

Jaroslav Koutský

University of J.E. Purkyně in Ústí nad Labem

THE REGENERATION OF INDUSTRIAL REGIONS ON EXAMPLE OF MANCHESTER

1. Introduction

Regeneration of a city can be understood as reproduction and restitution of city importance and a city function. In Manchester the term regeneration cannot be understood as restitution of the traditional function of an industrial city and “return to old good times”, but it has to be understood as restitution of a position as an important city in a post-industrial society [Hall 2000; Young, Diep, Drabble 2006]. It is about creation of “new competitive Manchester”. Regeneration of Manchester is without doubts a complex process. This process has three basic parts:

- **Economic restructuring** – it leads to weakening of industrial structures at the expense of services on one side and overall diversification of economic structures of a city on the other side.
- **Physical restructuring** – it leads to fundamental changes in physical appearance of a city
- **Social transformation** – it leads to important social changes especially within advancing globalization and increasing position of Manchester as a cosmopolitan city (however one part of this process is also social exclusion of certain social groups).

2. Basic principles of a regeneration process in Manchester

There is no explicit consensus in expert literature and in experts' opinion on a possibility of defining a specific starting mechanism for regeneration in Manchester, but there is a general acceptance of importance of political and social changes that occurred in Manchester (as well as in the whole British society) at the end of 80s.

A key reflection of these changes can be seen in so called “entrepreneurial turn” in behaviour of a public sector in Manchester and significant reinforcement of part-

nership principles between a public and a private sector. An important event that completed the bases of city regeneration was the situation in 1996 when an IRA bomb cleared an important part of the city centre from a map.

2.1. Entrepreneurial turn

Entrepreneurial turn is a change in orientation of a public sector policy where the central motive is deviation from welfare state support and inclination to cooperation between a public and a private sector (see [Dicken 1998]).

Table 1. Municipal socialism and the entrepreneurial city

	Municipal socialism	Entrepreneurial city
Relation between politics and economics	Economics subordinated to the politics of resistance	Political project subordinated to the economics of selling Manchester
Political project	Policy of radical alliance, expressed through a commitment to equal opportunities (women, ethnic minorities, lesbians and gay men etc.) Partnership as an “classed based political alliance” organized in opposition to both the private sector and the national government	Local version of New Realism – appeal to middle classes on the basis of economic competence: culture agenda of the “city living”, emphasis on service sector, city centre housing projects for “professionals” Acceptance of central role for the private sector
Understanding of and responses to economic crisis	Local strategies formally oriented towards developing a more sufficient economic base but substantively directed towards ameliorating the social crisis	Partnership as a “growth coalition” and a spur to endogenous economic development City region competing in a European/global system for investment
Orientation to urban policy	Emphasis on social aims and community development Bringing excluded groups into the political process	Emphasis on property-led regeneration, flagship developments and the centrality of place marketing Elitist orientation to “key player” politics
Orientation to manufacturing	Strong rhetorical commitment to the manufacturing base, and the need for (neo-Fordist) reorganisation and modernisation	Commitment to “post-industrial script” and willingness to abandon manufacturing as the necessary foundation for the regional economy
Style of decision making	Orientation towards process Participative, strong emphasis on democratization, decentralization and consultation Rhetoric of community based policies and “bottom up” policies	Orientation to end results and getting things done Executive driven Charismatic authority
Relation to other cities	Principle of solidarity	Acceptance of competition between cities

Source: adapted and simplified from [Quilley 2002].

In the second half of 80s there was a change in governance of City Council of Manchester. Graham Stringer from Labour Party came to city leadership. Before that the city had been lead by Labour Party as well, but it was a “left wing” of the party in which the main concept was welfare state support (similarly to neighbouring Liverpool). At the same time it is necessary to mention the changes in central British politics. Leadership was gained by Conservative Party with Margaret Thatcher as a head. The key political directions of the conservative government were limitation of welfare state, starting cooperation between a public and a private sector and the relationships based on competition. This lead to a paradox that the changes carried out by Conservative Party on the central level, were carried out by Labour Party in Manchester.

“The change was in the way the local government started to negotiate with the other partners (especially with a private sector) as well as in changes within the local government itself.” (Kevin Ward) (Interview)

“The crucial shift that started talking about modern regeneration of the city came with the Olympic bid and the emphasis on necessity of cooperation with a private sector.” (Michael Hebbert) (Interview)

2.2. Visions and strategies of regeneration

“The first key component of leadership is vision. Regeneration needs a clear analysis of where area is coming from and where its future lies. At the core of the analysis must be a clear view of the conditions needed for economic competitiveness, and understanding of the opportunities along with a firm grasp of the current direction and speed of travel of the economy”. Sir Howard Bernstein, Manchester City Council (2006)

One of the key elements of Manchester regeneration has been the creating of a strong vision of the city future position and subsequent regulation of regeneration process directions.

The initial presupposition was acceptance of competition between cities (the second half of 80s, see above) and the vision was based on gaining the competitive position in post-industrial society. Brian Robson [2002] considers as the basic elements gradually crystallizing visions of:

- **Re-populating the city centre.** It was necessary to change the tendency of people leaving the city centre, decrease the great proportion of real estates owned by the city and to bring to the city centre groups of inhabitants with high income, so that the rise of consumption in the city centre was supported.
- **Capitalizing on the sporting prowess of the city.** It is mainly about the support of local football clubs (Manchester City and Manchester United) and candidacy for organization of the Olympic Games.
- **Creating a consumer base to the city.** This was based on a support of culture scene with a related consumption function (bars, clubs, cinemas and hotels).

- **Encouragement of high-tech base.** The central topic was the use of local universities potential that lead for example to the establishment of Science Park (initiative of Manchester City Council and three local universities).
- **Emphasis on the role that the airport could play in attracting inward investment from international companies.**

A vision has been recently defined relatively easily by a main representative of Manchester City Council Sir Howard Bernstein: “The vision is a city of international significance with a diversified economy.” He [2006] sees the main phases of this vision implementation in:

- Identify and prioritize key drivers for investment – for example: the city centre, the airport
- Securing education and skills to enable local people to benefit by accessing the jobs and wealth being created

The key factors are the quality and choice of housing, the quality and reputation of schools, tackling crime, anti social behaviour, and improving the conditions of local environment.

Certain shift from a vision based on selective success of chosen groups to a more areal layout of the benefits within the running city regeneration can be seen also in Manchester Community Strategy 2006 – 2015 (for more see [KMPG 2007]) where there is a definition of a vision of: **Manchester – the city of top world class – where everybody gains benefits from life, work and study in this unique modern city.**

Achieving of this vision is based on following goals:

- All areas of the city will benefit from the city’s success; every neighbourhood will be included.
- Manchester people will be wealthier, live longer, be healthier and enjoy happier lives.
- Children and young people will be safer, more resilient and fulfil their potential.
- There will be more working families.
- Six out of ten homes will be owner-occupied.
- Productivity (Gross Value Added per head) for Manchester will be greater than the UK average.
- Manchester will be in the top 10 of European business cities.
- The city’s population will have increased to 480,000.

3. Candidacy for the Olympic Games

“The beginning of the modern city regeneration came with putting on an application for the organisation of the Olympic Games.” Michael Hebbert, interview

“Cities, like sprinters, can’t stand still. They have to make progress or go into decline. The great days of heavy industry won’t return. We have to find new ways forward and that’s where the Olympic Games come in.” Graham Stringer

Two Manchester candidacies for the Olympic Games (OG) are regarded by expert literature as well as by local experts as one of the key events (next to the bomb

explosions in the city centre) that distinctly influenced the city regeneration process. Manchester stood as a candidate for the OG twice and was in both cases unsuccessful (in 1996 Atlanta won and in 2000 it was Athens). Despite the double candidacy failure the candidacy process is predominately positively assessed as a tool for the city development. An excellent contribution to this topic is work published by Allan Cochrane, Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell with the title *Olympic Dreams* (in [Peck and Ward 2002]).

It is possible to discuss the initial principle in other words if the candidacy for the OG served as a planned accelerator of city regeneration (candidacy as a city regeneration tool) or if the topic of city regeneration was the supporting topic for the candidacy itself (regeneration as a tool for candidacy.) Two following statements made by key participants of this process (the main representative of Manchester City Council and the leader of the OG candidacy) prove this discrepancy.

“About of dozen of (Europe’s 40 or 50 second-tier cities) will become the cities were decisions are made ... We have to try and get there because the alternative is to gradually decline.” (Graham Stringer)

“I never used the word “sport” because you were then told to talk to the Sports Council. But we needed more money than the Sports Council spent in a year, and therefore we talked about urban regeneration, employment opportunities and re-claiming land.” (Bob Scott)

It is however not necessary to solve this discrepancy for defining the positives that were brought by the city candidacy for the OG. These are as follows:

- Activating of local key participants
- Definition of the goal which could be followed and which could be generally accepted
- Creation of platform for the key participants’ partnership
- Change in the behaviour of local government – pragmatic, goal orientated and friendly to the private sector
- During the candidacy process the city gained many financial recourses that would not probably come without the candidacy

In case of city candidacy for the OG the proverb: “the way could be the goal” came truth. Moreover the city used its experience and succeeded in the candidacy for the Commonwealth Games 2002 that happened to be a very successful event (from the economical as well as sporting point of view).

4. Bomb explosion in the city centre

“They went for the hearth of Manchester. But missed the soul.” Manchester Evening News

In June (15th) 1996 IRA caused the biggest bomb explosion during the peace time in Great Britain because they exploded a bomb in the very center of Manchester. Fortunately no one was killed but around 250 people were injured.

The bomb hit the area about 1 million square metre large, over 1200 buildings were damaged and over 670 companies felt the negative impacts of the event. The overall costs for the renewal of the stricken area reached 500 million pounds (for more about the event and following activities see for example [Hetherington 2004; Williams 2000]).

Of course there is no doubt that it was a tragic and deplorable event but there is an interesting agreement of experts and expert literature in the evaluation of this situation as an event that from the “narrow” point of view of city regeneration had many positive impacts.

- It created the feeling of city solidarity, stimulation of key participants resolution and public support to a quick rectification of physical damages
- The city centre was “cleaned” from old buildings and therefore it was possible to create a new urban solution. It led to the creation of several architectonically unique buildings and spaces that are the basis for the contemporary city marketing.
- From the point of view of regeneration based on the increasing consumption there could be established more attractive centre (especially luxurious apartments and shops)
- Cooperation on a new city regeneration scheme distinctly deepened the relationship of public and private sector (however it is necessary to put it to the wider context of “entrepreneurial turn” like by the OG candidacy)

Literature

- Berstein H., *Regenerating Manchester – our approach*, Contribution presented at: BURA Regenerator Workforce Campaign Conference, 13.7.2006.
- Cochrane A., Peck J., Tickell A., *Olympic dreams: vision of partnership*, [w:] J. Peck & K. Ward eds., *City of revolution: restructuring Manchester*, Manchester University Press, 2002, s. 95-115.
- Dicken P., *Global shift: transforming the World Economy*, Paul Chapman, London 1998.
- Hall P., *Creative cities and economic development*, “Urban Studies” 2000 vol. 37, no. 4, s. 639-649.
- Hetherington K., *Manchester’s urbis: regeneration, interaction and subjectivity*, www.sbs.ox.ac.uk (2004).
- KPMG, *The state of the city report*, http://www.manchester.gov.uk/downloads/State_of_the_City_appendix.pdf (2007).
- Quilley S., *Entrepreneurial turns: municipal socialism and after*, [w:] J. Peck, K. Ward (eds.), *City of revolution: restructuring Manchester*, Manchester University Press, 2000, s. 76-94.
- Robson B., *Mancunias ways: the politics of regeneration*, [w:] J. Peck, K. Ward (eds.), *City of revolution: restructuring Manchester*, Manchester University Press, 2000, s. 34-49.
- Williams G., *Rebuilding the entrepreneurial city: The master planning response to the bombing of Manchester City Centre*. Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design 2000 no. 27, s. 485-505.
- Young C., Diep M., Drabble S., *Living with difference? The ‘cosmopolitan city’, private sector place marketing and exclusion in Manchester*, U.K. Urban Studies, 2006 no. 43, s. 1687-1714.

REGENERACJA REGIONÓW PRZEMYSŁOWYCH NA PRZYKŁADZIE MANCHESTERU

Streszczenie

Regeneracja Manchesteru może być rozumiana jako proces złożony, polegający na zmianach, które charakteryzują się własnymi mechanizmami początkowymi, partycypującymi w nich uczestnikami, procesami decyzyjnymi oraz zróżnicowanymi skutkami przestrzennymi. Jest to zazwyczaj złożony proces innowacyjny zachodzący w obrębie miasta. Z tej przyczyny należy zdefiniować zasady odnoszące się nie tylko do źródła zmian i ich progresji, lecz także do ewaluacji pomyślnej realizacji całego procesu oraz możliwości przeniesienia „dobrych doświadczeń” na inne warunki geograficzne.