



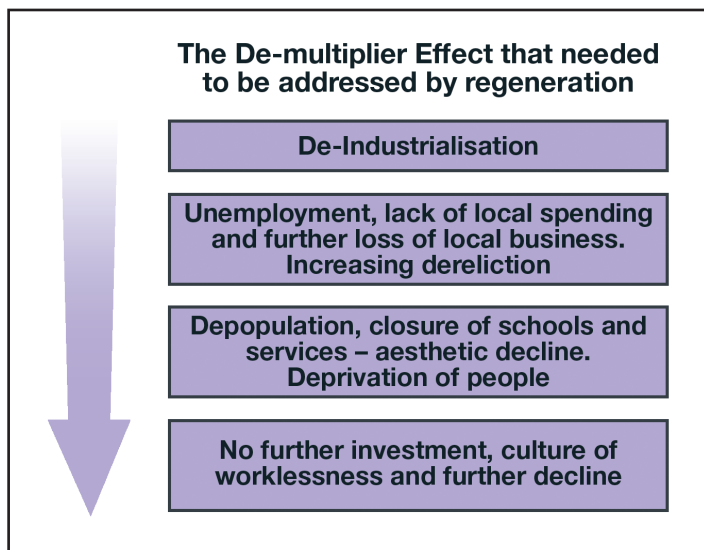
An Evaluation of Regeneration in East Manchester

The Need for Regeneration

‘British inner city areas have for the past three decades been experiencing various degrees of regeneration. The broader reasons for the decline of British cities were largely a consequence of deindustrialisation, a process whereby secondary manufacturing industries, employing many inner-city workers, relocated their operations to South East Asia in what became known as the ‘Asian Tiger’ economies (Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, and Hong Kong) – this process is known as the global shift. During the 1950s and 1960s, most manufacturers preferred to take advantage of the cheap labour, close proximity to raw materials, and favourable trade regulations offered by many countries in South East Asia.

As a result of deindustrialisation, a cycle of decline ensued in many British cities causing those who could afford it to leave the inner city. This depopulation led to a de-multiplier effect (Figure 1); few, if any, business investors were likely to create new jobs in these areas as the workforce had declined and usually those left behind were the least employable or had non-transferable skills (from heavy industry employment to service sector jobs – which grew, albeit slowly, to replace manufacturing work during the 1970s-1990s).

Figure 1. The De-Multiplier effect occurring in industrial British towns and cities from 1950-80s, often referred to as the 4-D model



Those who remained in British inner cities experienced major poverty of access to services over the last three decades due to an initial reduction in government investment during the 1980s. Governments consistently saw depopulated areas as places not worth investing too much money in. Consequently, many health, educational and transport services were reduced causing social decline. Subsequent generations grew up never having experienced good schooling nor seeing peers and family employed to a level of success. These conditions created, in many depopulated inner city areas, a lack of ambition and, over time, an increasingly difficult cycle of poverty and

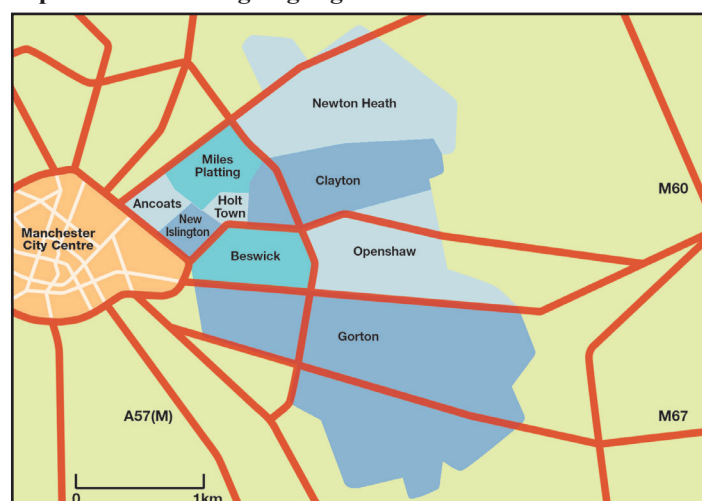
decline to reverse. Such circumstances have in certain areas cultivated problems relating to crime, poverty, mental and physical health, low levels of qualifications and subsequently unemployable workforces.

Focus Area; a background to decline in and reasons for regeneration in East Manchester

East Manchester is an area located east of Manchester city centre, comprising of Ancoats, New Islington, Holt Town, Etihad Campus, Beswick, Bradford, and Clayton (Figure 2).

- The area between Beswick and Clayton is Bradford, once a chemical manufacturing hot bed and now site of Manchester City Football Club.
- The area of Beswick to the south is undergoing regeneration, initiated by investment provided by ADUG. Ancoats and New Islington immediately east of the city centre have long been undergoing regeneration, but improvements have only recently started to filter through to the deprived area of Holt Town.
- The new Metro-Link line from the city centre and east through Clayton links a number of areas with previously poor access to the centre and so essential social services and employment opportunities.

Figure 2. Map of East Manchester districts currently deprived and undergoing regeneration



In contrast, areas to the south east, such as Levenshulme and Longsight, do have similar problems but remain dynamic (in terms of job creation, property change of use, and cultural variety) due to the established migrant and student communities that exist here. Their success is based on cultural diversity and proximity to the University of Manchester, which encourages major transport links and focuses the location of high concentrations of educational and healthcare institutions. In East Manchester, cultural diversity is lacking and these services have been reduced until the very recent extension of the Metro-Link and public private investment in the 2000s.

The area of East Manchester is the largest current area of ongoing regeneration in the UK. The areas of current improvement between Ancoats and Clayton cover over 1500 hectares. This route east from the city centre had experienced major depopulation after deindustrialisation. Furthermore, the nature of industry in this area presented major problems in terms of redevelopment:

- Industrial buildings in the Ancoats area were derelict, but either still owned (with owners unable to afford improvements) or are classified as protected buildings by the National Heritage Trust.
- Canals were polluted and presented major headaches when planning new transport links through the area.
- The majority of industries further east in the localities of Beswick, Bradford, and Clayton were focused on chemical manufacturing, rendering many sites toxic and too expensive to clean up in order to redevelop.

Aims of Regeneration in East Manchester

The requirements for successful regeneration in the area, as set out by both the city council and The New East Manchester Urban Regeneration Company. The company was established to lead the regeneration process across this large segment of the city and planned to do so in various ways:

- Enable residents to stay in the area and experience improved housing and educational and economic prospects (see measures of deprivation, Figure 3).
- Improve the range and quantity of housing stock and amenities.
- Improve the environmental quality of the area.

Success and Failure of Different Regeneration Strategies

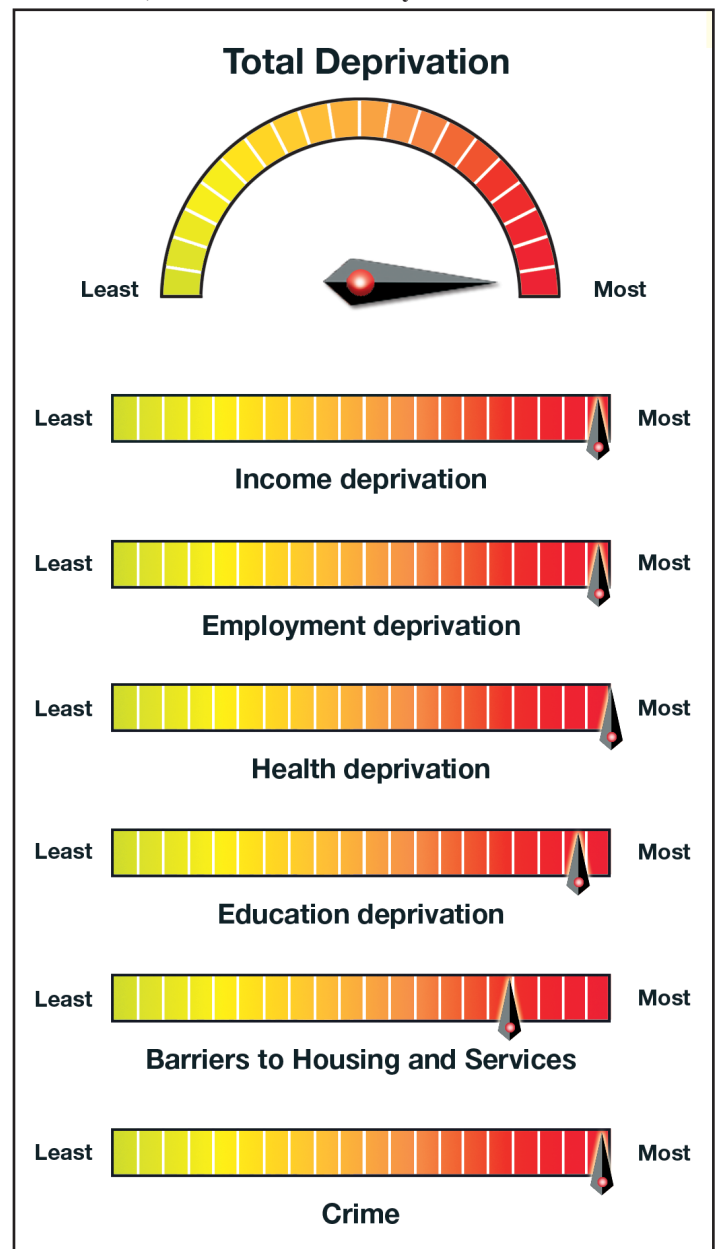
1. The Legacy of the 2002 Commonwealth Games

Beswick and Bradford were chosen as the location to build the Commonwealth Stadium in preparation for Manchester's bid to host the 2002 games (Figure 4). The idea was that a legacy of regeneration (sports-led regeneration) would take effect in the local area. Around the stadium a number of prominent venues were built including the National Cycling Centre, tennis academy and an athletics stadium. Some road links were improved and widened to increase access and reduce congestion. The area immediately around the stadium was given an aesthetic makeover – creating railings and planting vegetation to disguise areas of poorly maintained and dilapidated housing opposite the stadium centre piece.

Success

Ultimately, the success of the games was to put the city on the map, attracting tourists and shoppers – retail income increased year on year since the games. Some private property investment and development occurred and certainly there has been a steady flow of young professionals moving into one and two bedroom apartments ever since. In 2001, Beswick had a population of 250. After the games in 2002, 1100 new homes were created by the city council and private investors had begun to build new developments. The relocation of young professionals to this cheaper area of the city (in comparison to property prices in the south of the city) prompted some limited investment and job creation by a couple of multinational retailers, namely ASDA-Walmart group, who built the UK's largest ASDA store and consequently created over 1000 part-time low-skilled jobs.

Figure 3. Deprivation Rankings for Bradford, East Manchester, site of the Etihad/ City of Manchester Stadium



These statistics are taken from the Indices of Multiple Deprivation partly from government census data and partly from updated statistics gained from Manchester City Council. Manchester was, in 2015, the fifth most deprived local authority in the UK, according to Manchester City Council, based on multiple indicators of deprivation. Bradford and Beswick contribute greatly to this. The M11 post code is in the bottom 5% of worst deprived neighbourhoods in the UK according to UK census data (ONS 2015).

Failure

Beswick and Clayton remained firmly in a situation of decline for over 5 years after the games. The legacy of the games in terms of the use of facilities created here was that they remained very inaccessible to the small, established, and considerably poor local community in Beswick. Although local schools had access to the athletics facilities for 'sports days', many residents complained to a local newspaper, the Manchester Evening News, that sports facilities, although open to public use, were far too expensive (aimed at the new, wealthier population) to access and so the health issues relating to lack of exercise and diet in the established communities remained. Although job creation was a by-product of the games and did improve the skill level and experience of people who have been long term unemployed, most jobs are poorly paid and did not allow workers to accrue enough hours to earn a reasonable wage (with many zero-hours contracts).

The relocation of Manchester City FC to the Commonwealth Stadium (Figure 4) enabled the area to maintain increased visitor populations on match days and the stadium was used after 2005 for many prominent concerts including a series of major sell out dates by locally and internationally popular bands such as Oasis, The Stone Roses, Bruce Springsteen, and Red Hot Chilli Peppers to name but a few. These events maintain some temporary low-skilled work opportunities in the area, but don't address the need for permanent and well paid jobs for the established and growing population.

The public and private housing built (by Manchester Council, East Manchester Housing Association, amongst other private investors Urban Splash and Bellway Homes) on the back of the success of the

games were largely new developments. So, the problem of warehouse dereliction and large tracts of highly toxic land (conducive to poor health and slowing redevelopment) remained problematic. Bradford and Beswick remained high on government indices of deprivation.

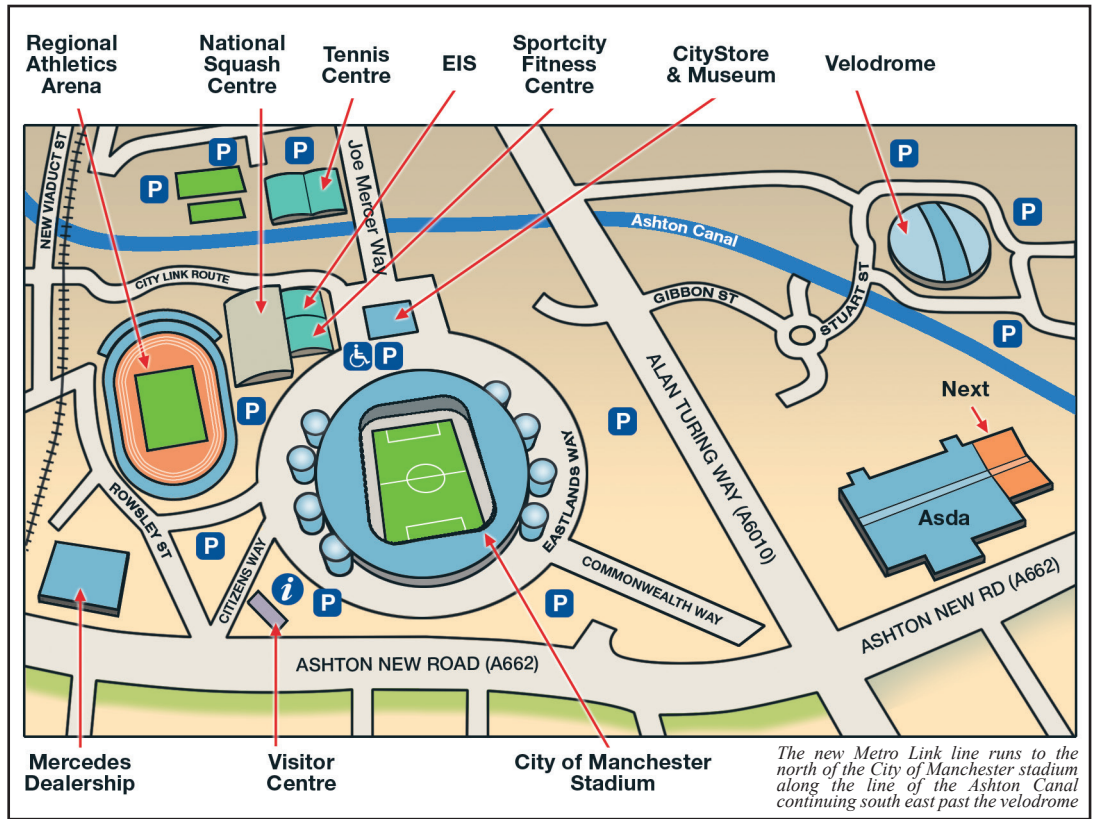
2. The Second Wave of Regeneration: The Impact of the investment by ADUG (Abu Dhabi United Group) and the Metro-Link extension in East Manchester

ADUG are an international redevelopment and investment group chaired by Sheikh Mansour, a member of the royal family of the United Arab Emirates. Mansour is a multi-billionaire due to past investments, stemming from initial success in the oil industry. Abu Dhabi United Group bought Manchester City Football Club in 2008. The initial strategy was to tap into the wide television coverage of the club offered by the Global Premier League football brand. Success on the football field would increase economic turnover very quickly despite the hundreds of millions of pounds initially invested. However, the group astutely realised that to be accepted as successful investors in the club, they needed to take responsibility to help improve the socio-economic and environmental problems prevalent in the local community.

Success

Their investment has made Manchester City one of the top five richest football teams in the world and this has brought success on the field. Subsequently, match day support, stadium visitors and private investment around the area has increased with that success. More low-skilled, part-time retail jobs have been created as well as further opportunity for black-market work on match days and during concerts (for which the stadium remains a venue for). However, it is outside of football where are really impressive. They invested over £90 million in cleaning up the toxic waste left behind by many chemical manufacturers during the period of deindustrialisation.

Figure 4. The City of Manchester Stadium Site



During the clean-up of these sites local people were trained and employed in health and safety skills. The construction of utilities to serve these new brownfield sites also created employment between 2009 and 2014. These sites in Beswick and Bradford are now ready to be or are being redeveloped, having been dormant in the past due to their levels of toxicity. The building of business redevelopments here will aid job creation. Some toxic ex-industrial sites have been redeveloped as sports facilities for use by the football club and have been made cheap to access by the local community and schools, helping to improve sports participation and general health within the local community in the future. These environmental improvements have enabled space for a new academy school to be built and to provide excellent local sports facilities for its pupils. Although the school is sponsored by the construction firm Lang O'Rourke, the clean-up of the area to be built upon was enabled by the ADUG group. The school has only recently been established, and results are difficult to measure, but it certainly provides more educational space and opportunity in an improved environment for children living in the poorer established communities of Beswick.

In terms of housing, some derelict factories across the area have now been redeveloped as a result of the knock-on effect and clamour to invest in an up-and-coming area created by the activities of ADUG. From 2014, 6000 new homes were planned to be built on land improved by ADUG. Some of these builds are aimed at re-housing established residents and repopulating the area with people requiring affordable mortgages. The aim here is to maintain the original community and socio-economic status-quo. Many old residential low-rise town houses and blocks of flats have been removed and replaced with individual houses that are better insulated and have gardens. The idea is to reduce cost of living (reducing heating bills) and improve the quality of life (defensible garden space and fencing reduces burglary and vandalism, notorious in the old style blocks of flats) for poorer residents.

Figure 5a shows a regenerated plaza in Ancoats / New Islington. The section of the area has been rebranded Little Italy, playing on the old name for this location pre-1900, when a large Italian community lived here and worked in the nearby mills, which can be seen to the right. The area is now a focal point of regeneration with bars, cafes, and high-spec apartments being redeveloped in the shells of old industrial factories. Heritage is a key to redevelopment here; the images on the boards to the right of the square depict old industrial scenes; the church is a redeveloped Italian Catholic church, now used as a wedding venue and concert hall. Figure 5b shows the housing redevelopments in New Islington and Holt Town (part private, part council initiative) aimed at rehousing local communities. In the background we can see that old properties and poorly maintained social housing still exists here. High-end apartment style living has been created on derelict warehouse sites. The effect that ADUG's environmental investment and presence has had is to encourage smaller private property and business groups to invest, creating a multiplier effect in terms of improved housing stock and environmental quality. Many derelict buildings that were otherwise protected or expensive to buy are now apartments (Figure 5a). Rebranding has come into play with many of these buildings taking on the names linked to their industrial heritage. For example, 'The Tobacco Factory' in Miles Platting or 'The Gas Works' in Clayton (this toxic site was cleaned up and secured, then apartments built within the circular structure of the old gas works).

The Role of GMPTE and Extension of the Metro-Link

As a result of increased numbers of pupils needing access to schools, new residents needing access to jobs in the city, and supporters and concert goers requiring increased access to the football stadium Greater Manchester Transport Authority invested in the extension of the Metro-Link tram service to this area. Their decision was not solely based on the improvements made in this area as many areas further east and north east (Ashton and Oldham which are economically depressed areas) required city connections to reduce the poverty of access to services (education centres, healthcare centres) and job opportunities of residents. However, the route of the service was influenced by the regeneration and repopulation created by first the Commonwealth Games investments and then the success of ADUG's activities.

Part of this route has only been feasible with environmental clean-up and restructuring in the area partly by ADUG, but now provides access for prospective new residents, therefore encouraging further property investment and further business and job creation to provide amenities for the increasing population. It is also intended to link poorer established residents in Beswick, Clayton, and Holt Town with job opportunities beyond their local areas.

Failures

It is difficult to state that the work of ADUG and the subsequent Metro Link extension by GMPTE have failed – this can only be judged in the long term.

In 2015, statistics from Manchester City Council show that only 79 out of 1011 residents are unemployed in Beswick. However, we should question the type of work that less qualified residents are doing - are they earning enough and working enough hours to sustain a reasonable standard of living in the face of recent government benefit cuts? Nearly 10% of the community of Beswick are economically inactive. This infers that old problems of ill health due to the type of industry people worked in in the past or ill health due to problems stemming from economic decline in the area still prevail. Beswick and Bradford still remain in the top 5% in the UK for multiple deprivation measures. As of 2014, 6000 new homes were planned in conjunction with Manchester City Council and ADUG, with ADUG investing the majority of the £1 billion cost. Three years later this plan is still in its initial phases, with more housing being developed in the newly affluent Ancoats and New Islington areas. However, the number of residents in Beswick has increased by over 900 over 10 years between the 2001 and 2011 censuses. This may suggest suggests that the housing being built here currently is too costly for established residents and that the initial focus of the 2014 housing plan should be to rehouse those living in poorly maintained properties.

Figure 5a. A regenerated place in Ancoats / New Islington



(source - A Cooke)

Figure 5b. Housing redevelopments in New Islington and Holt Town



(source - A Cooke)

Of the 686 properties recorded in the last census, two thirds were classed as terraced or tenement properties, indicating older builds. The photographs show that many older and poorly maintained housing still remains, particularly in Holt Town, which has yet to feel the knock-on effect of improved New Islington and its city centre high end living to the west, nor the investments of ADUG in the Bradford and Beswick area to the east.

Certainly, from observation there are areas of housing dotted amongst the newly affluent residential sections of East Manchester whose social deprivation is still a major issue. For example, a small housing estate opposite the City of Manchester Stadium in Beswick continues to have major issues with a range of crimes and high levels of unemployment. Indeed, the housing remains the same, save for some improvements made by the council to improve glazing and insulation. The Metro Link has proved a useful communication for new residents working in the city or beyond East Manchester. Observing areas immediately outside of most Metro-Link stations between Manchester and Clayton (with the exception of Holt Town) there is evidence of a positive knock-on effect of its presence: some clusters of improved or newly built housing, and small retail estates providing more amenities for the established local residents (although probably aimed at commuters) living along this route. However, the new route has created more policing in relation to 'ticket-dodging', with over 3000 fines issued between November 2014 and January 2015. Perhaps the cost of the new service is not appropriate for many established residents who may be out of work or on low wages, in which case their experience of accessing service and jobs outside of their communities remains poor.

Evaluation

- East Manchester has certainly seen improvements in housing stock and transport communications since the takeover of Manchester City FC by ADUG in 2008.
- The area is 'on the map' so to speak due to the achievements of the football team and frequent investment.
- It is the biggest area of ongoing regeneration in the UK.
- Employment opportunities have increased, albeit in low skilled jobs.
- A new large, well equipped school has been opened in Beswick and there are increasing numbers of sports facilities available for the public to use.
- Perhaps most importantly, the toxic industrial land has been improved, via multi-million pounds of investment by ADUG. This created newly available brownfield sites for redevelopment to aid wider regeneration. Without this investment, that land would continue to be hazardous to the health of local residents and remain undeveloped.

If one walks a transect (long section of a city from a central point outwards in any direction) from the Ancoats, in the centre of Manchester, eastwards to Clayton, the experience is one of ups and downs of environmental quality and pockets of social deprivation located next to newly affluent areas. Figure 3 clearly displays that, although ADUG and the council have invested heavily in improving housing here, that is actually the only measure of deprivation that is still not classed as being severe. This is problematic because the aims of regeneration in any location are to improve the socio-economic status of residents.

In relation to the aims of regeneration here, an evaluation would point out that some elements, such as improving the environmental quality of the area have been achieved, but there is some way to go in progressing the economic prospects of the community.

Further Reading

Haslam, D. (2001) *Manchester, England*. Harper Collins Publishers.
 Blakeley, G. (2013) *Regeneration in East Manchester*. Manchester University Press

City of Manchester planning materials: www.manchester.gov.uk
 Academic research papers: www.hud.ac.uk and www.cresc.ac.uk
 Evaluating success: www.thisiseast.com

Task: Evaluate the effects of regeneration in East Manchester, using specific examples. You should look at positives and negatives of the various schemes.

Figure 6. NOMA regeneration of Manchester (2011)



(source - https://c1.staticflickr.com/6/5135/5514114313_e5ceddbb7c_b.jpg)

Key Word Definitions

- **Cycle of Deprivation/Poverty:** A situation whereby poverty continues to become even worse over time, with impacts creating further poverty.
- **Brownfield Sites:** Areas of previously built on and currently derelict land, secured and set-aside for redevelopment.
- **De-population:** The rapid decline of an area's population, usually for reasons relating to economic decline.
- **Rebranding:** The redevelopment and re-imagining of an area in decline or with a social image problem, based on using historic and artistic themes linked to the area's past.
- **Redevelopment:** The change of use of land or property, or the complete rebuilding of property to create new housing or business.
- **Regeneration:** Improving the socio-economic and environmental status of an area through processes such as housing redevelopments, rebranding and encouraging business investment.

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