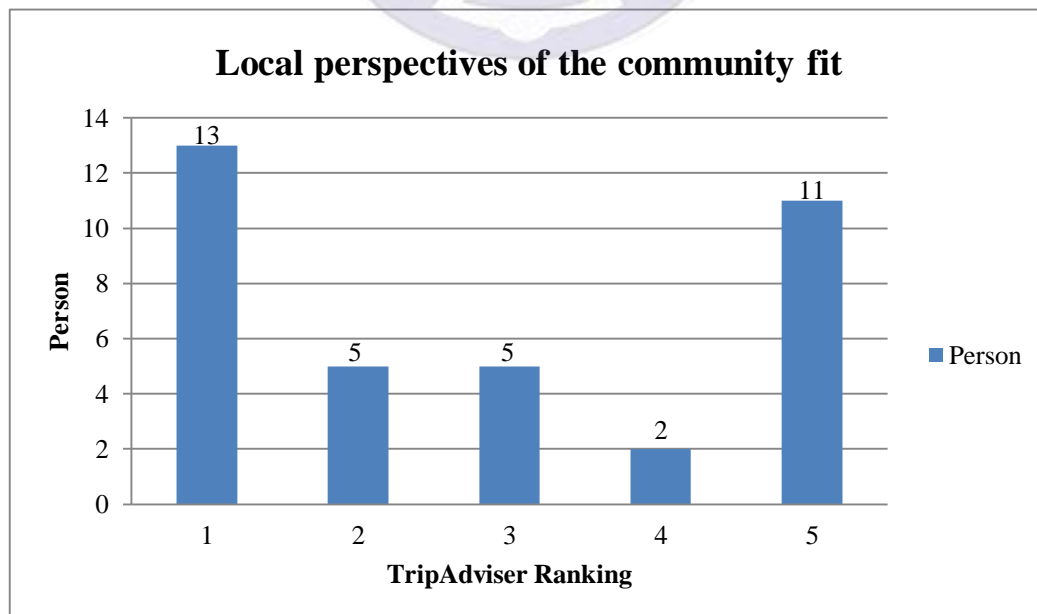


Figure 4.10 The local perspectives of the Community fit of the Titanic Belfast

According to the chart (see Figure 4.10), there seems to be a clear difference of opinions over the issue of whether the culture of the Titanic and the Titanic Belfast is suitable to this city or not. There were more than 13 comments that gave the lowest ranking on their visit after the Titanic Belfast while there were 11 comments that ranked the site for a high mark of 5. It is quite obvious that the local perspectives on the site and the culture are completely schismatical. A more detailed argument could be seen in the next table that the opinions are seriously divergent in four major perspectives (See Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 Arguments among residents who have visited the Titanic Belfast

	Connected with the Titanic Culture	Unconnected with the Titanic Culture
Agree it fits	<p>‘My husband is an ex H&W employee so he found it very interesting (L29)’, ‘There were interactive displays!’ (L29), ‘Beautiful buildings’, ‘It’s breathtaking!’</p> <p>(Block A)</p>	<p>‘A Must See Place!’ (L4, L5, L7, L8, L12), ‘Building is beautiful’ (L3, L11, L21, 25), ‘Not just about the sinking ship, but also about the birth of Belfast as a city’ (L4), ‘The proud of the City’s History!’ (L1, L2, L9, L26)’</p> <p>(Block B)</p>
Disagree it fits	<p>(Block C)</p> <p>‘Rubbish! (L19)’, ‘Dull, bland, boring, featureless, and lacking in Drama! (L19)’, ‘All the PR is geared for the tourist especially the Americans!’ (L22)</p>	<p>(Block D)</p> <p>‘Sadly they were not impressed’ (L14, L15, L18, L20, L21, L25, L27, L31, L34), ‘A bit turned off by “Titanic Talk”’ (L6), ‘Actually embarrassed for them and myself being from the city’, ‘An attraction that is more to do with the building than the Titanic’ (L17), ‘Very expensive (L24, L29, L30, L32)’</p>

Source: Arranged by the author (TripAdvisor, 2016)

From the data of their comments, for those who had worked or had relationship with the Titanic culture and agree the Titanic Belfast fits inside the community and inside Belfast after visiting (Block A) were mostly claiming that:

‘Approaching the building whether from the slipways or via the SEC Arena is quite breathtaking. There is certainly a grandeur, a presence that well reflects the class of ships, and the Titanic in particular, in whose honour Titanic Belfast was built. So, externally it is certainly iconic and interesting and you can and should spend some time outside walking around and getting the “feel” of the magnitude of what was achieved in Belfast and on the historic slipways over 100 years ago’ (One of the planners of delivering the Titanic Belfast, 2015/9, Rank:3).

Moreover, staffs from the Titanic Belfast also enjoyed working inside this massive building:

‘It is nice to work here. It brought something new to this city which was one of the reasons why I wanted to work here. You can feel that there are a lot of people coming inside the Titanic Belfast to see the whole history of the city and the Titanic. And I do feel kind of proud working in part of it’ (M1, 2015/8).

From their perspectives, those who have had some linkage with the Titanic culture do have more positive responses and expectations of this cultural flagship. The positive comments of the Titanic Belfast could also be seen in those residents who do not have a strong connection with the Titanic culture, but had huge interest, were amazed, and with a more optimistic point of view of the site (Block B):

‘Wow. It’s about time we had something to celebrate the heritage and success of Belfast. For too long people have over exaggerated the divisions and negative thoughts about our wee country! As a result of our recent history, we are playing catch up—and [n]ow we have already! [...] I was born in 1969 in Belfast. I live 20 minutes from the docks, but didn’t realise I knew so little about the development of our city over the past 150 years until today!’ (L9, 2012/5, Rank:5)

and,

‘This place is a must see if you are a visitor to Belfast because so much of the city’s heyday story is wrapped up in the industry of ship building. Often when people hear the name Belfast they think of bombs and bullets, and nothing else. But Belfast has so much more to offer—so much history, so much charm, so much culture’ (L12, 2016/6, Rank:5)

Nevertheless, those who did not benefit from the cultural flagship and those who did not have such relationship with the Titanic culture stood on a disagreement of the establishment (Block C & D). Some of them might be fed up of the ‘Titanic’ issue (L6, L22), but most of them were rather displeased especially with the displays inside, which the same issue as discussed in the previous paragraph of ‘Vision’ (p.97) and ‘Visit Attraction’ (p.110) went out again: ‘An attraction that is more to do with the building than the Titanic’ (D17). Most of them were expecting the site would contain some artifacts or replica objects from the Titanic; however, due to the different concept of the establishment, it was not possible to see any pieces at all. These locals were also unimpressed and thought that this site does not belong to this city because it’s too expensive (L24, L29, L30, L32) and too ‘tourist’ driven (L22) rather than a cultural place for the residents to understand their own history (or the Titanic). Moreover, as one of the major reasons of the Belfast citizens to visit the site was to accompany their foreign friends who had come to Belfast on an overseas trip, some of them felt ‘embarrassed’ for the lack of ‘The Titanic Authenticity’ by mentioning:

‘I went here for the first time in July 2015, I am from Belfast and took some foreign friends with me, sadly they were not impressed. Just level after level of pictures, no real memorabilia, I was actually embarrassed for them and myself being from the city, coupled with that was a £15 entrance fee, the staircase replica of the Titanic was nothing more than a cattle queue. Completely superficial, Tourist Kitsch! If the sinking of a Ship with the loss of 2000 lives is the best thing to happen to my city, we are in deep

trouble. [...] Tourist are being ripped off, a total white elephant that name of the Titanic is dragging people into that really falls below expectations' (L14, 2015/7, Rank:1).

Hence, whether the Titanic Belfast itself suits inside the Belfast community only time will tell. It is understood that a valuable cultural flagship will also identify an area and would become 'aspirational places' (Kent, 2009: xvi), but will it also be shown in the Titanic Quarter and be named by the location of the Titanic Belfast? Will it, as Hayes (2009) mentioned, to become an area to develop local cultural initiatives and activates? In this case, the Titanic Belfast flagship project sure does reflect the areas past histories and it played a successful catalyst to boost the declined area for investments and tourist incomes, which many scholars have argued (Evans, 2003; Grodach, 2008). However, there is still much unsure about the use of the Titanic culture in the whole programme and its suitability to Belfast, especially from the perspective of the locals for further examination.

4.3.5. Planning Process

As we skim through the criterion for the establishment of a cultural flagship, we also need to rethink many parts to understand and evaluate the appropriation of the whole project because the necessity of building a cultural flagship is also a huge debate for further discussion. Based on Grodach's (2008) theory, there are three important issues that should also show solicitude for the whole assessment: the necessity of the establishment in the area, the availability of suitable spaces and convenient traffic system, and the approach of strong sponsoring agencies towards financing.

First and foremost, the most important question of all—it is necessary to build a new cultural flagship in the area? According to Evans (2003), Grodach (2008) and many other scholars, even though the impacts and benefits are seductive, only a few cities have truly succeeded from building up a flagship project. Most of the reasons were because of the lack of considering appropriate planning and support from the locals. In the case of the

Titanic Belfast, the thought of establishing a cultural flagship was conducted and brought forward in 2005, and the media also reported the news with the headline of ‘The Titanic to come “home” to Belfast’ and noted: ‘A disused shipyard in Belfast could become a monument to the Titanic within the next six years’ (Arendt, 2005). Planned by the private developer the Titanic Quarter Ltd, they held huge expectations on the cultural flagship hoping it would not only become a part of Belfast’s shipyard redevelopment, but also as a memorial memento owing to fact that the Titanic was built here. To be honest, the plan of the Titanic Belfast is not just a catalyst project yet rather as a multifunctional pioneer in regenerating Belfast dockland’s ‘new’ economic, social, and cultural sectors. Included inside the Titanic Quarter development and the *Regional Development Strategy 2035*, from the reports it is obvious that both the government and the executive team have a complete scheme of how they are going to revitalise the brownfield in Queen’s Island which indeed the whole process (containing the Titanic Belfast itself) was under good consideration. According to the document from Gov.uk on the *Regeneration project: Titanic Quarter-Belfast’ (2015)*, the quarter has been planned as a ‘high-tech hub’ by attracting various companies including cultural industries and media sectors. Under this circumstance, the establishment of the Titanic Belfast becomes the ‘culture’ or ‘maritime heritage’ symbol for this area. In other words, this somehow confirms what Grodach (2010) had claimed: ‘the existence of compatible arts and commercial activity prior to flagship development’ is extremely important to plan a beneficial cultural flagship (p.21).

On the other hand, a bit displeased or inconspicuous was the supports from the locals. Owing to the fact that this area was a disused shipyard, not until the development of the Titanic Quarter started to build up various facilities, for example, science parks, education use buildings, multifunctional arena, and office buildings, did the people begin to move to the Queen’s Island. From the interview (see 4.3.1 Vision on p.97) of asking local residents about their feelings and thoughts about the Titanic Belfast and its influence on the rebirth of the Titanic Quarter, there seems to be a difference of opinion over the issue.

Secondly, as analysed in the period section, the location of the Titanic Belfast is a clever selection, yet there are still some reasons that offset its geographical value. For

sure, as we discussed in 4.3.4 about the location of the Titanic Quarter, the building itself is also located in the centre of the dockland with a meaningful maritime heritage past and situated in an easy and convenient transportation system area. Nevertheless, the connection with the commercial spaces in the surrounding area is rather a pity. Even though the planners have proclaimed that there are more than 18,000 people are working, living, and studying in the area (Shapiro, 2015), most of the residents will still go into town for their leisure life or live in the suburbs around Belfast's city centre due to the short distance. Another possible reason may link with the fact that this area is still under development. Generally speaking, the Queen's Island does not have much entertainment and livelihood constructions at the moment, which might cause the main reason of the inconvenience of living right now. This may be the weak point for the Titanic Belfast and its impact on attracting investors or cultural organisations to invest or work inside this quarter at the moment, yet maybe in a few more years, this weakness might turn into a fantastic selling point to draw in more people.

Last but not least, the supporting backup is also extremely important. Without a strong and powerful executive team and expert stakeholders to progress the whole through flagship project and with full support from the local government, it would be difficult to operate and to sustain the cultural flagship. The Titanic Belfast was under a very good cooperation chain inside a private public partnership in which it collaborated with a high level cross party political support between the Northern Ireland Executive, Belfast City Council, Belfast Harbour Commission, and Titanic Quarter Ltd. Moreover, the collaboration with the Titanic Foundation Ltd has strengthened the partnership influence in promoting Belfast and Northern Ireland's maritime heritages including the commercial operator in the Titanic Belfast and other programmes inside the Titanic Quarter. The chair of Titanic Foundation, Nicky Dunn, commented on Deloitte's report of their commission success as being a strong expert stakeholder of the Titanic Belfast and a key role in the regeneration of the Titanic Quarter:

'Titanic Foundation is keen to build on the report's achievements by continuing to work in partnership with public and private organisations to

promote, preserve and develop Belfast's Northern Ireland's maritime and industrial heritage which will only help to enhance the Titanic Belfast experience for everyone to enjoy' (cited in TitanicBelfast.com, 2015).

In short, from the decision-making perspective and overviewing the whole regenerating process, to be honest, the Titanic Belfast did achieve its goals and have huge support from the government and other expert stakeholders to sustain itself. It was a clever and a clear strategy to open a new future for the dockland regeneration and Belfast's maritime heritage as well. However, there seems to be a difference of opinion over the vision of the Titanic Belfast from the perspectives of the residents which this might become one of the major debates in the discussion of if the Titanic Belfast is a beneficial and sustainable cultural flagship or not.

4.3.6. Section Summary

Discussing the appropriation of the Titanic Belfast became an interesting issue to explore which it could examine in three dimensions. Firstly, owned and co-planned with Belfast's governmental sectors, the Titanic Belfast Ltd and the Titanic Foundation Ltd in fact planned quite well this flagship project. As evaluating the norm of the valuable and sustainable cultural flagship criterion (see Chapter 4.3), the Titanic Belfast achieved most of its targets and performed even better than what they could have thought. The emblazonments such as winning the World's Leading Tourist Attraction 2016 (World Travel Awards) reported by the Belfast Telegraph were also an affirmation of the success of establishing and operating the Titanic Belfast (Williamson, 2016).

Secondly, owing to the fact that the Titanic Belfast itself is not truly a 'museum' yet more like a 'visitor attraction' site, its vision of creating such gorgeous iconic amenity was obvious: giving you a marvelous Titanic Experience. In other words, it's not just about the 'RMS Titanic' itself, but including other pieces of the Titanic culture, maritime heritages, and the history of Belfast all combined together and turned into this incredible experience. That is to say, those visitors who admired this masterpiece will come to this

city and love the whole experience because they might not know the history of the Titanic, maritime and shipbuilding industries, and Belfast city. Moreover, with a strong support from both the government and a powerful executive team for better sustainability, the curators of the Titanic Belfast have brought out short, middle, and long-term projects for further planning. For example, they would hold some special exhibitions from time to time to attract various types of visitors to resolve the issue of the off-seasons and return visiting possibility.

Finally, the visitor's experiences and opinions are another evidence to investigate the appropriateness and benchmarks of the Titanic Belfast. Controversially, those comments that complained the most about this project were due to the misunderstanding of Titanic Belfast's welcoming commercial advertisement—a lot of them thought this flagship was a museum of the RMS Titanic. There were a number of visitors who came to the Titanic Belfast to understand the reason of the sinking and the aftermaths of the catastrophe; however, because of the ethics policy reason, the issues were somehow ignored and passed over. Moreover, it is correct that inside the Titanic Belfast, it is not possible to have a 'quieter' environment because the number of people visiting every hour is massive. By requiring the visitors to read so much information rather than learn through interactive activities and the expensive entrance cost resulted in dissatisfaction from the visitors. Also, as the author has been into the Titanic Belfast and participated in the experience before, it is interesting to understand the history of the Titanic and Belfast in the shipbuilding industry period; however, she agreed with some of the residents' and tourists' thoughts, there might not be a second visit planned.

Hence, seeking from the overall, it is quite contradictory to argue whether or not did the Titanic Belfast is fully successful. On the operational perspective, they truly achieved most of their objectives and the cultural flagship did accomplish its 'Guggenheim Effect' to Belfast to bring in economic benefits. Nevertheless, through the comments from the visitors, there are still many debates and different opinions. In fact, there was a discrepancy among the planners, the residents, and those who had held high expectations of the heritagisation process of 'Titanic'. As mentioned in the last few

paragraphs, there is a large number of people such as experts, descendants, interest groups, and also the public who are totally interested in the Titanic and its culture. From their perspective, they are even critical of what the planner in Belfast had plotted out about the Titanic in reality, for example, the form of how to promote the Titanic and the scheme of establishing the Titanic Belfast for gathering such 'Titanic Experience'. To sum up, all these results in the whole Titanic Belfast experience brings out a quite subjective outcome: it is rather black or white, you like it or you don't.



5. Conclusion

The city of Belfast has gone through many hard times and it is time for them to have a better quality of life with the help of all those various regeneration projects. From a cultural planning perspective, the ‘uniqueness’ that Belfast has experienced somehow endowed this city a very special mission. It’s not only the reason why tourists wanted to visit for sure, but was also a challenge for the urban planners to seriously consider many decisions—from the selection of which cultural heritage to represent, to which culture or heritage should be ‘heritagised’. Certainly, the planning process in Belfast will be even harder than in other cities because all of these issues need to be considered in this city’s complicated part of history and the contradiction between the two ideologies. However, under this situation, it also could be seen as a huge opportunity for understanding how to execute such cultural regeneration in the city that have religious and cultural conflicts and how to reimage the representation of a city with a cultural-led regeneration project.

In addition, generally speaking, not all of the flagship projects were built under the concept of a pure ‘cultural’ amenity and its evaluation of defining a suitable cultural flagship is also not clear enough. Most of them were established for the economic and tourism benefits, to which the discussion of social and cultural effects was not enough. Moreover, the decision in selecting ‘which culture as the topic to promote’ is also another interesting theme, yet not many scholars had explored the task of a ‘Heritagisation’ and its practice in cultural planning and urban regeneration. As a result, these factors were all important in exploring the case of the Titanic Belfast in Belfast this complicated city which, by this study, a unique framework has also been put forward for a more comprehensive viewing angle.

After all, looking at the wider map, the whole process of using the Titanic Belfast as a method or an element to regenerate East Belfast, especially the Titanic Quarter, is, without doubt, unavoidable yet still questionable of its success at the meantime. There are different opinions of the whole establishment. From the urban planner’s perspective, the project was pretty successful as Seaneen McGrady gave a brief concept of the whole

vision during her reply:

‘[The] Titanic Quarter is made up of a mix of residential, educational, entertainment and business developments for both communities and tourists. Importantly many of the developments/projects, including the Titanic Belfast, have great tourism potential and a positive impact to local communities. [The] Titanic Belfast is a flagship attraction of international standing for Belfast and NI, and together with the authentic assets ensures a ‘must see’ destination’.

Also, as pointed out in the previous chapters, the feedbacks from a part of the tourists and residents applauded the establishment of the Titanic Quarter regeneration and the Titanic Belfast. They claimed that these projects did enable them to benefit from it and bring a new vision to Belfast. Nevertheless, there is still much dispute, especially the disapproval of the Titanic Belfast, which the visitors contend that the vision of the cultural flagship is far more unpleasant and disagreeable. Some of the tourists were dissatisfied with the lack of authenticity inside the Titanic Belfast which they misunderstood the meaning of a Titanic experience. On the other hand, some of the residents rather see the Titanic Belfast as a commercial item that only pleases tourist and did not reflect the true representation of Belfast. Moreover, they also argue that to be proud of the Titanic culture seems to be a bit ridiculous.

Hence, an economic-led direction planning could be successful and the effectiveness might rate a very good performance in a short-term culture-led regeneration process; nevertheless, for a more sustainable operating planning, the supports from the locals cannot be excluded in the long-term process. It is confirmed and convinced that the Titanic Belfast could bring more benefits, possibilities, and hopes for Belfast. It may need a few more years for the residents to be proud of the Titanic culture and the Titanic Belfast, yet the residents should be proud of all these brand -new developments and urban regeneration planning because it has obviously been seen in the transformation of Belfast during these decades. As for what the planners had wished in the very beginning of the

whole new regenerating ‘vision’, on a certain level, they have achieved their goals. They hoped the citizens of Belfast to be proud of their past history; moreover, to find glory in this city again through the relaunch of this massive Titanic ship when it is back to its birthplace. However, the troublesome question is still on the table which the author herself somehow agreed with the miserable feelings of the heritagisation of Titanic culture for Belfast’s culture-led regeneration—it is somehow a bit ‘weird yet understandable’. Therefore, ‘how long’ will it need the citizens to believe that the Titanic culture is one of the representations of a ‘Brand New Belfast’, or, to be precise, to believe it is ‘proud’ and ‘to feel confident’ as being a citizen of Belfast? Can such commercialised culture become a new reprehensive identity for the locals? These questions may be interesting for further exploration.

5.1. Theory Contribution

The main concept and framework of this study is to probe the relationship between a cultural flagship and a culture-led regeneration that the issue of culture inside the case of Belfast will need to discuss a ‘heritagisation’ process as well. In other words, the fulfillment in Belfast by using the Titanic heritage as their local cultural element for cultural activities (e.g. The Titanic Belfast) has been seen through the finding results that it somehow did accomplish the targets in culture-led regeneration theories, yet there are other factors that need to measure up. In fact, in chapter two the author has already modified parts of the theories into the framework that would be possible to justify and test the case study of this research (See Figure 5.1 on p.134). Reasons and results will be declared in the following paragraphs. The limitations and suggestions for future study of the framework will be stated in Chapter 5.3 and Chapter 5.4.

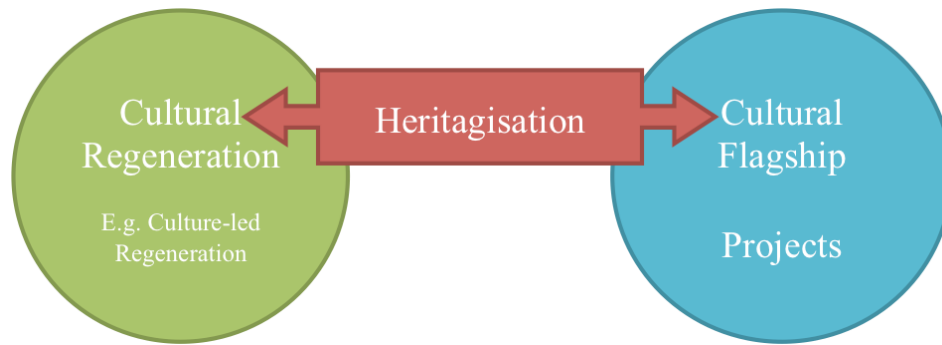


Figure 5.1 The theory framework for this research

A. A Culture-led Regeneration and a Cultural Regeneration in Belfast

Theories of cultural regeneration and culture-led regeneration have both been testified by many scholars through various case studies in different perspectives during decades (Biannichi et al., 1993). Moreover, its practice on establishing flagship projects have also been discussed through several studies (Evans et al, 2003). The issue of economic benefits of both methods has been argued and seen through scholars such as Keating and De Frantz (2003), Vickery (2007), and many more. Its advantages on engaging local cultures to demonstrate the uniqueness of the place and to transform the image of the place have also been explored by Gracia (2004), Lin and Hsing (2008), Miles (2005), and Miles and Paddison (2005). In contrast, the risks of diluting local meanings and its cultural values without consummate planning are another important argument that has been identified by Carey and Sutton et al (2004). In addition, a more social sphere of the use of a culture-led regeneration is one of the main focus points in this research, which this method could reinforce local identities, combat stigmatisation, improve social and community cohesion with cultural activities if well-planned (Binns, 2005; Carnegie & Norris, 2015; Jones & Wilks-Heeg, 2004).

Therefore, after probing through scholars' theories, practical interviews, and travel-related comments from indicative websites, the whole regeneration project of using the Titanic Belfast as a method to revitalise Belfast could be seen as 'culture-led regeneration' which the authorities and scholars also agreed with this notion (Alexander, 2014; Neill et al., 2014). By creating a 'Titanic experience' to the visitors and bring a brand new 'image'

of this post-conflict city, they believe this effect could be executed in Belfast. In other words, the planners have seen the multiplier benefits of a cultural flagship could bring to a city for its economic potential and the possibility of re-imaging a city.

However, the cultural planning in Belfast was rather a multidimensional project after the examining which could be achieved in both short and long-term regenerating targets—it could be seen as a ‘culture-led regeneration’ in a short-term process and be seen as a ‘cultural regeneration’ in a long-term process with the analysis of the whole Titanic Quarter regeneration development. To be more precise, from the short-term regeneration perspective, the Titanic Belfast could be seen as a catalyst to boost the tourism economy by attracting both overseas tourists and local residents; moreover, re-imaged the city with something different than the complicated past (Evans, 2005; Mooney, 2004; Smith, 2006, 2009). This has confirmed by probing through the visitor comments of their feedbacks. Surprisingly, there were a number of visitors who came to Belfast specially to see this Titanic Belfast in person and some of them also agreed that this flagship project gave Belfast something new and interesting. In addition, as including the development of the Titanic Quarter area together with the Titanic Belfast, the whole project would be a fairly long-term plan of ‘cultural regeneration’ to the dockland. Hence, the demarcation line between a cultural regeneration and a culture-led regeneration in the case of Belfast might be a bit vague, yet to discuss the influence of the Titanic Belfast is rather the focus point of this research. As a result, both theories are indeed an interesting perspective and also necessary as an instrument to explore through this case study, but by using a culture-led regeneration as the major context to explore would be a bit more suitable for this study.

B. The Heritagisation of the Titanic Culture

Due to the case study of Belfast, which has quite a unique historical and cultural contradiction, a ‘heritagisation’ process must be included in this framework for further examination. The reason is that this process will be the ‘bridge’ of connecting both a culture-led regeneration and establishing a cultural flagship together (See Figure 5.1 on p.134), especially in the case of Belfast as relaunching a heritage (e.g. The Titanic) that

has not been talked since decades. That is to say, heritage itself in the process of heritagisation could be seen as an ‘element’, ‘instrument’, or ‘object’ to implement inside any cultural regeneration type. This heritagisation process is contained with a selection, transformation, and function to achieve certain social goods (Bendix 2009; Harrison, 2013; Margry, 2011; Poria, 2010; Roigé & Figolé, 2010; Sánchez-Carretero, 2015). Furthermore, as Bendix (2009), Di Méo (2008), Gillot et al. (2013), and Harrsion (2013) claimed, the process could be understood as a cultural production, which embodies the transformation of functional ‘things’ to objects of displays, exhibition, and elements of urban design and cultural tourism developments.

The original notion of a ‘heritagisation’ process, which Walsh brought out in 1992 and agreed with Sánchez-Carretero (2015) and Smith (2009) as thinking it is a pejorative way of a historical aestheticisation, was a bit different than other recent scholars such as Ashley (2014), Bains (2013), Di Méo (2008), Gillot et al (2013), Harrsion (2013), Margry (2011), Poria (2010), Roigé & Figolé (2010), and Sánchez-Carretero (2015) have proclaimed. The theories of the heritagisation process rather focus on the social goods that it could be used in various fields, yet it was not quite constructed for being as a good testifying framework for further discussing. Thus, the author arranged and classified those scholars’ arguments with Hall and Arthur’s (1999) clarification of the four values of heritages which this study adopted it into four main dimensions: (1) The economic value and impacts of a heritagisation (Ashley, 2014; Binns, 2005; Di Méo, 2008; Gillot et al, 2013; Harrison, 2013). (2) The social value and impacts of a heritagisation (Ashley, 2014; Carnegie & Norris, 2015; Di Méo, 2008). (3) The political value and impacts of a heritagisation (Ashley, 2014; Di Méo, 2008; Gillot et al, 2013; Littler, 2005; Park, 2014). And (4) the cultural value and impacts of a heritagisation (Davallon, 2014; Di Méo, 2008).

As a result, by using the Titanic culture in a more exhaustive direction to probe the case of Belfast, it also enhances a brief understanding of both the use of a heritagisation in practice and its implementation. Firstly, it clearly examines the benefits and risks of implementing the Titanic culture in its planning in both tourism and other urban regeneration use, especially the establishment of the Titanic Belfast and the Titanic

Quarter. Secondly, it also explores the feedbacks from the local residents of their sense of the whole process in which the results were quite diverse. And finally, the issue of politics is about the use of heritagisation which it may somehow bring ‘expedient remembrance’ (Binns, 2013) and as a tool to consolidate the area (Littler, 2005) in the east part of Belfast. Moreover, this method could also probe the fulfilling nature of the heritagisation process as being a ‘culture’ element’ for cultural regeneration types use, a ‘bridge’ for linking culture-led regeneration and a cultural flagship, and the topic of culture for a cultural flagship as well.

Certainly, the framework of using the heritagisation by examining the use of the Titanic culture has brought out some interesting results. However, this framework still has some defects that only contained theories with which the heritagisation process links. It could be even complete and compact to add different perspectives for further study.

C. The Applicability of the Titanic Belfast

Establishing a cultural flagship to regenerate an area or a city is still an irresistible cocktail, as Evans (2003) has mentioned before. Considered as what Bianchini (1995) has mentioned: a ‘powerful physical symbols of urban renaissance’ (p.16), these iconic flagships or buildings planned for ‘cultural amenities’ were hoping to achieve certain advantages. Agreed by Evans, Grodach (2008, 2010), Hayes (2009), and Smith (2007), these flagships have played a considerable role which it could reimagine the city and attract investors and tourists. Grodach, Smith (2009), and Sternberg (2002) also agreed that it could boost localised commercial activities and sustain environmental areas. Moreover, with combining local culture elements, Bowen-Jones and Entwistle (2002) believed that the impact of those cultural flagship projects would be impressive to engage local participation and enhance its identity. On the other hand, even though the assets by establishing a cultural flagship are difficult to resist, not to mention its huge establishing cost and operating fee, the disadvantages are still a huge issue. As Evans, Grodach and Jones (2000 cited in Smith, 2009) have argued, the flagship project might cause series copy, homogenisations, and become ‘tokenistic’ to the residents due to the disconnection

of local cultures. Therefore, considerable long-term planning is absolutely necessary (Smith, 2009), but how to evaluate the above achievement rate to understand the appropriation of its establishment and the harmonization with the main targets of a culture-led regeneration process?

Hayes (2009) worked up a cultural flagship evaluating criterion with four main themes, including 'Vision', 'Design', 'Visitor-Attractiveness', and 'Location and Community Fit'. She testified through the Eden Project in Cornwall and the Millennium Dome in Greenwich as evaluating whether the flagship is necessarily planned and operated or not. However, the criterion was not comprehensive enough that she did not list out the questions of how to evaluate and did not consider with an urban regeneration process. That is why by adding Grodach's (2010) theory to rethink the whole flagship again from a wider perspective would be more suitable, especially for examining the relationship among the Titanic Belfast, the heritagisation of the Titanic culture, and Belfast's culture-led regeneration process.

5.2. Pragmatic Contribution

It is understandable that most of the urban planners in Belfast strongly supported and hold huge expectation on establishing the Titanic Belfast. Exploring from the planning process, the private-public partnership process among the government sector, including NITB and Belfast city council, Titanic Foundation Ltd, and Titanic Quarter Ltd were all looking forward to the assets that this flagship project could bring to Belfast, for example, drawing in tourists and investors to increase the region's economic development. To achieve these aims, the planners of this project had implemented Belfast's original culture 'the Titanic' as the major theme of their culture-led regeneration by a 'heritagisation' process. With high hopes, they wish this culture and the Titanic Belfast could re-image this city from the cold bloody conflict ages and bring the pride and glory of the shipbuilding heydays back to Belfast again. To be honest, the whole project was surprisingly well-planned; however, there are still some parts that could level up the influence and the expectations for sustainability. Therefore, from a pragmatic point of

view, there are two main issues for further planning suggestions: special discounts only for the citizens of Belfast and the provision of live interaction experiences inside the exhibition.

A. Special Discounts Only for the Citizens of Belfast

Expensive entrance fees were one of the most obvious arguments during the research of the Titanic Belfast. Not only did the visitors feel that the entrance price was too high for them but so did the residents of Belfast, which reduced the number of visitors. It is understood that these cultural flagship projects need to operate with a huge cost. However, looking at the long-term process and considering sustainability, the support from the locals is one of the most important elements that need to be seriously taken into account, especially when this masterpiece has been expected to transform and re-image the city. Therefore, the suggestions were seeking for a balance between the adequate incomes from the tourists and giving a bit of some discount on special dates or under some circumstances to the citizens of Belfast. Frankly speaking, most of the citizens in Belfast might have not been inside the Titanic Belfast before due to all sorts of reasons. Nevertheless, reducing the fee may become an immediate incentive to draw in more residents and also to enhance the revisited numbers from those who had visited before.

B. Consider to Provide Live Interaction Experiences Inside the Exhibition

The second largest negative comments from those who had visited the Titanic Belfast were the need to introduce interactive displays. Some of the feedbacks were suggesting that the whole experience had too much 'reading' for them and they would prefer more 'interaction' during their tour inside the Titanic Belfast. Even though the curators paid attention and were involved with many interactive technology elements to create such 'edutainment' atmosphere inside the Titanic Belfast exhibition, it would be even greater to immerse inside the maritime past days with 'Live interactions' relative to the Titanic culture, for example, to cooperate with local artists to plan some shows and theme play dressing up by some of the staff members. This cooperation could also enhance the relationship between the Titanic Belfast itself and with the local art organisation; furthermore, increase job offers to attract those who are interested in

working inside this flagship project. Thus, the Titanic Belfast not only could become a platform for the local artists to perform their talent, but also could become a fantastic topic for further creative works.

5.3. Limitation

The limitation of this research is based on the following factors: Firstly, due to the fact that the methodology of this research is adopting a case study method, it would not be possible to generalise the results in other cases. The research may become a suggestion to the case study, but it may not be suitable for other examples. In other words, it is also the drawbacks of using this method.

Secondly, even though the author has a strong connection with the case study city, there were still some difficulties during the data collecting expedition in the summer of 2015. One of the major problems was the forbidding of a direct academic researching inside the Titanic Quarter. The Market Manager (M3) gave a notification of the restriction for any interviewing in the whole area, which this restriction was also executed by themselves as well. Other issues included the lack of time and budget for a longer term on site researching; therefore, the importance of multidimensional secondary documents was the remedies for strengthening a stronger evidence and argument of this study. The above methods have all been analysed through the data collection triangulation to enhance the validity and reliability of this research.

Last but not least, the major theories of this study are still very young which the frameworks will need to be explored, modified, and tested in the future. One is based on a reconstructed concept of a 'heritagisation' process from several scholars led by Ashley (2014), Bendix (2009), Di Méo (2008), Gillot et al. (2013), Harrison (2013), Margry (2011), Poria (2010), Roigé and Figolé (2010), and Sánchez-Carretero (2015). The other framework is the evaluative criterion, which collaborated both Grodach (2010) and Hayes's (2009) theories, to verify the sustainability or beneficial of a cultural flagship. Even though the two frameworks are somehow suitable for this study, the framework

itself needs more pragmatic examples to substantiate the theories—it might be questionable for the unconsolidated structure. For example, the issue of the justification of a ‘cultural flagship’ and the negative values of a ‘heritagisation’ may become a point for debate. Hence, due to the above reasons, there are still some limitations in this thesis which it may become an interesting topic for further future research.

5.4. An Advice for Further Studies

This research aims to discover the relationship and the appropriation of the heritagisation of the Titanic culture and its practice in Belfast’s urban regeneration: the establishment of the Titanic Belfast. Inside a post-conflict city, how would they stand up and regenerate their city by culture? How do they resolve the tricky ideological issue between the two identities in Belfast? These factors are what this study is willing to present and discuss about. Moreover, Belfast is a booming city, it is changing all the time and its goal of the whole cultural regeneration has not been completely achieved yet. Therefore, it would be interesting for a tracing study of the following developments, regeneration process, and the thoughts of the residents of this transforming city with different angles such as a deeper interviewing or by quantitative research for a boarder examining. On the other hand, the theories that have been selected for this research still have some defects that need further exploration. There are still many details and dimensions for further in-depth studies in the two frameworks. Therefore, to increase the availability and feasibility of these two frameworks, it would be great if it is possible to test these two frameworks with other cases to elevate its credibility and strengthen the sturdy of the framework. To sum up, there are still many key issues related to this thesis that is worth studying in the future.

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Appendixes

I. Interactive Travel Forums with Reviews Ranking List_Titanic Belfast

- From 31 April 2012 to 30 October 2015
- Source: TripAdvisor_Titanic Belfast
- Total amount of the selecting comments: 170 comments
- 134 comments from tourist
- 36 comments from the locals including a planner of the visiting site

Number	Ranking	Date
Local 1	5	2016/2
D1	5	2015/11
D2	5	2014/9
D3	5	2016/9
D4	4	2016/10
D5	5	2016/10
D6	5	2016/10
Local 2	2	2015/11
D7	5	2016/9
D8	5	2016/9
D9	5	2016/9
D10	4	2016/8
D11	4	2016/8
D12	3	2016/9
Local 3	5	2016/9
D13	5	2016/9
D14	5	2016/9
D15	5	2016/8
D16	5	2016/8
D17	5	2015/9
D18	5	2016/3
Local 4	5	2016/8
D19	5	2016/8
D20	4	2016/8
D21	3	2016/8
Local 5	5	2016/6

D22	5	2016/6
D23	5	2016/7
Local 6	5	2016/4
D24	3	2016/7
Local 7	5	2015/7
D25	4	2015/7
Local 8	5	2016/4
D26	4	2016/4
D27	4	2016/5
D28	5	2016/5
D29	5	2016/2
D30	4	2016/4
D31	5	2014/8
D32	2	2012/10
Local 9	5	2012/5
D33	5	2016/9
D34	3	2016/7
D35	4	2016/3
Local 10	4	2016/2
Local 11	4	2015/3
D36	5	2015/8
D37	5	2016/4
D38	5	2016/10
D39	5	2016/10
D40	5	2016/09
D41	2	2016/10
D42	5	2016/10
D43	4	2016/10
D44	4	2016/10
D45	4	2016/10
D46	5	2016/10
D47	5	2016/10
D48	1	2016/10
D49	4	2016/9
D50	5	2016/10
D51	5	2016/10
Local 12	5	2016/10

D52	4	2016/9
D53	3	2016/9
D54	3	2016/9
D55	5	2016/9
D56	5	2016/10
D57	5	2016/9
D58	5	2016/10
Local 13	5	2016/10
D59	5	2016/8
D60	4	2016/8
D61	4	2016/10
D62	2	2016/10
D63	5	2016/9
D64	5	2016/10
D65	1	2016/8
D66	1	2016/8
D67	1	2016/8
D68	1	2016/8
D69	1	2016/1
D70	1	2015/11
D71	1	2015/10
D72	1	2015/4
D73	1	2015/8
D74	1	2015/8
Local 14	1	2015/7
Local 15	1	2015/8
D75	1	2015/6
D76	1	2015/5
D77	1	2015/4
D78	1	2015/4
Local 16	1	2015/3
Local 17	1	2015/2
Local 18	1	2015/2
D79	1	2014/12
D80	1	2014/9
D81	1	2014/9
D82	1	2014/7

Local 19	1	2014/6
D83	1	2013/8
D84	1	2013/9
D85	1	2013/8
D86	1	2013/8
Local 20	1	2013/8
Local 21	1	2013/8
Local 22	1	2013/4
D87	1	2013/8
D88	1	2012/8
Local 23	1	2013/7
D89	1	2013/7
D90	1	2013/3
Local 24	1	2013/3
D91	1	2012/10
Local 25	1	2012/12
D92	1	2012/10
D93	1	2012/10
D94	1	2012/9
D95	1	2012/8
D96	1	2012/5
D97	1	2012/6
D98	1	2012/6
D99	1	2012/4
D100	3	2016/1
D101	3	2015/9
Local 26	3	2015/8
D102	3	2015/7
Local 27	3	2015/12
D103	3	2016/10
D104	3	2016/8
D105	3	2016/10
D106	3	2016/9
D107	3	2016/9
D108	3	2016/10
D109	3	2016/9
D110	3	2016/9

D111	3	2016/7
D112	3	2016/9
D113	3	2016/8
D114	3	2016/8
D115	3	2016/8
Local 28	3	2015/9
L 36 Planner 1	3	2015/9
D116	3	2016/8
D117	3	2016/8
D118	3	2016/7
D119	3	2016/7
Local 29	3	2016/7
D120	2	2016/7
Local 30	2	2014/8
D121	2	2016/10
Local 31	2	2016/10
D122	2	2015/11
Local 32	2	2016/8
D123	2	2016/8
Local 33	1	2016/8
D124	2	2015/11
D125	2	2016/3
Local 34	1	2015/12
D126	3	2015/9
D127	3	2014/11
D128	3	2014/8
D129	3	2013/9
D130	3	2013/8
D131	2	2013/8
D132	3	2013/3
D133	3	2012/7
D134	3	2012/7
Local 35	2	2012/4

II. Notification of the restriction for any interviewing in the TQ

Sarah Hamilton-Cardy <sarahhamiltonca 2015/8/7 ☆
寄給我 ▾

英文 ▾ > 中文 ▾ 翻譯郵件 關閉下列語言的翻譯功能：英文 ×

Hi Yu Liang,

Please find attached the questionnaire. Due to this being our busiest periods this is the best we can offer at this time. We normally cannot facilitate **interviews** for school or university projects.

I hope this helps. All the best with your dissertation.

Many thanks,

Sarah

From: 梁郁 [mailto:rakui1827@gmail.com]
Sent: 06 August 2015 14:35
To: Sarah Hamilton-Cardy
Subject: **Interviewing** Questions of Research, a case study of **Titanic Belfast**.

