

CHAPTER 4

URBAN REGENERATION: CITY OF MANCHESTER

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of urban regeneration in the city of Manchester and focuses on specific regeneration projects. Case studies such as Castlefield's Urban Heritage Park, Salford Quays, Manchester City Centre, and Hulme's City Challenge are discussed and compared to determine if the projects have met their urban regeneration objectives. The intent of the chapter is to identify key findings, to highlight areas for improvement and to offer lessons for future regeneration initiatives.

MANCHESTER: CITY PROFILE

Manchester originated as a Roman city but is renowned for being the first industrial city in the world. Technological advancements and lucrative trade in cotton enabled Manchester to become a major provincial centre in the 1800's. The influx of immigrants in search of work resulted in high concentrations of inhabitants in the inner city. By 1914, 80, 000 of the 180,000 dwellings in the city or just under half were officially defined as 'slum properties' (Williams, 1996).

Post-Industrial Shift. Industrial change in the last century has accentuated the instability in the labour market and shifted the pattern of working and living in the city. The transition from an industrial town to a city functioning in a post-industrial society has brought many challenges with it. The city must adjust to the

influences of the global economy, as well as to address the needs of the local people. Inner city decline is apparent with brownfield sites and derelict land from industries that have moved or closed down. Social polarisation has increased due to the inability of certain groups to adapt quickly enough to changes in the labour market. Urban regeneration principles have been applied to address the many challenges facing Manchester.

Greater Manchester Region. Greater Manchester, located in Northwest England, is made up of ten districts¹. The Northwest region encompasses the north midlands to the Scottish Border with 2.5 million households. There are 11 million people within commuting distance to Manchester. The average weekly earnings in 1999 were £420 for males and £278.4 for females and the unemployment rate was 4.2 (Manchester City Council, 2000a).

Each district in Manchester has a strategic plan, with a total of ten plans. Manchester is a unicity with City Council as the planning authority at all levels since the abolishment of the County Councils. The labour government introduced "regional development agencies" in 1998. Since then there has been a strong economic strategy but no political structure in place. Regional planning guidance teams have been set up to coordinate the interests of the regions, which have been fragmented in the past (Williams, 2000).

Creating a Centre: Management of Growth. Manchester's city centre redevelopment has involved a complex array of development opportunities and realised investment potential. It is essentially a product of an exploding North Western economy and a pro-development mentality in Manchester proper. Compounding this scenario is the fact that public and private partnerships, ranging in commitments and scope, have been forged to enable many of the projects to move forward.

Manchester leads in a variety of economic indicators, including total development potential (second only to London), development investment per capita of £3,734 (highest in England) and strong growth in the office market

¹ Wigan, Bolton, Bury, Rochdale, Oldham, Tameside, Stockport, Trafford, Salford and Manchester

(9%). In comparison to steady (0.1%) annual declines in construction throughout most of the 1990s, the Construction Products Association has forecasted a 2% per annual growth in construction activity for the next 10 years. This additional expenditure will total £71.6 billion by the year 2010 and position Manchester to become a model of extraverted capitalised potential (Manchester City Council, 2000a).

From a regional perspective, Manchester's progress is reflected in its attempts to articulate the city's standing in the North Western context. Manchester saw increasing investment by the Central Manchester Development Corporation (CMDC) in land reclamation, office, housing and infrastructure in the central area (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Regional Comparisons

FINAL OUTPUT FIGURES	LEEDS		CENTRAL MANCHESTER	
Land Reclaimed (ha)	68	[106]	35	[31]
Roads and highways (km)	11.6	[3.4]	2.1	[NA]
Non-housing floor space	374	[336]	139	[194]
Housing Units	571	[990]	2583	[471]
Gross new Jobs in projects	9066	[9490]	4944	[5900]
Private Sector investment (£m)	357	[233]	303	[188]
Total Expenditure (£m)	71		101	
Total Area (ha)	542		187	
Derelict and un/under-used land at designation (ha)	101		47	

Source: DETR, 1998b.

The role of the CMDC was to encourage the overall growth of economic activity potential in the central city through direct investment. A

total of £101 million was allocated for this initiative during the period, which was a direct incentive for residents, offices and services to return to the long-abandoned core. Figure 4.1 is a map of Manchester's city centre.

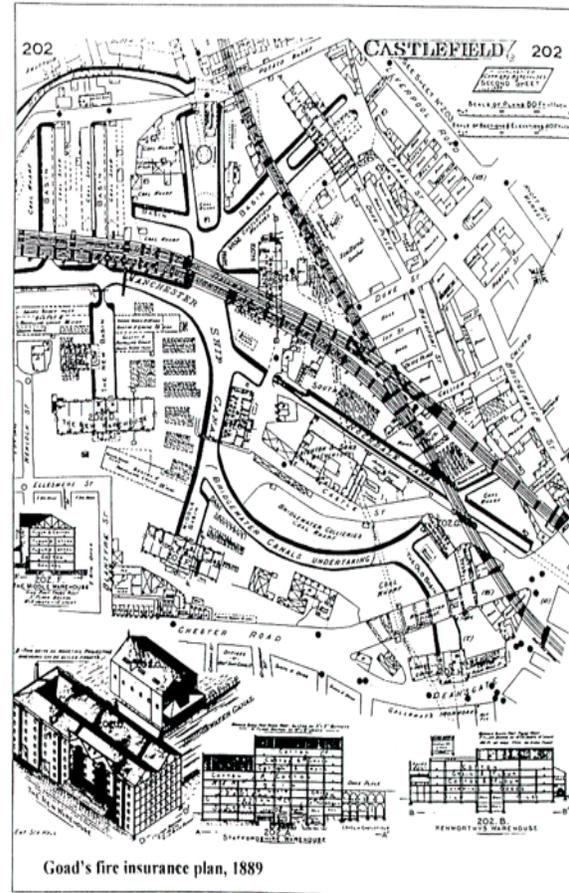


Figure 4.1 Map of City Centre
Source: Manchester City Council, 2000, p 135

Such examples of the strides taken to encourage the renewal of life in central Manchester were the development of Castlefield, a mixed-use node and the Bridgewater complex, an office complex with the incorporation of a major concert hall. (DETR, 1998a, p. 3).

CASTLEFIELD

Background. Castlefield, located southwest of the city centre, was once the site of the Roman fort Mamucium, which was first built in 79 AD. The name 'Castle-in-the-field' is over four hundred years old and refers to the stone walls

remaining of the Roman fort built on a red sandstone crag within the loop of the river Medlock and the river Irwell.

During the post-Roman era Castlefield was an area of agricultural and pasture land. In 1765, the terminus of the Bridgewater Canal was built to bring coal from Duke of Bridgewater's mines in Worsley. In 1776, the canal was extended to Runcorn and the Mersey estuary expanding the shipment of goods to cotton, timber, chemical, salt and grain. One of the first industrial complexes in the country was located here in 1794. Industry in Castlefield included flour dealers, vitriol manufacturers, dyers, cotton manufacturers, salt and corn warehouses, a log mill and coal wharf.

Due to its geographical features and central location, Castlefield also became the centre for road and cross-carrier transport for the city. In 1830 the Liverpool and Manchester Railway opened on Liverpool road. The station was the first purpose-built passenger station in the world and the site was used as a goods depot until 1975.

Decline of the 1950's and 1960's. During the 1950's and 1960's there was a steady decline in rail and canal transport due to changes in industry. As a result, Castlefield experienced economic decline. The Liverpool road station closed in 1975. In 1978, the Greater Manchester Council purchased the station for £1 to establish the Manchester Museum of Science and Industry. In 1979, Castlefield was designated a Conservation Area by the City Council.

The Urban Heritage Park. A partnership between the Central Manchester Development Corporation, Manchester City Council and others was established to undertake a regeneration programme for Castlefield. After the acquisition of land issue was resolved a partnership commenced in 1988 and reached completion in 1996. The European Regional Development Fund, government urban aid, English Heritage, the Millennium Fund and private investment funded a regeneration expenditure totalling £80 million to reclaim the derelict brownfield site. The area has been designated Britain's first Urban Heritage Park (Brumhead *et*

al.,1995).

The Regeneration Programme. The following sections review the results of key regeneration projects completed through partnership, specifically housing and leisure development.

Redevelopment of the Middle Warehouse (Castle Quay)

Castle Quay was originally built in 1831 and owned by the Bridgewater Department of the Manchester Ship Canal Company. The warehouse was used to store maize until the 1970s. The Manchester Ship Canal Company has restored the warehouse at a cost of £6 million with £1 million allocations from grant aid. The restored warehouse is now a mixed-use development consisting of 44 apartments, offices and retail units. The project also serves as an example of adaptive reuse of building elements. The six loading platforms have been converted to balconies. The building itself is an excellent example of sensitive restoration.

Figure 4.2 Jackson's Wharf



Source: Rendek, 2001

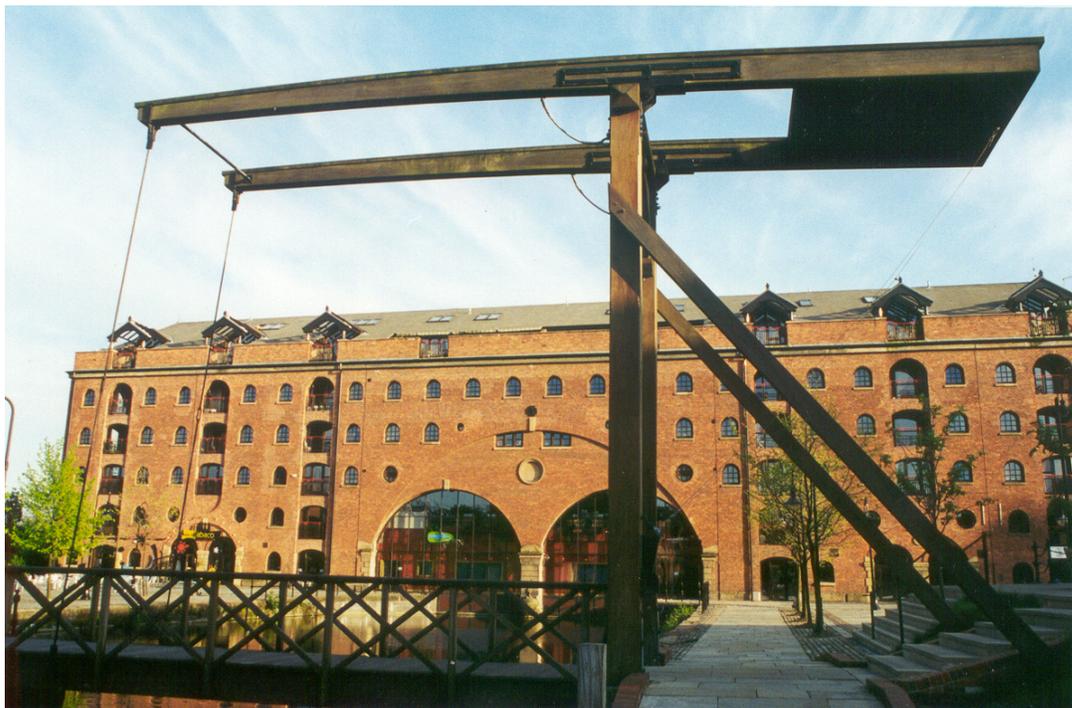
Slate Wharf

Slate Wharf is a housing development built on the site of the New or Jackson Warehouse and consists of 95 apartments. Directly adjacent is the newly constructed public house known as Jackson's Wharf. Although this a new building, it is designed to reflect the style of the surrounding warehouses (Figure 4.2).

Merchants' Warehouse

Merchants' Warehouse is the oldest surviving warehouse in Castlefield. It was completed in 1827-8 of hand-made bricks and timber. The

Figure 4.3 Merchants' Warehouse:
Source: Rendek, 2001



warehouse has survived fire and bomb damage during the war. In 1995-6, £4 million of grant aid provided by English Heritage, the European Regional Development Fund and private investors enabled the conversion of the warehouse into studio offices. Much of the interior structure has been retained including the loading bays, cat heads and large shipping holes. Modern glass towers have been added to each end containing stairs to meet modern fire safety standards. Figure 4.3 presents images of Merchants' Warehouse.

Merchants Bridge

Merchants Bridge was built in 1995 at a cost of £450,000. The Central Manchester Development Corporation hosted a design competition to build the bridge in order to complete the pedestrian linkages around the canal basin and add a modern element to the area (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4 Merchants' Bridge



Source: Rendek, 2001

Tourist attractions

The Roman Fort and railway viaducts are heritage features integral to tourism development. Parts of the west wall of the Roman fort and two defence ditches have been reconstructed at the end of Duke Street. Four lines of the railway viaducts, examples of Victorian engineering wrought ironwork, signify the railway heritage of the area and include:

- Manchester, South Junction and Altrincham Railway, 1849, now the Metrolink line;
- Former line into Central Station, 1877;
- Former line into the Great Northern Railway Company's goods warehouse alongside Deansgate, 1898; and,
- South Junction connecting to Liverpool Road Station at the river Irwell.

Figure 4.6 depict the impressive Victorian wrought ironwork and railway linkages traversing through Castlefield. Other projects focusing on tourist and leisure development include:

- Development of canal boat moorings and servicing areas;
- Central interpretation and information centre; and,
- Expansion of the Museum of Science and Industry (Williams, 1996).

An additional feature is the design of the Rochdale Canal Trail (Figure 4.5). The Rochdale Canal was completed originally in 1805 to connect to the Bridgewater Canal enabling the canal carriers to expand. Today the canal acts as a trail connecting the various features of the Heritage Park together. A tourist can experience Castlefield on foot walking along the linear pathways throughout the Canal basin. The canal boat moorings and servicing areas provide a convenient way to travel to the outdoor area.

Summary

In Castlefield, existing features of the built environment have been retained and significant grant funding has been provided for canal improvements and land reclamation. Castlefield is an example of a successful public-private partnership. The outcomes are significant: the reclamation of a brownfield site,

preservation of an historical resource, adaptive reuse providing a mix of uses and the utilisation of open space by the larger community. Presently Castlefield Management Company is responsible for area management including environmental maintenance, providing information and educational services to visitors, liaising with residents, running the outdoor events and providing a ranger service.

Table 4.2 Funding and Expenditure Castlefield

DEVELOPMENT	CMDC GRANTS ('000) £	TOTAL INVEST. ('000) £	NEW BUILD/REFURBISHMENT
Housing			
Castle Quay	1,715	6,341	Refurbished 44 units
Slate Wharf		5,000	New build 95 units
Offices			
Merchants Warehouse	655	4,086	Floor area 2,787 sq. metres refurbishment
Deansgate Station		1,000	Floor space 279 sq. metres new build
Environment			
Canal Improvements	4,768	4,810	
Social			
Castlefield Centre	405	405	New build
Castlefield Hotel	403	4,997	New build
Cervantes Institute		1,070	Refurbishment
YHA Hostel	781	327	New build
Community Facilities	382	1,117	

Source: Williams, 1996

The following table summarizes the funding and expenditure breakdown between public and private partners in Castlefield.

Figure 4.5 Rochdale Canal.

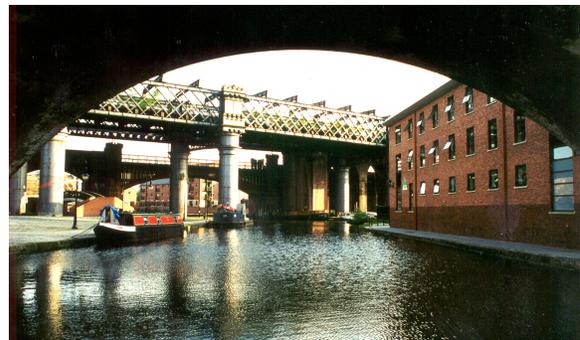


Figure 4.6 Victorian Ironwork

Source: Rendek, 2001

SALFORD: HANDING OVER THE QUAYS

Lowry Gallery

The development of Manchester's City Centre has involved strategies to promote growth in private sector development. Perhaps no better example of private/public infusion in the Manchester context is Salford Quays.

This area is an attempt by central government and private investors to restore Salford as a centrepiece within the 'New Manchester'. Originally the epicentre of port and industrial trade activity, Salford has had a rich heritage of importance, composed of spaces intended for functionality, rather than fashion (The Economist, 2000). The transformation from the deteriorated and obsolete Salford of the mid-'80's to the current thriving hub of cultural mindedness could not have come to fruition were it not for the US\$750 million in total

investment which has occurred in large as a result of various governmental fundraising efforts. Some £30 million has been invested publicly in utilities and reclamation and matched with approximately £400 million of private monies (Williams, 2000). The central government has contributed funds to redevelop the docks, rejuvenate the existing canals as well as to construct the Salford landmark of the Lowry Gallery, a US\$250 million, multi-functional leisure and cultural facility (Globe and Mail, 2000).

The anchoring of Manchester by Salford Quays is no coincidence as the efforts in the years following the bombing damage to the city centre have been to emphasise new waves of mixed use housing developments, bolster the importance of transit as well as rely increasingly on public funds to complete large-scale projects (Economist, 2000). Notwithstanding the plethora of public investment opportunity, private monies have been levied by providing tax incentives through a 10-year exemption and 100% capital allowances for commercial and industrial buildings. Salford is the product of private/public partnership, spearheaded by the central government to create the necessary conditions that would ensure the desired end result. Funding from private sources is a large contributor to the realization of many of these projects.

Although the idea of Salford is to extend urban regeneration efforts to outlying areas of the city, criticism as to its detached nature to vital areas within the city boundaries has become an issue. However, efforts to extend public transit (ie: Metrolink) to the Quays development via a direct spur line have initiated an ever-growing movement and an encompassing strategy of integration. With the infrastructure in place, the successes of new servicing and developments (canals, Old Trafford, Lowry) seem all the more possible.

A perpetual cycle of continued investment has assembled in the aftermath of the Lowry's construction. Preceding this, the bold efforts taken to initiate development of the industrial heartland of the Northwest suddenly poised the area as an attractive investment prospect. Floods of money have followed. The flagship development was the addition of a £70 million leisure complex and £28 million Imperial War

Museum of the North to be showcased in the repertoire of the rejuvenated Salford Quays (Globe and Mail, 2000).

Lowry Gallery: Successful Succession

The Lowry Gallery has proven to be the ideal addition to the redeveloped Salford Quays. It is the pinnacle of the efforts to achieve a well-rounded complex of buildings and associated uses. Uniquely Lowry, the funding strategy for the project varies significantly from the model used to assemble the remainder of the Quays. The £127 million structure, while mainly originating with British National lottery funds, is wholly responsible for the subsequent upkeep and day-to-day business operations. Complete autonomy has been bestowed upon the Lowry with the intent on attracting high profile exhibitions and shows (ie: Paris Opera) (Manchester City Council, 2000a).

With the backing of both public and private sources, the Lowry Gallery epitomised sectoral cooperation in that agreed upon terms are reflected in schemes designed solely for the purpose of providing profitable alternatives to developments originally on-the-ground (Globe and Mail, 2000).

With this in mind, the sharing of the successes of Salford is divided equally among the players responsible for its conception, design, funding and use. Equal benefits, equal contribution is the model allocated to the project, and in so doing, it provides a unique perspective into the possibilities of collaborative, rather than competitive participation.

However, it is imperative to develop a strategy to ensure the residents in the surrounding neighbourhood also enjoy the new facilities and public open spaces. Salford Quays is surrounded by major social housing schemes. According to Williams (2000) the surrounding area is suffering from extensive issues of social exclusion. He notes that one of the biggest challenges is to convince the working class people who live on those social housing blocks, literally 300-400 yards away that Salford Quays is for them as well as the people who come in their cars, to work here and visit the theatre.

MANCHESTER CITY CENTRE

The Vision and the Master Plan

Manchester City Centre is reinventing itself through initiatives designed to recapture the city's standing as a cultural, educational, entertainment and financial hub of North Western England. The proposal includes stimulating areas in the central city only recently devastated by an IRA bombing. Perhaps an instigating impetus for renewal, the bombing brought into focus the reality, which had long been known. Manchester's manufacturing and textile facilities had to be rebuilt to maintain its competitive foothold on the region and country in its entirety. A lengthy planning and administrative process preceded final preparation to commence construction. The development of the city lay largely in the hands of professional city planners and governmental officials from Manchester City Council; their vision was to construct an urban masterpiece at the beginning of the new millennium. Manchester Millennium Ltd. was instituted to coordinate Manchester's pinnacle array of economic input and investment. The Millennium Ltd. was a body holding no statutory powers structured to set forth the momentous work of logistics; bringing to fruition an international design competition, coordination of strategies and plans and movements to reconstruct a broken urban landscape. Increasing pressure was placed on the Millennium Ltd. to produce results from 1996 to 1997. A framework of quasi-political jurisdiction was announced, almost securing the process in the forefront of the council's mandate. Supplementary guidance was offered by the planning division of Manchester to assist the work done by the Millennium Ltd (Manchester City Council, 2000b).

The Millennium Ltd. Taskforce soon devolved and disintegrated, amalgamating functions with City Council. A product of negotiation, vision and foresight, the Master Plan of the city was announced in 1997 following the completion of the design competition. Although the efforts of the city were directed in a variety of fields, with the new Manchester Airport Terminal and transportation infrastructure (Metrolink), the city centre was chosen as the cornerstone for successful development practices. Survival in the core meant the possibility of endless gains elsewhere in the region.

Manchester's strenuous commitment to achieving a world-class city centre commenced with a series of scrutinising decisions. The challenge was to arrive at a consensus as to appropriate action to be taken in regards to its inner city redevelopment.

Design Competition

The 24ha site bounded by Victoria Station, St. Ann's Square the River Irwell and Piccadilly Station was opened up to an international design competition. In order to be selected, the competitors were required to observe particular rules of protocol and a unified vision of governing bodies. Maintenance of urban space, pedestrian-friendliness, functionality, spatial orientation with adjacent areas and overall responsiveness were regarded as prerequisites to "good design". Realising the opportunistic nature of the redevelopment, the City Task Force exploited selected buildings of historic significance, the proximity of the river and overall value of Manchester's medieval core to bolster the prospects of investment and return on funds being spent on the project. The competition highlighted the values of the city's residents and their feedback during the Task Force's research and preparation. Design guidelines were established to serve as a model for the eventual successful candidate.

The objectives of the project were as follows:

- Pedestrianised access linking St. Ann's Square, Arndale Centre, Corn Exchange, and Cathedral;
- Millennium Centre with theatre, arts and refreshment functions;
- Cathedral close;
- Major public space: Exchange Square;
- New leisure center;
- Arndale Winter Garden on a remodelled Cannon St;
- MetroShuttle;
- Residential units;
- Parkland abutting the River Irwell; and,
- Arndale food center (Malone, 1997).

The amalgamation of international talent was originally intended to captivate both emotional and corporate reactions on a grand scale. In striking a balance between the designs of a growing city and the realities of surrounding, interdependent economies, Manchester

'commissioned' the bids of a diverse brand of designer. To achieve 'unique' end results, the short-listed competitors inevitably active in the design work reflected a variety of ideas and regarded the potential for the site quite differently.

The winning entry by EDAW -- a group comprising Jan Simpson, Alan Baxter (Transport and Engineering), Benoy (Retail Development) and Hillier Parker, and Johnson Urban Development Corporation -- demonstrated a strong emphasis on urban design issues. With candidate selected, Millennium Ltd. and the Council on board, the remodelling of the city's core was the next task on the agenda. An all-encompassing effort of stimulating growth and sustaining the momentum of development was initiated.

The Partnership Approach

As the realm of responsibilities grew, the number of players grew exponentially. Complicated strategic relationships were forged particularly between public and private institutions. Systems of economic diffusion were engineered to ensure the channeling of public funds as well as private sector contributions. As the amalgamation of efforts between emerging players intensified hierarchical relationships grew, ushering in a new phase for the new Millennium project.

The infusion of investment capital, which resulted from the completion of the Master Plan to redevelop Manchester's City Centre, was phenomenal. Partially due to recent influxes in government commitment to 'Millennium Projects' and a variety of private securities, the sums of money contracted in order to fulfill development costs soon reached into the mid-hundreds of millions of pounds. In particular, the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) with its investment of £500 million, continued their 15 year record of injection into worthwhile capital projects. Its participation in the central Manchester scheme provided legitimacy and enforcement to the project as one being supported by government, European structural funds and private capital alike².

² Fact File: Landward Regeneration, Urban Development Corporation, Mersey Basin Campaign.

While the ERDF had displayed its prowess in the development of infrastructure, regeneration and economic development projects throughout the continent, the Central Manchester Development Corporation was a grassroots example of a body whose contributions to various other initiatives throughout the city aided in any successful completion of the central city scheme. In fact, redevelopment of the Castlefield District in central Manchester is much attributed to the £50 million injection (not including the £430 million in private investment), which resulted in the conversion of warehouses and the provision of much needed office space and environmental improvements.³ Perhaps not the sole impetus for growth in the city centre, the Castlefield scheme not only displays the successes of UDCs, but also spurns the confidence of investors in abutting areas of the core. Momentum acquired from these particular developments diffuses and in a manner which can be explained only in their economic benefits, creates the environment for lasting positive outcomes for subsequent projects.

Private partnerships via investment have been much of the cornerstones upon which the relative weight of the City Centre Redevelopment Scheme is balanced. Through organisations such as the Manchester Engineering Design Consultancy (MEDC) -- the overriding body which serves as link between public and private action -- rerouting of street patterns, new traffic management and transportation systems have been implemented. Its work has included participation in the rebuilding of the Inner Relief Route; a project underwent in partnership with Birse Construction and the Traffic and Transportation Division of Manchester. The final bill of the completed design and construction of the project totaled £12.3 million. MEDC acted as a competent mediator between public and private participants thus alleviating many potential problems of bureaucratic and systemic backlog characteristic of other agencies.

Furthermore, MEDC is the body, which is instrumental in managing the partnership in a productive manner. On the private side of the equation, local businesses would participate in aiding the MEDC in design and eventually

³ *ibid.*



Figure 4.7 The New Marks and Spencer Store *Source: Dickson, 2001*

construction of a proposal. In reference to the Manchester City Centre, this partnership between MEDC and private sector agents involved two other practitioners -- Landscape Practice Group and James Chapman Architects. The melding of these 3 players would eventually manifest in a £15 million redevelopment of the Exchange Square in the vicinity of the new Marks and Spencer store (Figure 4.7).

MEDC's presence in the execution of redevelopment initiatives in Manchester City Centre is fundamental. Its ability to generate excitement for projects has created unique, but risky, opportunities for private developers. The raising of funds and the securing of investors has meant that the MEDC as a consultant has stood in the centre of some of the largest developments in Manchester. Of course, Manchester City Centre redevelopment and all of the associated work being done in conjunction with it must continue in order to ensure further prosperity in the core. The proposed development of a state-of-the-art, multi-media, leisure and cultural centre is a prime example of the priorities of the Millennium Commission (Manchester City Council, 2000b, p. 3).

In conjunction with the responsible use of planning instrument and the flood of Millennium funds, the URBIS centre is intended to become a reality by 2001. As was originally intended for the Manchester projects, the centre will focus on public as well as private participation, consent and money. It will be the cornerstone for furthered re-integration of the medieval district. The combination of new with old is an exciting prospect for an area in the city, which previously was suffering from blight and the inundation of antiquated uses.

Results

There are several projects, which are ongoing in the Manchester City Centre. Many of them are born out of public/private partnerships, which characterise much of the Millennium schemes. With the prospect of increased money through loans, lotteries, and other sources of private funds, the culmination of the existing government subsidies are larger and more lucrative proposals, which are endless in their benefits to the city. Such efforts include the International Convention Centre on Windmill St., Manchester 50 Pools Complex, City Art Gallery on Mosely St., and Deansgate Locks. These developments are inclusive in the ratios of government funding and the

associated private capital which they have acquired. They serve as examples of the functionality and effectiveness of agencies when incorporated under a common framework.

Crown Square: The Crowning Glory of the Master Plan

Although not geographically centred in the city, Crown Square, as a psychological and momentous reference point for the central city serves as an important logistical node for activities occurring in and around the core. The direction of Crown Square reflects this emphasis on devising an urban solution, which is malleable and addresses the issues most important to creating interesting urban spaces. Through a Private Finance Initiative, City Council has undertaken the challenge to regenerate this area, while intending to redirect investment to the peripheral city centre. During the first phase, the lease on the underused Magistrates Courts lands will have expired, therefore, a full scale plan at remodeling by delivering on pedestrian access, ground floor residential and commercial fronting onto the street. In addition, the strategies to include and build onto the amenity of the River Irwell are included in the Crown Square Plan (Manchester City Council, 2000b, p. 33).⁴

International Convention Centre, Windmill St.

The construction of the £21 million International Convention Centre is the result of quasi-governmental funding via English Partnerships, with solid commitment being garnered by ERDF. Such a project is at the forefront of what is considered a priority for the rejuvenation of the city centre. The use will instigate an area in the core for recreational purposes and other neglected facets of entertainment and sporting facilities.

Manchester 50 Pools Complex

A partnership between the English Sports Council, National Lottery, Manchester City Council and Manchester's Universities has meant the approval of this £32.2 million project. With the lottery grant comprising £21.9 million of the funding, the purpose of its

construction is to serve the community as a whole with a modern recreation facility as well as an opportunity to use the world-class venue during the events of the upcoming 2002 Commonwealth Games to be held in the city. The fact that this divergent array of contributions has joined on to the project is a testament to the confidence which development in the city centre is attracting from a variety of sources.

City Art Gallery

With £15 million originating with a Heritage Lottery grant, the scheme of £24 million was balanced between public and private agents. As a throwback to the roots of the original art gallery, the new building will be clad in the same stone as the preceding 19th century structure. With the trend of suburban shopping falling sharply under scrutiny, simultaneously to the provision of high quality retail/office space underway in Manchester, the convenience factor, that is, the ability to lure investors and buyers downtown with the guarantee of finding accessible parking is another subtle undertone to the continuous measures being executed to provide to value and return on the investments seen thus far in the city centre.

Deansgate Locks

English Partnership's involvement in the Deansgate Locks development has meant the prospective fruition of major leisure and retail space. The £1 million commitment will support the transformation of parts of Whitworth St. and will mean the redevelopment of portions of the adjacent canal.

Making the Link: Easing Traffic Congestion while Building Better Neighbourhoods

The continuation of the original objectives set out in the urban design competition must be honoured throughout the consultation process, marketing, construction, and ultimately management of every proposal that comes to life. In addressing the wishes of the people and economic realities of the city centre, the temptation to diverge from the Master Plan for presumably bureaucratic deals or elusive growth will be great.

⁴ Allied London Properties – a private firm -- is managing the process till its completion.

As one of the primary objectives in the earlier urban design competition, the emphasis, which was continuously placed on permeability and legibility within the urban setting re-emerged in many of the developments which were proposed. Therefore, in an effort to maintain a legible framework of traffic patterns, pedestrian access and mobility in the core generally, a full-scale redevelopment of existing traffic infrastructure meant that the prospects for continued growth and investment would be facilitated and eased by a functioning network of grids and pre-meditated planning.

An example of this massive undertaking was seen partly in the proposition to link Mancunian Way and Trinity Way in central Manchester. With the assistance of some £103 million of government money, the necessary linkages in the route would serve to be essential in the lancing of congestion in the Deansgate area. Under the Local Transport Plan for the Northwest, an allocation of only £3.2 million for the 1999 financial year dictates that the entirety of the project is one whose completion will be contingent on continued needs in the region. The route would presumably serve the business interests in the area where retail and office development is currently at a peak (Manchester into the Millennium, 2000). A reciprocal partnership would certainly entice a more expedient address of the infrastructure plan although no private money has yet been levied.

While capital intensification through investment is vital for any plan to be realised, the importance of adequate transportation and mobility infrastructure can not be understated. Manchester has recently forged partnerships with various outfits to stipulate the inclusion of increased urban park space as well as programmes which have as their aim, the creation of safe, accessible and friendly street environs. Such models for these new schemes are Corporation Street, Cross Street, St. Mary's Gate and New Cathedral Street. As part of this 'experiment', government money is dedicated to the physical and functional presence of the street and its connectivity with neighbouring businesses and open space. These programmes are not unlike initiatives undertaken in North American cities where local shop owners embrace policies of these types, urban activists, law enforcement officials

and local residents who benefit, yet contribute to the continuation of worthwhile programmes. In a subtle way, any future development to occur in the Manchester City Centre is reliant on public opinion and the belief or mood of the people and private investors. If the tone of the city is one of interest in preserving social fabrics and improving 'grass roots' issues, the likelihood of investment will be that much more realistic. Returns include the heightened propensity for successful development and the long-lasting prospect of furthered prosperity.

In the age of the car-dependent, car special interest lobby, and car-associated services, the inclusion, which is often overlooked in the development of retail and office space, particularly in central city projects is the issue of parking. Furthermore, accessibility issues, ranging from those, which include the elderly or disabled to those, which deal with the hours of operation of municipal parkades are frequently ignored. While the rebuilding of the Manchester City Centre is ongoing, the city council in cooperation with National Car Parks, have devised a strategy which suits the intensification of uses in the core and the related congestion outlooks for the coming years. The basis of the partnership is the provision of increased parking stalls attached to or nearby developments currently under construction to meet demand. By increasing the density of spaces in automobile parkades and using strategic location analysis, the participants in the programme intend to dramatically increase the availability of parking downtown. Current numbers indicate that the partnership has already created in excess of 20 000 spaces housed in short stay, off-the-street stalls throughout Manchester City Centre (Manchester Parking Guide, 2000). In addition, several multi-story parkades are under construction or nearly completed, including the High St. Car Park, Grand Car Park, and the Manchester Swimming Pool Complex Car Park.

HULME

Re-establishing connectivity with Manchester's city centre is a fundamental component of the urban regeneration project in Hulme. Hulme City Challenge is to physically redesign a significant portion of Manchester incorporating 3,000 dwellings units, improvements to

infrastructure and provisions for retail and commercial development.

Background. During the 19th Century the teeming workers of the industrial revolution resided in Hulme. The area became known as the city's worst slum with recurrent outbreaks of cholera and other diseases. By 1923, the average population density was 136 with 196 in the northernmost area adjacent to the City Centre compared to Manchester's average of 34 residents per acre. In 1934, Hulme was official declared Britain's largest Clearance Area with houses unfit for human habitation. The declaration dissevered the community as residents were relocated to new council estates such as Wythenshawe.

Urban Renewal in Hulme. Much of Hulme was cleared for redevelopment in the 1960s. Pedestrian/vehicle segregation was a primary characteristic of the new design. Stretford road, the main axis through the area and once the 'main' shopping street outside of the city centre, was closed to traffic in 1965. The decision to close the main axis through the area had several negative consequences. The closure diminished the amount of people traveling into the area and reduced the accessibility of local residents to surrounding neighbourhoods. Businesses and trades such as Gaythorn gas works, the birthplace of the Rolls Royce began to move out as the clearance progressed. Hulme Hippodrome, a theatre, was also converted to a Bingo Hall due to dwindling ticket sales.

The planners' vision was to replace the traditional street life and social interaction above the hazards of traffic and replace the slum housing with habitable dwellings. In order to accomplish this, deck-access apartments, walkways and bridges were constructed. The residential component of the redevelopment included 5,000 new homes in five deck-access developments and 13 tower blocks. The focal point of the redevelopment was the huge Crescent blocks inspired by the Georgian terraces of Bath. The deck-access towers contained almost a thousand units. The population of Hulme was reduced to 12,000 residents compared to 130,000 who lived there in the 1930's. Significant issues quickly arose such as heating inadequacies, pest infestation, child safety concerns and symptoms of depression and isolation. Issues of spatial isolation and social polarisation are symptomatic of the one-dimensional urban renewal approaches initiated in the 1960's.

The urban morphology of Hulme has been drastically altered due to past decisions regarding the built environment. Figure 4. 8 depicts the transformation from Victorian terraces, incorporating a mixture of uses with 150 dwellings/ha, to 1960s system-built housing surrounded by barren open spaces with 37 dwellings/ha. to the proposed return to terraced streets with a mix of uses and a proposed 75-87 dwellings/ha.



Figure 4.8 Urban Transformation of Hulme: Source: *A Guide to Development*, 1994.

During the 1970's, City Council began to remove families from the deck-access blocks due to mounting dissatisfaction. The empty flats were let to singles, couples or groups without children and students from the adjacent higher education campus. The changing demographic mix further skewed the community profile. The community became

barriers to full participation in social and economic life. Social exclusion is an issue of considerable importance in Hulme because it has been one of the poorest areas in Manchester, both historically and presently.



Figure 4.9 The Rebuilding Continues: *Source: Dickson, 2001*

increasingly inward-looking, isolated and economically uncertain. The 1980's consisted of a constant debate between community representatives, the City Council and central government on ways to improve opportunities in Hulme. An area of contention was how to develop approaches to combat social exclusion and ensure residents of Hulme are able to participate in all aspects of city life.

Combating Social Exclusion

The issue of social exclusion is imperative to address in order to reduce the social polarisation of residents in declining neighbourhoods.⁵ Social exclusion is the experience of individuals facing various

⁵ One of the main themes of the European Union (EU) (European Commission (EC)) strategy is to address social exclusion issues. Although the notion of 'social exclusion' originated in France in the 1970s, social exclusion developed as both a concept and policy in 1989 within the EC. The Poverty 3 initiative and the Observatory on National Policies to Combat Social Exclusion sought innovative approaches. For the purposes of the initiatives, 'social exclusion' emphasises citizenship rights. Areas of concern include social and cultural exclusion as well as income inequality and material exclusion (Atkinson, 2000).

Urban Regeneration - City Challenge

In 1991, Michael Heseltine, then the Secretary of State for the Environment, announced City Challenge, the potential for a comprehensive approach to regenerate Hulme instead of simply focussing on the physical redesign once again. City Challenge relies on first principles of design but also recognises that design alone will not change the urban fabric. Social and economic aspects must be incorporated in order to achieve a successful urban community. The programme develops strategies involving local organisations and the private sector and tries to relate the benefits and improvements of the scheme with the needs of the local area as well as the rest of the city. Funds are allocated on a competitive basis through a bidding process between local authorities. The City Challenge funding is drawn from the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), the national regeneration scheme involving five government departments. The purpose of the SRB is to encourage synergy between departments, to respond to issues in a comprehensive way instead of sectorally, to

reduce overlap in service and to synchronise the local and national schemes.

The City Challenge bid allocated £7.5 million per year for five years to aid the transformation in Hulme. A joint venture was set up to secure funds for housing, highways and the extension of the metro system. Over £110 million has been raised from both the public and private sector to rebuild the entire community (Cockshaw, 1996).

City Challenge Development Strategy

A partnership between Hulme Community Homes, Manchester City Council, Hulme Community and Hulme Regeneration Ltd. was set up to achieve the City Challenge initiative. The strategic objectives of the Hulme and Moss Side partnership are to:

- strengthen the local economic base
- improve access to employment opportunities for local residents
- upgrade the condition of the housing stock
- expand housing choices
- enhance the quality of the physical environment.

In essence, the objectives of the Hulme City Challenge are to integrate social, economic and physical regeneration strategies in a comprehensive way instead of addressing each issue separately. The outcome of such an approach will undoubtedly have a lasting impact not only for Hulme and Moss Side but also for the city of Manchester as a whole. The main strategies focus on creating linkages between regeneration, education, job training, employment and improving the housing stock.

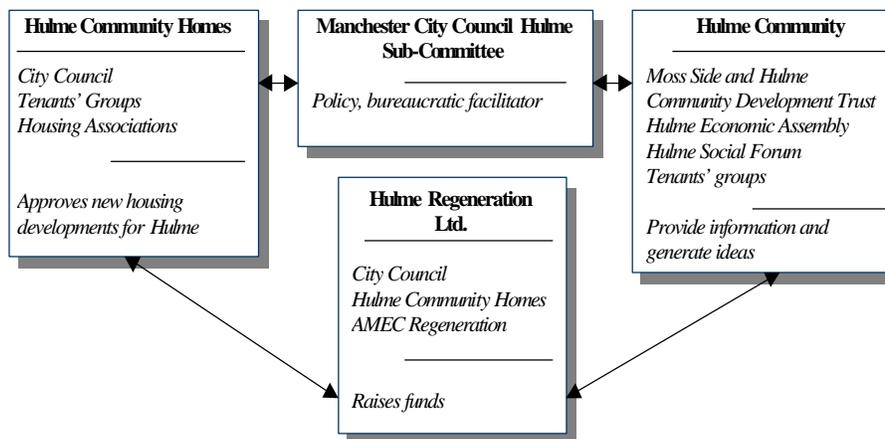


Figure 4.10 Hulme Regeneration Partnership

However, the success of a partnership may rest on the significance of the cultural milieu. Often communities, especially communities following a spiral of decline such as Hulme, have a history of distrust among government sectors or past government action or non-action. Communities may be sceptical, and rightly so, that partner representatives may be sent to distressed areas for public relations purposes more than for actual participation (Conway, 2000). If local residents are unwilling to participate in the process or feel the exercise is futile of the principles of urban regeneration the partnership will undoubtedly

suffer and not fulfill one: 'to ensure consensus through the fullest possible participation and cooperation of all stakeholders with a legitimate interest in the re-generation of an urban area'. Barbara McLoughlin characterises the absolute spiral of unemployment, crime, physical decay and isolation in Hulme in the late 1980's. "There was employment in the city centre, the universities, the hospitals, just on the eastern side, Trafford Park, a major development area on the western boundary, yet people in Hulme were experiencing such high levels of deprivation that the problems seemed insoluble. They were insoluble at that time

because government legislation did not allow this sort of integrated approach which five years later is commonplace, where you can identify regeneration monies for housing or for safety, employment, social facilities, landscaping, human resources and capacity building”.

Hulme’s City Challenge was one of the pacemaker authorities that brought all of the components together. The City Challenge funding, under the Department of the Environment, brought together budgets from a wide range of government departments. This money was the forerunner of the governments’ Single Regeneration budget and moved on to a whole range of much more complicated titles, the most recent of which is the New Deal for Communities (McLoughlin, 2000).

Table 4.3 highlights some of the achievements in Hulme.

Table 4.3 Results in Hulme

Economic Development	
New Jobs	725
Employment initiatives supported	75
Unemployed people assisted	8000
Disabled people participating in new job club	500
Housing	
HA rented stock/new build stock/including shared ownership	1000
Private sector	1000
Number of tenants supported throughout programme - social housing	5500
Environment	
Additional open space	10 (ha)
Environmental improvements to open spaces	7.4 (ha)
Social	
New childcare places	1000
Health care clients assisted	2000
New community centres built	2

Source: Williams, 1996.

The ability for Hulme to attract private sector development into the area cannot be understated. This is the first time Hulme has been able to attract investors to market private

sector housing. Two of the main features creating the impetus for the transformation were the building of the Hulme Arch and the Asda store. The Hulme arch is a symbol of reconnection and a landmark for the city and the Asda store brings shoppers into the area and anchors the £40 million High Street redevelopment (Manchester City Council, 2000a). A genuine attempt has been made to rectify the one-dimensional planning approach, which is committed to addressing only the physical or built form. The City Challenge partnership has facilitated the need to incorporate linkages between regeneration, education, job training, employment and improving the housing stock or 'simultaneous adaptation' to ensure a lasting impact for the area.

CONCLUSION: LESSONS LEARNED

Several lessons have been learned from the regeneration process in Manchester. Specifically, in terms of community representative ness, government accountability and monitoring future results.

Community Representativeness. In order to ensure a lasting impact is made in the regenerated areas it is essential that the local community remains empowered. Two of the principles of urban regeneration: to recognise the reality that the various elements of a strategy are likely to make progress at different speeds and to accept the likelihood that initial programmes of implementation will need to be revised in-line with such changes as they occur, may be difficult or frustrating for residents to understand. Instead, it may appear that officials are once again breaking promises or committed to non-action. A number of important limitations should be understood and taken into consideration when establishing a partnership with local communities. Communities may have a:

- Lack of community capacity and resources in relationship to professionals and the public sector;
- Low levels of community interest and concerns of activist burnout;
- Concerns about community representativeness;

- Lack of awareness of the long-term commitment required to empower a community (Conway, 2000).

the forefront of responsive development and has provided a model for cities of the future and their associated concerns.

Government Accountability. Government accountability can be questionable especially at the local level if localities are excluded from the process. Circumstances may arise where different levels of government may construct barriers due to an inability to accommodate differing perspectives especially in the case of Manchester where the local authorities did not want to acquiesce the national presence. In addition, the national competitive bidding practices may not necessarily lead to equitable distribution of funding nor ensure that funding reaches those most in need.

It is also essential for the local authority to impart confidence to the private sector. Duddell states that the "main lessons we have learned in terms of regenerating the city centre is that the council needs to exhibit confidence and deliver what we actually said we would. This enables the private sector to buy into our vision and enables them to have confidence in us as a delivery vehicle for regeneration".

Monitoring. Monitoring is crucial to ensure the local community receives benefits from the regeneration process. For example the 'trickle down' effect of benefits may or may not reach fruition, especially in severely distressed areas with residents having multiple dependencies and issues. If this is the case the objective to combat social exclusion will be delusory and not contribute to lasting improvements. It is therefore essential to accommodate each community's specific needs.

Sensitivity to change. Finally, the regeneration process will be ineffective without acknowledging how a community functions and the requirements of local residents. Barbara McLoughlin suggests, that Hulme works for some very sensible reasons. "It is viewed as a neighbourhood and not an estate. It is about analysing how people work, how people organise their lives and determining what ordinary facilities and actions we need to take to bring people back into society".

Programmes of change, the belief in the betterment of urban form, and an understanding of the necessary precursors to such transition has propelled Manchester into

