URBAN RENAISSANCE:
THE MEANING, MANAGEMENT AND
MANIPULATION OF PLACE,
1945-2002

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Rebecca May Madgin, BA Hons (Lancaster), MA (Leicester)
School of Historical Studies
University of Leicester

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Abstract

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The transition from deindustrial to post industrial city from the 1970s exposed how cities developed regeneration strategies as their traditional industrial base experienced terminal contraction. These strategies to re-make urban places positioned at their core an improvement of the built environment either by retaining and adapting or demolishing and replacing historic buildings. Decisions to re-use or demolish revealed the contemporary valorisations of the past as they mediated the extent to which the reinvention of the city embraced or denied the cumulative memories of the city. Unravelling these decisions revealed the process of urban change by exposing the management of urban regeneration, the actors and agencies involved, their motives, constraints and failings and their ability to access funding. How these actors valued, perceived, and subsequently received the cityscape was revealed by their decisions whether or not to incorporate the historic environment in their vision for the city. Moreover, how public and private agencies such as local authorities, government quangos, and entrepreneurs manipulated the existing capital stock to attract people and investment into the inner cities was a vital component of urban regeneration. Four stages of re-making places: recognising place, managing urban change, seducing urban users, and manipulating the historic environment that each exposed the contemporary valuations of the past were identified and were explored through an examination of two British and one French urban centre. By these means, and using these examples, the research located the practice of restoration and re-use in the context of place-making and value judgements to question the extent to which there was a contemporary place for urban history.

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Glossary

APU	Atelier Populaire d'Urbanisme
CABE	Commission of Architecture and the Built Environment
CAMT	Centre des Archives du Monde du Travail
CCASC	Castlefield Conservation Area Steering Committee
CMDC	Central Manchester Development Corporation
CPO	Compulsory Purchase Order
CUDL	Communauté Urbain de Lille
DATAR	Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et l'Action Régionale
DRAC	Regional Direction of Cultural Affairs
EAHY	European Architectural Heritage Year
EMDA	East Midlands Development Agency
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
GMC	Greater Manchester County Council
HLM	Habitation á Loyer Modéré
LCC	Leicester City Council
LGVS	Leicester Group of the Victorian Society
LRC	Leicester Regeneration Company
LRSS	Liverpool Road Station Society
MCC	Manchester City Council
MGVS	Manchester Group of the Victorian Society
MRIAS	Manchester Region Industrial Archaeology Society
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
PPG	Planning Policy Guidance
POS	Plan des Occupation des Sols
QUANGO	Quasi Autonomous National Government Organisation
SDAU	Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme (SDAU)

SEM	Société d'Economie Mixte
SAEM	Société d'Anonymie Economie Mixte
UDC	Urban Development Corporation
URC	Urban Regeneration Company
URBED	Urban and Economic Development
USP	Unique Selling Point
ZPPAU	Zones Protection du Patrimoine
ZRU	Zone de Redynamisation Urbaine
ZUP	Zones á Urbaniser par Priorité

Chapter 1

Urban Change: Interaction, Regeneration, Reinvention

> Human beings change the land around them in a way and on a scale matched, for the most part, by no other animal. The land around us is a reflection of both our practical and technological capacities and also of our culture and society – of our very needs, our hopes, our preoccupations and dreams.[1]

The interaction between human beings and their urban environment ensures that cities are in a constant state of flux. They are a shifting kaleidoscope of wishes, hopes, desires, and dreams as each era gives way to another vision. The city has never remained in a vacuum of time frozen from the process of change, rather urban texture reveals the shifts in society, culture, politics and economy. Cities are therefore a myriad of shifting spaces, places, ideas and ideals as they are constantly changed and reinvented by human agency. Unravelling the process of urban change reveals the perception of the past, present and urban future, what is valued, what is rejected, how views are conditioned, how plans are formulated and implemented and also the prevailing cultural, social, political and economic trends that condition the urban perspective. Investigating the process of urban change therefore exposes contemporary hopes, preoccupations and dreams but also offers an insight into the capability of urban actors to respond, react and condition the needs of urban society. These decisions are anchored through changes to the built environment as new buildings are constructed, altered, restored or demolished and their surrounding spaces reconfigured as urban spaces are continually reconceptualised to fit with the pressing urban agenda and the visions of urban actors.

The built environment offers a window into these urban hopes, fears and desires. The presence of walls and temples in the Mesopotamian city of Uruk revealed the focus on defence and religion, while the gabled merchants' houses in Bruges offered an insight into wealth created by mercantile trade. Into the nineteenth century the existence of factories and warehouses, canals and viaducts were testament to the development of an industrial city. The twenty-first century emphasis on cultural institutions such as Bilbao's Guggenheim or Los Angeles' Walt Disney building reflect the need to use cultural buildings to create a

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[1] J.E. Malpas, *Place and Experience, A Philosophical Topography*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 1

competitive advantage. The appearance, condition, architectural style and location of the built environment symbolised a wealth of ideas, ideals and ideologies. The cultural capital of cities was reflected by the libraries, museums, theatres and opera houses in existence in urban centres. The Paris Opera house or the provincial theatre both conveyed similar ideas and values that were placed on creating a vibrant urban culture. Likewise, the urban landscape was the visual evocation of the fears of the city as workhouses, hospitals, health centres and jails were all constructed to ease fears and were the physical legacy of a flurry of nineteenth-century decisions. Whilst the laws may be confined to the history books the existence of council houses with gardens, police stations and hospitals provided a visual insight into the preoccupations of nineteenth-century urban society.

Ideal city form was also revealed by the built environment as utopian planners regulated the height, size and layout of buildings to accord with their urban visions. From Haussmann, Howard and Geddes to the New Urbanism planners they each altered the built environment and reconfigured surrounding spaces in order to convey the image of the ideal city. In terms of ideologies statues, monuments, town halls and national government offices all attest to the power structures in place. The grey, uniform and strict layout of East Berlin contrasted with the individuality expressed by buildings of West Berlin and still today, despite the fall of Communism, the distinction between East and West is still apparent through the urban form. The built environment thus transmits subliminal messages as to the state of the city, urban priorities and the wealth in the city and provides a window into the development of cities long after the personal accounts, photographs and individual/collective memories have been consigned to the archives.

Changes to the urban environment through the alteration, addition or demolition of the existing buildings therefore left an indelible mark on both the physical and mental landscape. Untangling personal memories created within an urban setting is an elusive process but through the legacy of the built environment a rich palimpsest of urban memory is ingrained. Both the everyday urbanite and the flâneur are thus conscious of the layers of urban development and memory as one 'cannot walk the streets of Europe without being conscious of history, of layer upon layer of tradition, genius and the spirit

of men shown through their buildings'.[2] The decision to add a further layer of urban memory, demolish a previous layer or alter/enhance an existing layer is made by a select group of urban agencies working to a local, regional, national and/or international agenda. The decisions of these urban actors control both the individual psyche and the appearance and function of urban centres as they condition what activities can be carried out in urban spaces as well as the style, layout and composition of the city.

Just as the built environment has transmitted subliminal messages, urban actors controlled the type of message through their additions, demolitions and alterations. This has been both through autocratic rule best demonstrated by the totalitarian leaders and their control of urban space but also through consensus as urban agencies have combined to provide health care, adequate housing, utility provision and transport services for urbanites. Their decisions whilst reflecting societal and economic preoccupations and political power crucially reveal the reasons why certain buildings are ascribed with a contemporary value manifested through their retention and adaptation while others are devalued and thus demolished. Why for example would it be unthinkable today to demolish St Paul's Cathedral, the Eiffel Tower or the Empire State building yet a walk around any European city at two different times of the year will expose a number of demolitions of everyday buildings that are ingrained in both personal and communal memory? Both examples are treasured and valued by certain members of society yet these values may not transcend temporal and spatial boundaries.

This thesis will explore why certain buildings are invested with contemporary meaning and value, how these are managed and manipulated to ensure that they are either included or overlooked during the process of urban change. The role of human agents, as opposed to natural forces, in formulating and implementing urban change provides an insight into how social actors value their urban history and how they were able to apply this value in the reconstruction of urban space through manipulating the spaces, places and ideas of the city.

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[2] Council of Europe, *Urban Regeneration in Europe, Environment and Regeneration of the Industrial City in Europe,* Strasbourg, 1986, p. 8

Set in the context of human interaction with, and valuations of, the urban landscape, this thesis is concerned with the decision to retain or demolish selected historic and industrial urban buildings as part of an attempt since the 1970s to revitalise the deindustrialised city. More specifically, by exploring political, economic and social factors, the thesis examines how cities developed regeneration strategies as their traditional industrial base experienced terminal contraction. These strategies placed at their core an improvement of the built environment either by retaining and adapting or demolishing the physical legacy of industrialisation. Decisions to retain, adapt or demolish revealed the extent to which the reinvention of the city embraced and valued or denied the cumulative memories of the city. Turning marginal spaces into prosperous places through recycling, re-conceptualising and marketing existing built assets became a major contributor to the rise of the post-industrial city during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. This theme remains at the heart of British urban policy into the twenty-first century under the guise of brownfield policy that recycles land and buildings to secure an urban renaissance.[3] The thesis examines the origins of this belief by analysing early examples in Manchester and Roubaix that captured the essence of a nascent post-industrialism through restoring and re-using redundant industrial buildings in Britain and France in the period 1970-1996. By contrast, Leicester's approach to its industrial heritage as represented by the demolition of the Liberty Building in 2002 was analysed to ascertain why, despite their iconic status, certain historic buildings are not regarded as essential to urban regeneration projects.

By these means, and using these examples, the research located the practice of restoration and re-use in the context of place-making and value judgements to question the extent to which there was a contemporary place for urban history. The management of urban regeneration, the actors and agencies involved, their motives, constraints and failings were embedded in an examination of the constructed experience of the city. How these actors valued, perceived, and subsequently received, the cityscape was revealed by their decisions whether or not to incorporate the historic environment in their vision for the city. Moreover, how public and private agencies such as local

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[3] See R. Rogers, *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, London, 1999 and R. Rogers, *Towards a Strong Urban Renaissance*, London, 2005

authorities, government quangos, and entrepreneurs manipulated the existing capital stock to attract people and investment into the inner cities was a vital component of urban regeneration. The thesis therefore examined how the historic environment can facilitate or resist urban restructuring and can contribute to the reinvention of the image, perception and function of the city.

Perspectives

Restoring and re-using the historic environment to meet a defined urban agenda requires that a distinction is made between preservation, conservation and heritage and also between regeneration and renaissance. These terms have been used synonymously within the literature yet they are distinctly separate entities. The origins of the preservation movement in Britain and France were concerned with ensuring the historic integrity of the building. However, as Jokilehto [4] elucidated in his seminal work on architectural conservation the theory behind restoration and preservation continually differed between countries, personalities and time periods. For example, in America the term preservation is used to describe a process that in the English definition would be called conservation. For the purposes of this thesis the term preservation is defined as a process by which no modernisation of the building occurs except for necessary maintenance works in which original materials reflecting the historic integrity of the building are used. Conservation is also subject to much debate concerning the exact amount and type of change made to the historic building. For the purposes of this thesis, conservation is used to describe the adaptive re-use of a historic building to meet a contemporary urban agenda. This can mean that the building's interior is modernised and that the structure is modernised to be able to fulfil a contemporary use. Finally, the term heritage is a particularly contested concept within both general society and academia.

Traditionally, like the French term *patrimoine*, heritage signifies an inheritance or a tangible legacy. However, in the context of urban policies and economic development, and therefore for this thesis, it is defined as those elements of the past that are perceived to attract people and investment, or rather a marketable commodity. Heritage is therefore different to conservation as it is a concept not a practice and results in the conscious selection of the past to

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[4] J. Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, Oxford, 1999

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stimulate urban development. Contained within this definition is the marketing of history and the retelling of a selective and sanitised past in which the city can be promoted, sold and redefined. Heritage in this context therefore elucidates a series of value judgements concerning those elements of the past that can be sold to furnish the present and future city and thus reveals how urban spaces are invested with meaning and value. Similarly the terms urban regeneration and urban renaissance have also been used interchangeably within popular culture and academic literature. Again though they are separate entities. For the purposes of this thesis the term regeneration is utilised to describe the process of urban change whereas renaissance is taken to mean the outcome of the process as the city is reborn as a result of the various stages of urban regeneration.

Within this context the industrial environment as it relates to urban regeneration schemes is an underdeveloped area of scholarly research. Previously the focus was on heritage tourism, and legislation, and the regeneration of the deindustrialised city. Very little academic research has been published either on the motives for, and values of, re-using industrial buildings to aid a city's renaissance or on a detailed identification of the stages of place-making used to secure the conservation-led regeneration of deindustrial spaces during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s.

Larkham's exploration of conserving the city[5] allied to Jokilehto's extensive investigation into architectural conservation[6] and Delafons exhaustive work on law and policy[7] provide a valuable insight into the both the theory and practice of conservation. Conservation and urban planning is the subject of research throughout many different countries and as such Appleyard's[8] work on this theme

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[5] See P.J. Larkham, *The Changing Urban Landscape in Historical Areas,* School of Geography, Occasional Publication, Number 29, University of Birmingham, 1991; P.J. Larkham, *Conservation and the City*, London, 1996 and P.J. Larkham, The Place of Urban Conservation in the UK Reconstruction Plans of 1942-52, *Planning Perspectives,* Vol.18, No.2, July 2003, pp. 295-324

[6] Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural,* 1999

[7] J. Delafons, *Politics and Preservation, a Policy History of the Built Heritage 1882-1996*, London, 1997

[8] D. Appleyard, *The Conservation of European Cities*, Massachusetts, 1979; X. Bezançon, *Le Guide de l'Urbanisme et du Patrimoine,* Paris, 1992; R.C. Collins, E.B. Walters and A.B Dotson. *America's Downtowns, Growth, Politics and Preservation,* New York, 1991

provides a European dimension, Bezançon focuses on the French situation whereas Collins, Walters and Dotson examine the American perspective. Similarly, studies by Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge[9] offer a cross-cultural investigation into the ways in which heritage has been defined and used and the consequences of this for individuals, collectives and cities. Lowenthal's[10] research into the meaning of history and the persuasiveness of heritage further provided an insight into the different ways in which history has been selected and used to meet contemporary agendas. Within the research into the historic environment and urban regeneration there is a wealth of material on marketing the post-industrial city. Ashworth and Voogd provided an overview of the practicalities of selling the city.[11] Holcomb offers an insight into the growth and implementation of place promotion in North American cities where he found that cities 'strive to create landmarks and symbols which will put them on the nation's cognitive map'.[12] This was explored in the British context through Brownhill's investigation into the promotion of London Docklands where she saw place promotion as part of a pump-priming strategy.[13] Young and Kaczmarek provide the East European perspective through an exploration of Lodz in Poland where they also found that the use of flagship projects to regenerate urban areas was common.[14]

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[9] G. J. Ashworth, *Heritage Planning: Conservation as the Management of Urban Change,* Groningen, 1991; G.J. Ashworth, *European Heritage Planning and Management*, Exeter, 1999; G.J. Ashworth, and B. Graham, *Senses of Place: Senses of Time*, Aldershot, 2005; G. J. Ashworth and P. J. Larkham (eds) *Building a New Heritage: Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe*, London, 1994; B. Graham, G.J. Ashworth, and J.E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage, Power, Culture and Economy*, London, 2000

[10] D. Lowenthal, *Our Past Before Us: Why Do We Save It?* London, 1981; D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* Cambridge, 1985; D. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge, 1998

[11] G.J. Ashworth, and H. Voogd, *Selling the City: Marketing Approaches in Public Sector Urban Planning*, London, 1990

[12] B. Holcomb, City Makeovers: Marketing the Post-Industrial City in J.R. Gold and S.V. Ward, *Place Promotion, The Use of Publicity and Marketing to Sell Towns and Regions*, Chichester, 1994, p 116

[13] S. Brownhill, Selling the Inner City: Regeneration and Place Marketing in London's Docklands in J.R. Gold and S.V. Ward, Place Promotion, *The Use of Publicity and Marketing to Sell Towns and Regions*, Chichester, 1994

[14] C. Young and S. Kaczmarek, Changing the Perception of the Post-Socialist City: Place Promotion and Imagery in Lodz, Poland, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol.165, No.2, 1999, pp. 183-91

Research has also been focussed on the concept of the sense of place and place attachment and how agents manipulate the environment to foster connections between people and place.[15] In terms of managing urban regeneration there have again been numerous works concerning the state of the economy, the extent of deindustrialisation as well as the policies put in place to assist the revitalisation of urban centres.[16] The motives of policy-makers were explored in Ashworth's and Graham's *Senses of Place: Senses of Time* yet this was not in the context of industrial re-use. The focus on the deindustrial city given by Smiles' focus on the transformation on the image of West Yorkshire and Short (et al) examination of place imagery in Syracuse did not locate image in the process of using the historic environment to re-make places.[17]

The concept of value has been explicitly explored in selected works by authors such as Hobson, Lowenthal, Mason, Lipe, and Ashworth[18] and was implicitly present in numerous other works that examined the rise of conservation and heritage.[19] However, these values were broadly defined in the spheres of economics and culture and were not located in specific examples but tended

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[15] This is examined later on in the chapter. See for example L.B. Rowntree, Creating a Sense of Place: The Evolution of Historic Preservation of Salzburg, Austria, *Journal of Urban History*, Vol.8, No.1, 1981, pp. 61–76 and P.D. Cherulnik, *Applications of Environment-Behaviour Research, Case Studies and Analysis,* Cambridge, 1993

[16] A selection includes: I. Alexander, *City-Centre Redevelopment: An Evaluation of Alternative Approaches*, New York, 1974; B.W.E. Alford, *British Economic Performance*, Cambridge, 1995; B. Cullingworth, *British Planning: 50 Years of Urban and Regional Policy*, London, 1999; B. Cullingworth, and V. Nadin, *Town and Country Planning*, 14th ed, London, 2006; C. Flockton, and E. Kofman, *France*, London, 1989; R. K. Home, *Inner City Regeneration,* London, 1982; B. Robson, *Inner Cities, Reconciling the Social and Economic Aims of Urban Policy,* Oxford, 1978; I. Scargill, *Urban France*, Kent, 1983

17 G. Haughton and D. Whitney, *Reinventing a Region, Restructuring in West Yorkshire*, Aldershot, 1994, J.R. Short (et al), Reconstructing the Image of an Industrial City, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol.83, No.2, 1993, pp. 207-24

[18] E. Hobson, *Conservation and Planning: Changing Values in Policy and Practice,* London, 2004; D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* Cambridge, 1985; R. Mason, *Economics and Heritage Conservation*, Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles, 1999; W.D. Lipe, Value and Meaning in Cultural Resources in H.F. Cleere. (ed.) *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritages*, Cambridge, 1984; G. J. Ashworth, *Heritage Planning: Conservation as the Management of Urban Change,* Groningen, 1991

[19] Selection includes: J. Alfrey, *The Industrial Heritage, Managing Resources and Uses*, London, 1992; M. Binney, *Bright Future, The Re-use of Industrial Buildings,* London, 1990; M. Binney, *Our Vanishing Heritage*, London, 1984; E.R. Chamberlain, *Preserving the Past*, London, 1979

to be generally defined. This thesis therefore seeks to address this by locating the ascription of contemporary value in the decisions to retain or demolish rather than in any broad definition of the concepts of conservation and heritage. In this way the research sought to probe the reasons why certain buildings were valued and others were not and who valued these buildings and whose values were overlooked during the process of urban regeneration.

Crucially, none of the above works placed the decision to retain or demolish the industrial environment at the heart of their research to probe the process of place-making, the ascription of contemporary value and therefore the contemporary place for history. This research therefore narrows this gap by providing an analysis of the importance of existing urban resources to urban regeneration and in doing so is able to question the contemporary valuation of the selected past as well as the way in which the history of an area is repackaged to fit with the contemporary aims of the policy-makers. This research, is therefore, aimed at supplementing and throwing new light on the existing research but also contributes to the field of European urban history by examining how and why the historic urban and industrial environment in Britain and France was ascribed with a contemporary value that affected the scale and nature of urban change.

The Contemporary Value of a Selected Past

Whilst re-using the industrial environment originated in the 1970s, the decision to re-use the non-industrial historic environment was not new.[20] In France parts of religious buildings that were due to be demolished were re-used in the replacement buildings. For example, Babelon and Chastel used the example of the main Western portal of Chartres cathedral, demolished before the revolution and re-used fifty years later in the new façade erected between the towers.[21] Selected post-World War II cities also focussed on retaining and restoring their remaining historic buildings. In Middleburg, central government decided that 'we

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[20] See D. Harvey, Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies, *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* Vol.7, No.4, pp. 319–38, 2001 for an exploration of the longer-term origins of heritage.

[21] J.P. Babelon and A. Chastel, 'La Notion du Patrimoine', *Revue de l'Art* Vol.49, 1980, p. 6 cited in S. Loew, *Modern Architecture in Historic Cities: Policy, Planning, and Building in Contemporary France*, London, 1998, p. 24

must hold on to and protect our architectural heritage'.[22] Similarly Belgian cities and most famously Warsaw held onto their past through their reconstruction along traditional lines of which the rebuilding of the Royal Castle in 1974 as a Museum of National Culture was the 'crowning project'.[23] The restoration of the historic cores of Middleburg and Warsaw were related to the 'individual attachment to old forms' which was deemed to be a 'factor of social unity'.[24] This connected to the capability of history to provoke emotion, identity and security. History, as Lowenthal found, is essential to our identity and our well-being. This was supported by Tuan who believed in the connection between the past and love of place.[25] However, set in the context of deindustrialised urban society and a seemingly inescapable spiral of urban decline, the love of place was an oxymoron.

An entrenched backlash against the industrial city was summarised by Liverpool's City Planning Officer who believed 'it is unreal to expect local interests, in an area which has suffered for many decades from chronic unemployment, to consider the preservation of a building more important than the opportunity of 40,000 jobs'.[26] The negative connotations of the word 'industrial' have been explored by various academics. Hall's work on Birmingham presented the juxtaposition of the first and second revolutions as the city was 'founded' on the industrial revolution, yet the promotional material sought to 'distance itself from the functional identities that became associated with the industrial revolution'.[27] Birmingham's industrial past was used as a marketing tool to pave the way for the Cultural Revolution yet never referred to the grime, smog and pollution of the industrial era. The negative connotations of the industrial city were further stressed by J.R. Short (et al) who found that the polluted deindustrial city

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[22] J.E. Bosma, Planning the Impossible: History as the Fundament of the Future – the Reconstruction of Middleburg, 1940-44, p. 64 cited in J. Diefendorf, *Rebuilding Europe's Bombed Cities*, Basingstoke, 1990

[23] S. Jankowski, Warsaw: Destruction, Secret Town Planning, 1939-44, and Post-war Reconstruction, p. 88 cited in Diefendorf, *Rebuilding*, 1990

[24] Jankowski, Warsaw, p. 84 cited in Diefendorf, *Rebuilding*, 1990

[25] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia, A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values,* New York, 1974

[26] R. Hewison, *The Heritage Industry, Britain in a Climate of Decline,* London, 1987, p. 100. See chapter 3 for more detail on the socio-economic and political context of urban centres in Britain and France in the 1970s.

[27] T. Hall, The Second Industrial Revolution: Cultural Reconstructions of Industrial Regions, *Landscape Research*, Vol.20 No.3, 1995, p. 115

contrasted with the clean post-industrial city so desired by the agents of change.[28] The association with pollution, decay and decline, according to Hall and Short, caused agents of change to present a sanitised version of the past, a version that would appeal to the prospective investor, worker and inhabitant.

The negative image of the industrial city was not just restricted to the 1970s city. The nineteenth-century distaste for the seemingly unplanned industrial city led to a backlash by radicals such as Morris and Ruskin and indeed the British preservation system was founded as a reaction against the effects of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation.[29] The negative connotations of the industrial city were therefore entrenched. However, the sharp decline experienced by industrial urban centres allied to the significant sunk capital in the urban environment demanded a re-examination of both the industrial urban landscape and the ways in which urban change was managed.[30]

Space, Place and Power

The decisions over what is conserved and therefore valued, who conserves, for what motives, and how this is managed brings a power dimension to the transformation of deindustrial space into post-industrial place. The control of the historic environment was an oft-used political tactic to demonstrate power or implement ideologies. Benito Mussolini's physical power and authority were demonstrated by his desire to be seen as the guardian of Italy's past – as if he was single-handedly overseeing the future development of Fascist Italy by legitimating his rule in the security of the completed past. This was illustrated by his staged photograph showing him helping to restore the Mausoleum of Augustus in 1925.[31] Legitimating contemporary needs in the safety of a selected past was a key motivation of turning deindustrial space into post-industrial place. The decision to conserve or demolish a historic building, to select the past to fit a contemporary agenda provided an insight into the power struggles, conflicts of interests and competing factions involved in reinventing a city in democratic

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[28] Short (et al)*, Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* Vol.83, No.2, 1993, pp. 207 - 24

[29] See Chapter 3 for more on the evolution of the British and French conservation movements

[30] Chapter 3 focuses on the contextual background for the emergence of a conservation and heritage-led regeneration based on the re-use of industrial heritage.

[31] Chamberlain, *Preserving*, 1979, p. ix

countries. As Sir Hugh Casson found, 'the essence of sound conservation is judgement- but whose judgement?' [32] It is often those actors who enjoy 'hegemony in power relations'[33], the agents of change that regulate whether the memories of the city were allowed to remain. Moreover, the degree to which both the historic environment and the perception of its history can be moulded to fit the contemporary agenda relies on firstly the selection of the past and, secondly, the management of this selection in terms of both the agents involved and the systems in which they operate. The theoretical context for the reinvention of the city is therefore grounded by the relationship between space, place and power.

Space and place are contentious, ambiguous terms that necessitate a demarcation between the two. Their inherent ambiguity is revealed by the reality that

> if two different authors use the words 'red', 'hard', or 'disappointed', no one doubts that they mean approximately the same thing . . . But in the case of words such as 'place' or 'space', whose relationship with psychological experience is less direct, there exists a far-reaching uncertainty of interpretation.[34]

It is this connection to the psyche that the thesis explores as it investigates the contemporary values placed on the historic environment as actors recognise, manage, market and re-design historic spaces to attract people and investment thus pervading the individual and collective mind by seducing them into living, working and playing in a specific locale. Space is generally taken to mean a geographical location but has been subjected to rigorous academic investigation.[35] In the context of this thesis, space is defined as a geographic location such as the area surrounding and including a historic building that is underused, empty and/or redundant. To turn these spaces into places which are defined as centres of meaning that are ascribed a contemporary value within the

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[32] J.N. Tarn, Urban Regeneration: The Conservation Dimension, *Town Planning Review,* Vol.56, No.2, 1985, p. 267

[33] M. J. Miller, *The Representation of Place, Urban Planning and Protest in France and Great Britain, 1950-1980,* Aldershot, 2003, p. 9

[34] Albert Einstein, Foreword to Concepts of Space in Malpas, *Place and Experience,*1999, p. 19

[35] There is also the cyberspace and intangible aspect of space but in terms of urban regeneration schemes this thesis will only examine the tangible dimensions of space and place. See D. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Oxford, 1990 and H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* Oxford, 1991 for detailed explorations into the function of space in a capitalist society.

context of urban regeneration is thus the central thrust of urban regeneration from the late 1970s as cities tried to reinvent themselves to define their role within the emergent post-industrial economy. Place-making which is defined in this thesis as transforming derelict, redundant spaces into valuable, vibrant and functioning places is thus a key component of urban change and vital to the reinvention of cities.

Place like space, has also been subjected to vigorous academic interpretation since it was brought to the forefront of academic investigation during the 1980s. Despite this attempt to define place it is still 'one of the most multi-layered and multi-purpose words in our language'. [36] Gieryn suggested that most conceptualisations of place involved three components: geographic location, material form, and investment with meaning and value.[37] This thesis utilises these three conceptualisations by using urban centres (location) containing industrial relics (material form) and analysing why and how agents of change invested spaces with a meaning and ascribed contemporary values to historic areas through their decisions to retain or demolish. Poulet stressed the need for the transformation of space into place as he stated that 'without places, beings would be only abstractions. It is places that make their image precise and that give them the necessary support thanks to which we can assign them a place in our mental space, dream of them, and remember them'.[38]

This is in evidence at every stage of an individual's life in the Western world, we are placed in houses, neighbourhoods, schools, classes and teams; to take Gieryn's definition, at every step we are tied to a geographic location that has material form and over time we invest meaning through the accumulation of individual and collective memories, experiences, hopes, desires and fears – we locate mental space in a physical place. This place is innate to the individual and cannot be defined by size or location. Place could be a nation-state, a region, a city, a village, a home, a corner shop, the Church or a favourite armchair but tying them together is this concept of meaning and value.[39] If an object is invested with

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[36] D. Harvey, in P. Knox, *Urban Social Geography*, 4th edition, Harlow, 2000, p. 215

[37] T. F. Gieryn, A Space for Place in Sociology, *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol. 26, 2000, pp. 463–496

[38] Malpas, *Place and Experience,* 1999, p. 176

[39] Yi Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: the Perspective of Experience*, Minnesota, 1977, p.153

meaning then it is ascribed with a value – the armchair is a valued part of a person's life because it means something to the person to whom it belongs and it is therefore valued. Similarly, the historic environment is invested with meaning if it can be incorporated into the urban vision of official actors and become a valued component of the contemporary urban landscape. However, if it cannot adapt to meet the needs of the contemporary urban agenda then the building is not valuable in the judgement of the official actors. It may, however, hold a value amongst residents and civic groups yet these values often conflict as urban pressures produce contested valuations of the existing environment.

The historic built environment is not inherently valuable, and nor does it have an innate ability to retain values ascribed to it in difference circumstances; rather, any value is intrinsically related to a contemporary perception of its potential and purpose. In this sense past and present are inseparable. As Halbwachs found in the context of collective memory, remembrance was anchored in the present as it only 'retains the elements which continue to live, or are capable of living in the consciousness of the group that keeps the memory alive'.[40] This resonates with urban memories in the shape of the historic built environment as their value is conditioned by the context of the present. Buildings are therefore ascribed value because they fulfil a contemporary need within which urban memories can be respected, the economy can flourish and society can function. Concurrently the built environment has the capability to lose any existing value if it cannot be put to use in the present. Derelict deindustrial spaces became little more than devalued dens of despair that demonstrated the decline of the city. The regeneration of the deindustrial city therefore required a re-evaluation of the existing landscape to ascertain which urban memories could contribute to the economic and social diversification of the city. This process therefore demanded contemporary valuations on a completed past that would secure a sustainable regeneration in which the values of official actors would be supplemented by those ascribed by a spectrum of city users who could carry out their daily life patterns, create their own memories, and build up their personalised attachments to place.

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[40] Miller, *The Representation of Place,* 2003, p. 16

The historic environment had a competitive advantage over new buildings due to the temporal parameters of regeneration. The move away from modernism to embrace heritage in the 1970s reflected by the explosion of interest in genealogy, the increase in heritage tourist attractions, and the increasing number of television programmes and magazines retelling history was paralleled by the rise in adaptive re-use for urban regeneration. Indeed heritage is not solely related to material artefacts but rather to meaning as various actors ascribe the past with contemporary values to meet their personal or collective agendas.[41] In this context rediscovering the past was about finding new meanings and values that were integrated into the present.

Lowenthal's seminal work elucidates the kaleidoscope of reasons why individuals and organisations seek to enjoy the past.[42] Lowenthal concentrates on the cultural, rather than economic or political benefits of the past to state six reasons why he believes the past is central to the present day. These are categorised under the headings familiarity, escape, reaffirmation, identity, guidance and enrichment. Concurrent throughout the themes is the sense of security and permanence that the past presents. Walking through an area is familiar because you have walked there before, perceived the same buildings and used both the street patterns and the landmarks to orientate yourself – in this way the past also offers guidance. The sense of fear, apprehension and anxiety felt when walking alone through an area that is being built or is newly built arises from the lack of familiarity a person has with that area - a sense of safety comes from knowledge and familiarity. Lowenthal uses Carl Becker's Mr Everyman to illustrate this point, 'without this historical knowledge, this memory of things said and done, his to-day would be aimless and his tomorrow without significance'.[43]

Memory both in terms of the personal and urban is therefore inextricably connected to the rediscovery of the past. The layers of development apparent in the city express urban memory, to then destroy a layer of history through the wilful demolition of a historic building therefore impacts on the memory of the city

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[41] Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage*, 2000

[42] Lowenthal, *The Past*, 1985; see also Lowenthal *Our Past,* 1981 and Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade,* 1998

[43] Lowenthal, *The Past,* 1985, p. 39

in a similar way to the loss of personal memory. In this way urban and personal memories are connected. For the city user the 'demolition of a building is a traumatic experience for the residents of a district whose daily life is framed by a built environment to which they are unconsciously attached'.[44] The loss of the Twin Towers infamously encapsulates this feeling of loss, of disruption and of a re-examination of the urban landscape. The demolition of a familiar building removes the element of security from the urban landscape as memories have to be recast, relocated and created to deal with the new images that target the senses. Similarly familiarity breeds reaffirmation and validation as a person uses their memory to prevent them from repeating their mistakes. Indeed the historic environment can stimulate memories, such as those recalled when visiting a former home, school or workplace. These memories are then used to inform the present and are used as a warning bell to remind a person not to repeat their mistakes of the past. Therefore, a person who can recall past experiences can use them to mould their present and their future - just as agents of change, to influence the urban future remould urban memory through alteration, retention and/or demolition of existing buildings.

To lose your memories, either through memory loss or demolition of buildings, provokes fear and disorientation and a loss of identity. These emotions were drawn upon by Porteous who described the sense of loss of historic buildings as 'topocide'[45], following on from Tuan's definition of the love of place as topophilia. Indeed Hubbard extended this point to note that,

> the demolition of prominent social or public buildings can have a deep-seated effect on a community, as it effectively wipes out a significant chapter in the history of a place and erases memories of its heritage for the majority of its present and future inhabitants.[46]

The decision by the agents of change to conserve or demolish a historic building therefore affects not just the physical but also the mental landscape.

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[44] Council of Europe. *The Industrial Heritage: What Heritage?* Architectural Heritage Reports and Studies, No.6, Strasbourg, 1987, p. 44

[45] P. Hubbard, The Value of Conservation: A Critical Review of Behavioural Research, *Town Planning Review,* Vol.64, No.4, 1993, p. 366

[46] Ibid

The knowledge of the past as recalled by memory provides both the city and the person with an identity. Lowenthal articulates this in 'the sureness of I am because I was'.[47] However, 'I was' can pave the way for 'I will be' and it is in this way that the identity of the city is analogous with personal identity. Urban identity has historically devolved from its built environment; Georgian Bath relates to its Georgian architecture, Steeltown USA evokes images of steel making and steel structures whereas Chicago's identity originates from its skyscrapers. These identities however are hard to simplify due to the multiplicity of personal identities that different people construct in different times but in the personal collage of identity a physical feature will almost always be present – the Eiffel Tower, the Sydney Opera House, the Golden Gate Bridge or the home, school, workplace of the respondent. The metaphor of 'I was so I will be' also applies to the industrial city where past successes were increasingly manipulated to pave the way for a prosperous urban future.

Escapism, another of Lowenthal's categories also relates to this idea of safety and security. The popular attractions of Main Street in Disneyland, Colonial Williamsburg, Lowell State Park, Beamish, Puy du Fou and Wigan Pier all offer a haven of retreat from the present – a chance to enrich our lives through experiencing a sanitised past that erodes memories of an uncomfortable present. However, escaping or rather retreating to the comfort of a completed past has also been seen as representing a 'climate in decline'.[48] Hewison's polemic which condemned the rediscovery of the past illustrated the capability of history to polarise opinion as to whether it is beneficial or burdensome.

This polarisation is evident in former Communist countries where statues that attested to the totalitarian style of government were retained or demolished. The demolition of these statues after the fall of the Iron Curtain evoked a desire to physically erase the past from the minds of society. However, the relocation of many of Budapest's political statues from the Communist era to a specially constructed park forty minutes outside of the centre revealed the wish to commodify the past as a tourist attraction – an oppressive history became a contemporary boon. Communist chic t-shirts are sold and entrance fees are charged to look at the monuments that used to strike fear and resonate political

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[47] Lowenthal, *The Past*, 1985, p. 41

[48] Hewison, *The Heritage Industry*, 1987

messages to Hungarians for almost four decades. Moreover, the outdoor museum was located in sparse wasteland surrounding by nothing but scrubland – the burden of the past was strategically buried but capable of sanitised retrieval as demanded by an increasingly consumerist Western society. Furthermore, personal memories attached to the statues for example their local iconography, their use as meeting points and for orientation as well as evoking memories of a known quantity in terms of a certain way of life, of the way in which children were brought up, the jobs carried out and homelife were all capable of recollection through a trip to the park. In this way the past was hidden but its meaning was capable of recovery. History can therefore simultaneously be both a burden and a benefit dependent on whose history is being conserved and for what motive. The management of heritage therefore assumes considerable importance as it is the valuations made by the agents of change and how these are formed that determine the extent to which the historic environment is perceived as a benefit or burden in the process of urban regeneration.

The relationship of memory to the historic environment was a further example of the how the past can both be a benefit and burden dependent on how it is selected and managed. On the one hand 'memory and history both derive and gain emphasis from physical remains'.[49] Studies by Morris, and Stokols and Jacobi found that the historic environment was psychologically comfortable, that people could identify with an historic building, the historic environment was imbued with meaning and that it acted as a trigger to evoke memory. These memories could, however equally recall horrific or pleasurable moments. Morris found that there was a 'sophisticated sense of orientation to old buildings, and a less developed ability to come to terms with modern townscapes'.[50] Stokols and Jacobi extended this point to note that 'the physical manifestations of the traditional compose a repository of latent meanings that group members draw upon to reaffirm links with past or place'.[51] Lynch who found that 'many symbolic and historic locations in a city are rarely visited but that their survival conveys a sense of security and continuity'[52] reinforced this theme of safety and security.

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[49] Lowenthal, *The Past*, 1985, p. xxiii

[50] C. Morris, Townscape Images: A Study in Meaning, in R. Kain, *Planning for Conservation,* London, p. 259

[51] Hubbard, *Town Planning Review,* Vol.64, No.4, 1993, p. 366

[52] K. Lynch, *What Time is this Place?* Massachusetts, 1972, p. 40

The historic environment was therefore proved to be a site of meaning, of memory and of security and as such was ascribed with a contemporary value. These findings are vital to urban regeneration schemes that need to revitalise declining urban centres and establish a relationship between people and place. The historic environment, due to its ability to foster meaning and provide landmarks for orientation had the potential to become an integral component of urban regeneration.

Paradoxically the historic environment was also considered to be a hindrance to future urban development and blight the urban landscape. In a decaying, degenerated city retaining a historical building had to serve a purpose; it was not enough to preserve the building in aspic for people to admire its historical significance. Rather the building had to be adaptively re-used; it had to be able to meet the contemporary needs of the city. It is a generally accepted fact amongst conservation practitioners, academics and planners that it is more expensive to restore and re-use existing buildings than to construct a purpose built new structure. Indeed 'few historic buildings have been saved from demolition by dominantly economic arguments'.[53] The decaying historic environment needs maintenance to extend its life cycle and this maintenance is expensive. Moreover, although most historic industrial buildings are amenable to change and can accommodate most new uses, the demands of an increasingly sustainable society questions the extent to which re-using historic buildings is environmentally friendly.[54] However, despite this retaining the historic environment does fulfil a key economic role. This is explicitly witnessed through the heritage tourist industry where restoration brings in visitors and investment

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[53] Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, *The Geography of Heritage*, 2000, p. 129

[54] See R. Madgin, The Role of the Historic Environment in Facilitating an Urban Renaissance*,* in S. Nail and D Fée, *Vers une Renaissance Urbaine: Dix Années de Politique Travailliste de la Ville*, Presse de Sorbonne Nouveau, Paris, forthcoming. A report by Drivers Jonas and the ODPM however, defeat this assertion by believing that 're-use and adaptation of heritage assets is at the heart of sustainable development. Not only does re-use lessen the amount of energy expended on new development, but heritage can be used to boost local economies, attract investment, highlight local distinctiveness and add value to property in an area'. Driver Jonas, *Heritage Works,* London, 2006, point 3.3 Furthermore a comparison between retention and demolition in environmental terms revealed that there was 'a huge amount of waste generated by the construction and demolition of buildings. Something like 24 per cent of all waste is generated by demolition and construction. It is simply better in sustainability terms to use and recycle old buildings than to demolish them and to build new ones.' ODPM, *The Role of Historic Buildings in Urban Regeneration*, Cm 200304, London, 2004, point 16

and creates jobs in both the tourist sector and also in related sectors such as cleaning, car park attendants, railway workers, food and drink industry and also in the surrounding shops. The economic regeneration of the surrounding area is undoubtedly aided by the development of a heritage industry. In terms of conservation the cachet given by living, working and playing in a revitalised historic place is often reflected in the high prices of living in a converted, dockside apartment such as Albert Docks in Liverpool. Finally, the re-use of the historic environment can be explored in terms of added value. Converted buildings and museums do not just function as economic resources but as Lowenthal pointed out they are significant cultural assets that give a sense of security, identity and permanence. The historic environment therefore has a dual benefit and also a dual burden in terms of being both an economic and cultural resource, the effectiveness of which rests with the ability of human agents to manage the resource so that the benefits outweigh the burden.

The decision over whether a historic building is perceived as a burden or as a benefit rests with the agents of change. It is these urban actors that have the capability to decide whether urban spaces can be transformed into places through retention or whether it is better to erase an existing urban memory. The third component of the theoretical framework thus rests with power. The capability of the industrial past to polarise opinion[55] in addition to the need to regenerate urban spaces ensured that power, control and dominance cannot be separated from the decision to retain or demolish historic industrial buildings. Foucault believed that space cannot be treated as the 'dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile' but rather it is to be understood as 'intricately operative in the constructions of social power and knowledge'.[56] Assuming control over space 'first requires that it be conceived of as something usable, malleable, and therefore capable of domination through human action'.[57] Usability, malleability and domination are therefore three components which influence the decision making process of the agents of change. The degree of usability, whether it can be moulded to fit the contemporary agenda, and whether there is enough scope within the existing legislation and institutional framework to

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[55] See for example the nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century novels and polemics by commentators such as Dickens, Gaskell, Orwell and Engels.

[56] A. Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment, A Non-Verbal Communication Approach*, London, 1982, p. 29

[57] Harvey, *The Condition,* 1990, p. 254

re-use the building to attract people and investment back into the urban centre were central to the decision to retain or demolish from the 1970s onwards. These components related to micro-level factors including the location, condition, age, historic significance and appearance of the building as well as macro-level factors concerning the finance available, the power of the agents of change, national government policy, urban policy and ownership issues.

The power struggles inherent in the control of urban space are revealed through the decision to retain or demolish the historic industrial environment. The ability of agents of change to assume dominance (hereafter known as dominant actors) to manipulate the memory of both a person and the city was a theme explored by Mary Douglas.[58] Drawing on Halbwachs beliefs on the concept of 'collective memory'[59] but in reference to institutions, Douglas concluded that memories took on a particular form according to a group's wishes. The way in which a group internalised visual images was directed by the society they belonged to, thus acknowledging that different groups hold different memories at different times. This also acknowledged that the agents of change internalise different views in different ways in order to satisfy their aims for the city. For example, Jacobs explored the re-use of the Swan Brewery in Perth, Australia and found that the Aborigine's viewpoint was overlooked in favour of meeting the city's contemporary need to adapt the brewery for tourism and leisure purposes.[60] Similarly, the slum dweller forced to move to accommodate clearance and new build has a different visual and lived experience of the area than that of the decision-makers. Douglas' findings over the different memories and images absorbed by multifarious groups aligns with the framework of space, place and power as it illustrates how urban memories are selected and manipulated to fit the contemporary agenda to re-make places.

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[58] M. Douglas, *How Institutions Think,* London, 1987 and *Essay's in the Sociology of Perception,* London, 1982

[59] Halbwachs based his definition of collective memory on three aspects, lived experience, the condition of the present in evoking memory and the provocation of memory through spatial images.

[60] J. Jacobs, Edge of Empire: Post Colonialism and the City, in G. Bridge and S. Watson, *The Blackwell City Reader,* Oxford, 2005, pp. 542 - 48

Transforming Spaces to Make Places

Place-making demands that urban actors make value judgments on the existing historic environment as to whether they are a help or hindrance to their urban regeneration plans. These judgements are conditioned by the urban context, the remit of urban actors, the availability of finance and the system of governance and legislative framework in which agencies operate. In this research four stages of place-making were uncovered in which these valorisations, frameworks, remits and urban priorities were exposed. These stages were: recognising historic space, managing change, promoting place and re-creating a sense of place. Whilst this may seem a narrow definition of the multifarious ways in which places are created,[61] the four stages should not be seen as the only method in which to make places but rather as the container for several subsidiary factors that contribute to recognising, managing, promoting and re-creating a sense of place from which spaces (geographical locations) are transformed into places (centres of meaning and value). The definitive goal of place-making in this context was to both physically and symbolically manipulate the spaces, places and ideas of the industrial city so that new city users were attracted to a revitalised place. Returning activity to the urban centre through finding new uses for old buildings and ensuring that over time these new city users could build up attachments, emotional connections and create memories to ultimately interact and connect with the revitalised place was vital to securing an urban renaissance. In the absence of attachments between people and place, in terms of both human and capital investment a durable urban renaissance would not materialise, as space has not turned into place.

Place attachment, the management of urban change, the promotion of place and the sense of place are all entrenched academic themes. Within these academic spheres of place the terms place attachment, place-identity and sense of place have been used interchangeably and terms such as character, genius-loci and personality brought into the debate. Indeed Larkham and Jiven suggested that these 'complex theoretical terms have become confused'[62] and in their 2003 article they called for a re-examination of the ways in which academics and

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[61] See the Academy for Sustainable Communities website (http://www.ascskills.org.uk) which lists over ten ways in which to make places

[62] G. Jiven and P.J. Larkham, Sense of Place, Authenticity and Character: A Commentary, *Journal of Urban Design*, Vol.8, No.1, 2003, pp. 67-81

planners used the terms. Place attachment was comprehensively explored in Low and Altman's seminal work of the same name. Low found that place attachment originated from the 'symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular piece of land', this then 'provides the basis for the understanding of and relation to the environment'.[63] Place-identity[64] is demarcated by six characteristics: it is a social construct; based on the characteristics of place; linked to the history of place; debatable; attributed within and characterised by a particular context; and, finally, is a changing process.[65] Sense of place is a more ambiguous term and has been defined as 'an experiential process created by the setting, combined with what the person brings to it'.[66] Hummon simplified this definition to state that sense of place involved both an 'interpretative perspective' on, and an 'emotional reaction' to, the environment.[67] In all the terms there is one commonality – the connection between people and place that result from the investment of meaning and the ascription of value.

In this thesis place attachment and sense of place are adopted. Place attachment is considered vital in the first stage of place-making identified by this thesis: the recognition of place. Here, as Manzo and Perkins illustrated, place attachment was vital to community participation and planning.[68] Similarly Low and Altman found that 'place attachment may contribute to the formation, maintenance and preservation of the identity of a person, group or culture'.[69] In the context of

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[63] S. M. Low. Symbolic Ties That Bind: Place Attachment in the Plaza, in I. Altman and S. Low (et al.), *Place Attachment*, New York, 1992, p. 165

[64] See H.M. Proshanky, The City and Self-Identity, *Environment and Behaviour*, Vol.10, No.2, pp. 147-69, 1978; T.R. Sarbin, Place-identity as a Component of Self: An Addendum, *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol.3, No.4, pp. 337-42, 1983; H.M. Proshanky, A.K. Fabian & R. Kaminoff, Place-identity: Physical World Socialisation of the Self, *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol.3, No.4, pp. 57– 83, 1983, for more in-depth analysis of place-identity.

[65] These six characteristics were summarised by P.P.P Huigen and L. Meijering in Making Places: A Story of De Venen in Ashworth and Graham, *Senses of Place,* 2005

[66] F. Steele, *The Sense of Place*, Boston, 1981, p. 9

[67] D. Hummon, Community Attachment: Local Sentiment and Sense of Place in Altman and Low, *Place Attachment,* 1992, p. 262

[68] L.C. Manzo and D.D Perkins, Finding Common Ground: The Importance of Place Attachment to Community Participation and Planning, *Journal of Planning Literature*, Vol.20, No.4, pp. 335–50, 2006

[69] Altman and Low, *Place Attachment,* 1992, p. 10

recognising place and bringing a derelict building or area to the attention of local government and the private sector the voluntary sector i.e. the Civic Trust, local historical societies, neighbourhood groups and individual residents need to have a shared goal which is often based on the shared appreciation/attachment to place. In this thesis place attachment expressed through the work of local historical societies in lobbying for buildings to be listed, campaigning against demolition and revealing hidden historic buildings and areas to the attention of a wider and more influential is explored. Sense of place is adopted and moulded to fit the latter stages of place-making in which the dominant agents of change, having formulated strategies, marketed and promoted an image of place, need to retain city users in the revitalised urban area.

Sense of place, in its broadest definition as an emotional and interpretative reaction, is loosely adopted. However, in the context of the research findings sense of place is much more than a mere reaction. It is the type of reaction, how the reaction is provoked and how the steps that were designed to attract and retain people and investment were put in place that warrants further investigation. To achieve this, the term 'sense' is exposed in its literal definition: the sights, sounds, smells, feel and taste of the city is explored, for it is the penetration of the senses that provokes reactions in city users. This was an area explored by Rykwert who professed a deep regret at how urban commentators devote little time to the touch and smell of the city.[70] The sensory experience of the regenerated city may be an under researched area but the improvement of the urban sensescape provides a clear indication into the physical, cultural, economic, environmental and social regeneration of the city. The silencing of machinery indicated the demise of the manufacturing sector, the sight of a landmark new building such as a Victorian town hall made a statement about the future direction of the city, the smell and taste of freshly made coffee by well trained baristas indicated a cultural change whereas the need to press the keypad of a hotel, apartment or office door revealed the security measures embedded in the twenty-first century city. An improved sensescape therefore indicated a conscious manipulation of space by key agents. This definition of a sense of place reliant on an improved sensescape is utilised in the final stage of place-making: capturing city users, to illustrate the ways in which the historic

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[70] J. Rykwert, *The Seduction of Place, The History and Future of the City,* Oxford, 2000, p. 6 However, A. Seward and J. Cowan, *The City and the Senses*, Aldershot, 2007 makes a contribution to this field.

environment and its surrounding spaces were manipulated to retain people, build up a self-sustainable tax base, and secure future investment into the surrounding areas.

The degree to which the historic environment could be moulded to fit the contemporary agenda was determined by the values ascribed by dominant actors concerning a building's potential. The rest of the thesis is therefore concerned with investigating how the historic environment was moulded and manipulated to meet contemporary demands through an examination of power struggles, legislative powers and constraints, promotion and physical changes to the building or its setting. Returning meaning to, and ascribing value to, the urban environment through the alteration, restoration or demolition of the historic environment was therefore bound up with the politics of place. The pages that follow break this process of place-making into its component parts to ascertain how contemporary values were revealed through the recognition, management and manipulation of the historic environment and how new city users were seduced into ascribing their own personalised values onto a rescripted urban text.

Chapter 2

Research Design

The nexus of space, place and power provided the theoretical framework for four central research questions:

1. What were the motivations for retaining or demolishing the historic environment and how did these reveal the contemporary values ascribed to historic buildings?

2. Who managed this urban change and how and why certain actors assumed and asserted their dominance?

3. How was the historic environment marketed to appeal to people and to attract investment into the urban centre?

4. How did actors manipulate the historic environment in an attempt to return function, vibrancy and activity through transforming space into place?

The thesis is concerned with the *process* of place making rather than the outcome of using the historic environment to (re) make places. Case studies were chosen along defined criteria to explore these research questions. The criteria were split into the 'historic' and 'contemporary' merits of the buildings in order to ascertain how a building's historic significance was perceived to have helped or hindered policy makers to meet the contemporary urban agenda (see figure 1).

Restoring and re-using the industrial environment to regenerate the city transcended nations, and as such the approach taken in this thesis was to ascertain how this process worked in different countries. However, to retain the required level of research and depth of material two European countries were chosen: Britain and France. The organisational, administrative, governmental and financial mechanisms differed widely between these two countries, and as such allowed for a non-generic and in-depth investigation into how the past was incorporated into the urban future under two entirely different institutional systems.

Figure 1 Key criterion to inform decisions over choice of case studies

Historic Criteria	Contemporary Criteria
Historically significant industrial building	Given national protection in form of listing or inscribed as a *monument historique*
Building located in a traditional industrial city	Decision made over the building's future in the context of the regeneration of a de-industrial urban centre
Different types of building, i.e. factory, warehouse, railway station	Structurally sound at time of listing
	Contention surrounding the future of the building
	Retention/demolition marked a change in urban policy
	Comparable time frames, degree of overlap between the case studies

Furthermore, the effects of deindustrialisation on British and French industrial cities were similar and therefore the problems facing policy-makers in deindustrial British and French cities were comparable. Using these two different countries separates the general from the unique and allowed for a fuller understanding of the reasons why the historic environment was retained or demolished and how, during the process of urban reinvention, policy-makers formulated and implemented decisions in the context of their different governmental structures. Furthermore, the ways in which value judgements on the historic environment were conditioned by the institutional framework/organisational structure is exposed. Within these two countries buildings were then selected on the basis of the above criteria.

Imperative to cross-cultural as well as individual country studies is an awareness of the context in which the policy decisions were made. Case studies require careful investigations of their context - what works for one city may not work for another or for a different country in a different time period. For example, the left-wing local authority in Manchester adopted an entrepreneurial spirit in its regeneration from the 1980s that would have been impossible to replicate in

Budapest under Communism. The danger with comparative studies is that a one for all, all for one model is devised that overlooks the local context and aims to find universal solutions to global social, economic and environment urban problems. In this research the approach taken was to search beyond the similarities and differences between the case studies to ascertain why each organisation and individual valued the historic environment and how their institutional structure allowed for the retention or favoured its demolition. Only by probing beyond the level of these similarities and differences was an understanding of how the organisational structure fostered and/or forced the decisions concerning the memory of the city.

Miller has pointed out all historical research is comparative. Just as history is constructed in the present so is historical comparison – the past is always set in the context of present concerns. Miller stated that 'all history...involves the assessment of the past in the context of the present, or more exactly the confrontation of our perception of the present with our perception of the past, as it is located in the present'.[1] This viewpoint is aligned with that of Halbwachs who believed that all remembrance is created in the present. For Halbwachs present conditions influenced the selection of memories – a philosophy that is exposed through urban regeneration which selects the past in order to meet contemporary needs. The metaphor is further stretched by aligning it with historical research where past events are researched in the context of contemporary concerns related to a pursuit of originality or is influenced by a desire to offer an alternative view of the past based on the findings of contemporary historians. Cross-country studies using multiple examples therefore further obfuscate this distinction between past and present and ensure that the comparative method is present in each piece of historical research be it through a comparison of past and present or through a tripartite exploration of cross-cultural examples as this thesis provides.

Case Studies

Adhering to the criteria three case study examples were chosen: Castlefield in Manchester, the Liberty Building in Leicester, and the Motte-Bossut factory in Roubaix. Castlefield differed from Liberty and Motte-Bossut as it provided a

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[1] M.J. Miller drawing on the work of J. Kaye in *The Representation of Place, Urban Planning and Protest in France and Great Britain, 1950-1980,* Aldershot, 2003, p. 28

number of eighteenth and nineteenth-century industrial structures and was an area of re-use rather than an individual building. This case study was chosen as its buildings met all the criteria and it also offered a contrasting perspective on the value of the historic environment in terms of the relationship between the proximate individual buildings and thus allowed for a deeper exploration into the reasons policy-makers ascribed value to the historic environment. Although both Manchester and Leicester are British cities it is imperative to place each case study in its own context and so Roubaix is referred to as *ville* throughout the thesis and the three when discussed together are referred to as urban centres as this term evokes fewer connotations than the word 'city'.[2] The three case studies examined here – Castlefield, Liberty and Motte-Bossut were primarily chosen due to their distinctive and distinguished industrial histories, and their decline and decay as a result of deindustrialisation. Additionally there was a significant degree of controversy and contention surrounding each of the case studies. Accordingly competing motives and power struggles could be subjected to comparison. Furthermore, Castlefield and Motte-Bossut played a catalytic role in the nature of Manchester and Roubaix's urban regeneration whereas Liberty represented a key battle between the public, voluntary and private sectors to regenerate Leicester which impacted on the future reinvention of the city.

The next section introduces the urban and industrial development of each urban centre. The role of Castlefield, Liberty and Motte-Bossut in the development of the urban centres of Manchester, Leicester and Roubaix conveys the historical significance of the buildings, the significance of which informed the decision to retain or demolish at the end of the twentieth century.

Industrial Development

Manchester, Roubaix and Leicester were urban centres whose reputations developed from their industrial foundations and whose urban form and function developed as a result of industrialisation. Importantly, for this investigation, each suffered from urban decay and decline as a result of the collapse of their traditional manufacturing lifeblood. Manchester produced, marketed and distributed cotton from the late eighteenth century. In terms of national and international influences on industrial development, Manchester was at the

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[2] Cities have been defined in numerous ways from size, population density to legal status and these definitions differ between countries as does the terminology.

forefront. Roubaix held a similar national influence in France's industrial development due to its location in the powerful Nord-Pas-de-Calais region that contained shipping, mining, textile and steel industries. Leicester was significant nationally contributing to a variety of industries of which boot and shoe making was an important component. Within these industrial centres the area of Castlefield, the Motte-Bossut factory and the Liberty Building were vital to the success of their industries.

The historic significance of Castlefield, Liberty and Motte-Bossut arose out of their leading role in the development of industry. A tradition of innovation was apparent in both Castlefield and Motte-Bossut. Britain's first modern canal, the Bridgewater, was constructed in Castlefield in 1764. Liverpool Road Station, the world's first passenger railway station was built in 1830. As a result of these two milestones Castlefield built up an array of industrial buildings with a landscape dominated by warehouses, canals, locks, viaducts, railway lines and good sheds as well as social infrastructure such as houses, public houses, markets, churches and Sunday schools.

Castlefield was an industrial community whose role in marketing and distributing products primarily for the textile industry, was vital to Manchester's position as the world's first industrial city. Similarly the Motte-Bossut factory first built in 1843, [3] contributed to Roubaix's leading position in the French industrial revolution. Inspired by visits to Manchester, Louis Motte-Bossut commissioned a five-storey factory to be built in the centre-ville. Both visually and functionally the factory differed to others in Roubaix as it had the capacity of ten spinning mills and 18,000 machines, employed upwards of 500 workers and was the first factory in France to use the self-acting mule.[4] The factory was a marker for industrial development in both Roubaix and France. Its size, position and the incorporation of new techniques ensured that Motte-Bossut marked the entry of Roubaix into the modern industrial capitalist system.

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[3] The original Motte-Bossut factory was built in 1843 but was destroyed in a fire. The version that stands today was finished in 1866

[4] Motte- Bossut et Fils File 1988007 held at Centre des Archives du Monde du Travail

Figure 2 Aerial view of Castlefield showing the canal basin heritage (A) to the right of the photograph complete with warehouses and Liverpool Road Station (B) in the centre of the photograph.
Source: www.webbaviation.co.uk (Item name : aa02275b.jpg, Manchester City Centre from the air, 2006)

Figure 3 Motte-Bossut in the nineteenth century
Source: Motte Bossut file housed at the Ministère de Culture et de la Communication, Paris
 Image removed pending copyright clarification

Figure 4 The Liberty Building in the early twentieth century
Source: *Leicester Mercury,* Shoe Designer Recalls the Pristine Liberty Shoes
Factory, 31 July 2000
Image removed pending copyright clarification

The Liberty factory constructed in 1919[5] filled a niche market in the British boot
and shoe industry which produced women's high grade welted, McKay sewn and
cemented shoes.[6] According to the original building plans the factory was
designed to employ 213 women and 250 men.[7] The factory was at the heart of
the community as local families plied their trade there: 'both my parents were
employed at the factory and I started work there in 1940'.[8] The factory was
therefore part of the local consciousness.

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[5] The construction dates of the three case studies range from the eighteenth to the twentieth century in a deliberate attempt to probe the influence of age on the perception of historic buildings – this relates explicitly to the criteria in both Britain and France to list/inscribe buildings on the basis of their age as well as historic and architectural significance.

[6] Dr J. Skinner private file

[7] Building Plans, 1919, Number 23685, Held in Leicestershire Record Office

[8] *Leicester Mercury*, Garlanded for King's Silver Jubilee, 8 August,1998, p. 8

Both Liberty and Motte-Bossut combined innovation with iconic landmark status. Liberty was of a particularly striking, early Art Deco architectural style, and was an example of the Hennebique technique.[9] Francois Hennebique was an early French pioneer in the use of reinforced concrete in which he devised his own structural system that he only made available on licence to ensure that the strict specifications were observed. This method of construction ensured that the factory was spot listed with Grade II status on October 10, 1994 after a concerted campaign by the Leicester Group of the Victorian Society (LGVS). A replica statue of Liberty was added in 1921 which ensured the building was immediately recognisable - a fact that was further entrenched by change of in the name of both the building and the product from Lennards to Liberty in 1921.[10] Motte-Bossut was also instantly recognisable and was quickly given the nickname *'Le Monstre'* from about 1844. The 'château-fortress' factory complete with crenellated towers and distinctive small brickwork furthered embedded the building in the urban landscape: the Motte-Bossut factory was both historically significant and architecturally striking and combined the innovative nature of Castlefield with an iconic landmark status.[11] Castlefield's warehouses were built in functional style that differed from the Palazzo style of the central Manchester warehouses yet Liverpool Road Station was, however, architecturally striking.

Due to their perceived historical significance each case study was given statutory protection. Liverpool Road Station was given Grade I status in 1964 and was followed by the listing of the other industrial buildings between 1980 and 1996. Castlefield, as a whole was nominated as a Conservation Area in 1979 and became Britain's first Urban Heritage Park in 1982. Motte-Bossut was inscribed onto *l'inventaire supplémentaire des monument historiques* in 1979 whereas Liberty was given Grade II status in 1994. The decision to provide statutory protection for each case study originated from different sources: Manchester City Council (MCC) for Castlefield's Conservation Area, Secrétaire d'Etat à la Culture

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[9] Dr J. Skinner, Private file

[10] The idea for the statue arose from a business trip made by the factories managing directors to New York. America at this time was making strides with the technology needed to manufacture shoes and whilst on a visit to assess the machinery they were awestruck by the sight of the Statue of Liberty.

[11] Castlefield was a hidden district in comparison with Motte-Bossut, which was placed in the centre-ville. To reach Liverpool Road Station involved going down back streets and using local knowledge rather than noticing a visually striking building as soon as you entered the city as was the case with Motte-Bossut.

et de l'Environnement for the Motte-Bossut factory, and the Department of the Environment listed Liberty after a concerted campaign from the Leicester Group of the Victorian Society (LGVS). The three examples, therefore, offer the opportunity to explore the motives and internal workings of the diverse agencies involved in providing statutory protection. Furthermore, this provision of statutory protection was to varying degrees contentious in each case study, which allowed for an insight into the contemporary value and relevance of the past, how power struggles were overcome as well as how the selection of the past was perceived to either help or hinder urban re-invention.

The Need for Urban Re-invention

Contraction of the traditional manufacturing sector in Manchester, Leicester and Roubaix left an indelible mark on the physical and mental urban landscape as vacant sites erased memories of prosperous pasts. Each urban centre suffered from the dual processes of deindustrialisation and depopulation as both employment and people left the areas. Both Manchester and Roubaix went into decline as the textile industry declined during the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, over the period 1961-83 Manchester lost over 150,000 jobs in manufacturing. [12] Roubaix-Tourcoing lost 40,000 textile jobs between 1960 and 1982 and overall between 1972 and 1978, 16 per cent of industrial land disappeared in Roubaix. [13] Furthermore, a 1993 study carried out by the Communauté Urbaine de Lille (CUDL) reported that between 1985 and 1993 the number of industrial sites vacated in the métropole doubled, leading to the displacement of jobs as well as a residual land mass. [14] Unemployment hovered between the 27 and 35 per cent mark over the 1980s and 1990s as the mono-industrial city struggled to overcome its traditional reliance on the textile industry. [15] In Manchester the highest levels of unemployment were found in these inner areas and reached 30 per cent on average. [16] The inner city lost one in three manual jobs in

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[12] A. Kidd, *Manchester: Town and City Histories*, Lancaster, 2006, p. 192

[13] M. Battiau, Raisons et Effets de la Concentration Spatiale de Nombreux Textile dans l'Agglomération Roubaix-Tourcoing, *Hommes et Terres du Nord,* Vol.2, p. 75

[14] Communauté Urbaine de Lille, *Inventaire 'Friches Industrielles', Rapport d'Etude*, Lille, September 1993, p.18

[15] Urban and Economic Development (URBED) Draft Report, Roubaix Case Study, London, 2006, point 1.1

[16] B. Robson, *Those Inner Cities, Reconciling the Social and Economic Aims of Urban Policy,* Oxford, 1978, pp. 27 - 29

manufacturing between 1966 and 1972[17] and thus the now redundant nineteenth-century structures that once housed the manufacturing industries fell further into disrepair. Consequently there was 'dead space at the heart of the centre of the old industrial region'.[18] The situation worsened during the 1970s when a loss of 47 per cent in city centre employment in industry and warehousing between 1971 and 1977 left Manchester need of urgent economic and social regeneration.[19]

The contraction of the boot and shoe industry in Leicester had similar consequences for the inner city. The unemployment rate in 1991 around the time of Liberty's closure was 5 per cent above the national average, a figure that disguised distinct differences throughout the city.[20] Leicester appeared to cope with the impact of deindustrialisation marginally better than the northern, heavy and single-industry cities. This was confirmed by the relative lack of potential unrest, and a low level of urban unemployment related to the fact that Leicester 'has maintained a stronger manufacturing base than many other areas with employment concentrated in the textile, hosiery, clothing, footwear and mechanical engineering industries'.[21] This diversification of industrial output secured a more gradual deindustrialisation due to the differing pace of change witnessed in each economic sector, rather than the immediate impact of the failure of the textile industry as witnessed in Roubaix and to a lesser extent Manchester. However, the city did have concentrated areas of decline. The area immediately surrounding the Liberty factory, owing to its previously industrial nature, was nominated a Potential Development Area and was also under an Urban Programme authority and the Bede Island and West End areas of inner city Leicester became the focus of Leicester City Council's bid to obtain City Challenge funding in 1992. Contained within this 370 hectare area was a quarter of Leicester's derelict land, an indicator of the impact of deindustrialisation on the urban landscape and entrenched environmental and socio-economic problems leading to a comprehensively depressed image for the area. Unemployment in this area reached 13.6 per cent, two fifths of households were on benefits, and

[17] Kidd, *Manchester*, 2006, p. 192

[18] R. Mellor, Changing Manchester, *Occasional Paper No. 44*, Manchester, December 1995, p. 1

[19] Manchester City Council, *Manchester City Centre Local Plan,* Manchester, 1984, p. 23

[20] Leicester City Council*, Leicester Local Plan*, Leicester, 1992, p. 56

[21] Ibid, p. 55

the prevailing condition of the physical environment was one of decay and dilapidation.[22] The area surrounding the Liberty factory had gone from one of Leicester's thriving industrial heartbeats to a decaying, derelict district of distress.

In addition to deindustrialisation, Manchester, along with Glasgow and Liverpool, sustained the 'greatest population loss since 1951 of any of the large cities in the UK'. [23] The inner city suffered most severely from this depopulation as Manchester's inner six wards including the Castlefield area lost 75 per cent of the total population of Manchester as a borough during 1951-91.[24] The depopulation figures for Leicester show a more positive outlook than in Manchester although Leicester city centre still lost 17,800 people between 1981 and 90. [25] The restructuring of Roubaix's post-World War II economy, as in Manchester and Leicester, caused a change in the demographic profile of the ville. Due to the automation of the textile industry skilled manual workers were replaced by low paid, often unskilled immigrant workers from both inside and outside Europe who then lost these jobs following the contraction of the textile industry during the 1970s. [26] The changing demographic profile of each case study required a significant reversal to attract people into the urban centre so that the tax base could be strengthened and the economy diversified and the social conditioned improved.

The consequences of deindustrialisation and depopulation were also manifested through the condition of the urban environment. Castlefield was 'pitted by crofts, crumbling buildings and silted waterways' and devoid of life, meaning and people.[27] Castlefield's historic warehouses all closed before 1980 as the area

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[22] City Challenge, *Leicester City Challenge Bid*, Leicester, 1992, p. 8

[23] Kidd, *Manchester,* 2006, p. 215

[24] Mellor, *Occasional Paper No. 44*, 1995, p. 3

[25] Leicester City Council*, Local Plan*, 1992, p. 35

[26] Miller, *The Representation of Place,* 2003, p. 94 using P. Bruyelle, Roubaix Face aux Grands Mutations Récentes, p. 310 in Y.M. Hilaire (ed), *Histoire de Roubaix,* Dunkerque, 1984 found that the percentage of non-French in Roubaix reached 22.5 per cent in 1975 before declining to 20.8 per cent in 1982. Immigrants mainly originated from Italy and North Africa and their presence affected the image of the city, the socio-economic composition as well as the voting patterns as non-French residents were not permitted to vote. Their presence was generally seen as disruptive and negative, a point Miller supports by showing the increased support for the extreme right

[27] *Manchester Evening News*, Treasures in a City's Backyard, 29 October 1979

became like a doormat trodden on by the passage of time. Castlefield was a 'hostile' place in the 1970s and entering the area was to 'take your life into your hands'.[28] Only people working in the noxious industries and vagabonds did so; indeed, the area was described in 1979 as a 'den of thieves and vice'.[29] It was Manchester's backyard and a part of Manchester's forgotten history. Consequently, Castlefield went from the birthplace to the 'grave of the industrial revolution'.[30]

Liberty's rapid decay also reflected the contraction of the manufacturing sector and the problem over the future of redundant, decaying buildings. The Liberty Building was daubed in graffiti; it was boarded up yet repeatedly broken into to become home to vagrants and led the authorities to question 'whether we needed this image for the city'.[31] Similarly Motte-Bossut's permanence in the urban landscape and its inscription on *l'inventaire supplémentaire des monuments historique* institutionalised the industrial image that the municipalité wanted to erase in favour of embracing a modern and progressive tertiary sector.[32] Inertia gripped both Castlefield and Liberty as the industrial buildings remained vacant. In contrast, new uses for the Motte-Bossut factory were discussed in 1974, seven years before the factory ceased operation in 1981, thus reducing the time lag between closure and action. This inhibited the extent of the decay of the building and correspondingly increased its chances of restoration and re-use, and contrasted with Castlefield and Liberty where prolonged inaction meant buildings were in a significantly worse state of repair. Furthermore, this interval between closure and action highlighted an early difference in the management of industrial heritage in the case studies.

The severity of the physical and functional decline of Castlefield, Liberty and Motte-Bossut's polarised opinion within the public sector as well as between the public, private and voluntary sectors and so provided an opportunity to ascertain how urban power struggles are conducted and how agencies used or abused the

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[28] Interview with D. Rhodes, former Conservation Architect in Manchester City Council, December 2005

[29] *Manchester Evening News,* Den of Thieves and Vice, 30 October 1979

[30] Ibid

[31] Interview with A. Ward, Urban Design Planning Officer, Leicester City Council, December 2005

[32] See Miller, *The Representation of Place*, 2003, p. 99

historic environment to re-make place. Political tensions were evident in all three cases. In Manchester initial ideological mistrust between a left-wing local authority and a right-wing quasi-autonomous governmental organisation (quango) was overcome to embed a comparatively harmonious working relationship within the public and private sector. The initial battle between local and national actors was pacified by a change in Mayor in Roubaix, whereas in Leicester the battle between the public, private and voluntary sectors raged for two decades. In Manchester a spirit of partnership was witnessed between Manchester City Council and the voluntary sector as well as with Greater Manchester Council (GMC). Later, the City Council worked alongside Central Manchester Development Corporation (CMDC) to regenerate the southern section of Manchester city centre despite the ideological differences. The future of Motte-Bossut and its position in Roubaix's regeneration was the subject of ferocious controversy between the municipalité and the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Culture et de l'Environnement concerning the listing of the factory. Following the resolution of this conflict which is covered in chapter 4, Motte-Bossut was restored and re-used. Autocratic rule was asserted through the imposition of national control. In Leicester the situation was entirely different as conflict and tension between the public and private sector as well as within local government was never resolved. The private owners of Liberty clashed with English Heritage and Leicester City Council's Conservation Department who in turn clashed with City Challenge and the City Council's Planning and Urban Design Department as well as Leicester Regeneration Company to create an untenable situation in which chaos, antagonism and uncertainty reigned.

Local government in Manchester rested with the left-wing Manchester City Council and the Greater Manchester County Council that was created out of local government reorganisation in 1974 and abolished under Thatcher in 1986. Both of these agencies worked on different levels and developed regeneration policies that focussed on their area. The City Council worked with the central area whereas GMC focussed on developing a regional policy that saw Manchester use its position as a regional centre to stimulate the outlying areas such as Wigan, Bolton and Bury. The County Council was also able to draw upon the significant tax base of these outlying areas to fund Manchester's regeneration with the justification that its reinvention would benefit the region as a whole. For Castlefield the shared interests of each agency ensured direct action through the Local Plan as well as with GMC's financial and organisational role in the area's

early regeneration. The left-wing City Council underwent a distinct ideological change during the period 1988 to 1996. After the 1987 General Election MCC moved away from its beliefs in municipal socialism to embrace an entrepreneurial spirit favoured by Thatcher.[33] This switch partly reflected the financial inability of local government to comprehensively and independently regenerate the city centre and also revealed the extent of economic reorganisation in the 1980s and 1990s. During this period the Keynesian model of state intervention was shunned in favour of a belief in the power of the free market, business and the private sector. The regeneration of Castlefield reflected this change as its environmental and functional transformation was secured through a combination of private sector money and local and central government policy that used Central Manchester Development Corporation (1988-96) as the delivery vehicle.

Urban governance in Roubaix consisted of a mosaic of agencies operating on different spatial levels. The Ville de Roubaix, or the municipalité as it is also known, worked at the level of the commune, Communauté Urbaine de Lille (CUDL) aimed its policies at improving the métropole, whereas the Région Nord-Pas-de-Calais dealt with the region and the Département du Nord covered a much wider spatial scale. The future of Motte-Bossut was debated, restored and re-used during 1974 to 1994 when the municipalité underwent a pronounced political realignment in which seventy-years of Socialist rule was replaced by a centre-right coalition in 1983. This change also mirrored the change in national government from d'Estaing to Mitterrand and the introduction of decentralisation. Motte-Bossut, therefore, became integral to building new reputations and implementing new policies. Political change in Leicester was also witnessed during the debate over the future of Liberty. This was mainly on the national level as the area immediately surrounding Liberty was subject first to Conservative government initiatives with City Challenge 1993-98 and then to the Leicester Regeneration Company formed in 1999 under New Labour. Neither of these initiatives prevented Liberty's demolition as tensions between the public and private sector compromised the restoration of the building.

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[33] I. Deas, J. Peck, A. Tickell, K. Ward and M. Bradford in Rescripting Urban Regeneration, the Mancunian Way cited in R. Imrie and H. Thomas, *British Urban Policy*, 2nd ed, London, 1999, p. 206 state that CMDC contributed to the normalisation of an entrepreneurial mode of governance in Manchester, specifically playing a central role in the City Council's embrace of a more pragmatic and pro business style of working.

After decades of tension between urban agencies on the local, regional and national scale and conscious urban policies Castlefield is now a mixed-use area containing museums, hotels, apartments, offices and bars and restaurants. Motte-Bossut is now home to both the Centre des Archives du Monde du Travail and Eurotéléport whereas Liberty was demolished and replaced by purpose built student halls of residence.

The transformation in the political, social and economic climate in Manchester, Leicester and Roubaix and the centrality of Castlefield, Liberty and Motte-Bossut as strategic pawns in the game of urban regeneration ensured that each case study warranted individual attention, enough indeed to necessitate individual studies. This analysis was enriched by the tensions, conflicts, differing agencies, shared interests and changing social contexts in both Britain and France that allowed for a cross-cultural, comprehensive exploration of how the past is selected to meet the contemporary urban agenda.

Sources

The various sources used for this research dealt with the historical development of each area as well as the contemporary policy responses to deindustrialisation. The sources therefore spanned three centuries, from the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries but were mainly concentrated in the period 1970 to 2002. Sources were located in numerous archives, libraries, médiathèques and museums across Britain and France. The sources were largely comparable, as each for each case study building plans, maps, architects plans, newspaper articles, regeneration frameworks, letters between actors and agencies, official reports, promotional material, feasibility studies, council minutes, development strategies, development plans, both local and structural (Plan de Occupation des Sols and Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement in France) and photographs were located. Of course these sources were not identical in format and each case study provided material and documents of variable quantity and quality, though the content within each of the sources allowed for comparison. Additionally semi-structured interviews were held with members of the public, private and voluntary sector in Britain and France. Teasing out contentions between actors and unravelling the processes of contemporary urban change presents the historian with significant barriers with regard to access of available materials. However, the approach adopted in the research was to cross reference the available printed sources with formal and informal conversations with the key protagonists to firstly

enrich the sources, secondly allow a more comprehensive investigation and thirdly to ensure that the majority of relevant sources were located using both the insider information of the actors involved as well as the intuitive and deductive reasoning of the historian.

The identification of potential interviewees originated from identifying names in the primary sources but was also aided through discussions with Keith Falconer, the Head of Industrial Archaeology at English Heritage, whose knowledge of key personnel involved in city councils and English Heritage's regional offices as well as identifying French contacts helped to identify key individuals to interview which in turn led to further interviewees and opened the door to more comprehensive and cross-checked investigation than that permitted by the written sources.

For Castlefield, the history of the area was traced through Trade Directories from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well as maps to trace the land use changes, photographs showed the original condition of the buildings, whereas the Goads Insurance Plans revealed the former uses of the individual warehouses. These sources were all located in the Local Studies section of Manchester Central Library. The contemporary material came from several different sources. First, the work of the local historical societies and in particular Liverpool Road Station Society was uncovered using archived material such as letters, promotional material, Chairman's reports and minutes of meetings from the archives in the Manchester Museum of Science and Industry.[34] This data was cross-checked with formal interviews with the key protagonists, the head of Manchester Region Industrial Archaeology Society (MRIAS), the Chair of Manchester Victorian Society who was also Manchester City Council's Conservation Architect, various members of Liverpool Road Station Society, and the director of the Museum of Science and Industry. Numerous planning documents authored by Manchester City Council were again found in the Local Studies Unit and records from Greater Manchester County Council (GMC) and the Castlefield Conservation Area Steering Committee (CCASC) were found in the Greater Manchester County Record Office. Finally, the documents from the Central Manchester Development Corporation (CMDC) era were the hardest files to locate. These were also protected by privacy laws which ensured they were

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[34] Liverpool Road Station was restored and re-used as the Manchester Museum of Science and Industry. Contained within the museum is an archive of the station's history.

not subject to the same freedom of information laws as the council documents. All printed CMDC documents were found in the Kantorowich library of Manchester University and the planning applications for the individual buildings were held in the planning department of Manchester City Council in the Town Hall. As with the earlier cross referencing a number of formal interviews were held with the former Chief Planning Officer of Manchester City Council, the CMDC Director of Development, a Development Planner in Manchester City Council, the MCC Conservation Officer and MCC Conservation Architect and archaeologists from Greater Manchester Archaeology Unit. Additionally several informal conversations with former members of GMC, Manchester Civic Society and restoration specialists were held.

The sources for the Liberty Building also required the help of local historians as well as planning and conservation officers. The material pertaining to the factory's construction was primarily held in the Leicestershire County Record Office. The private file on the Liberty Building, held by Dr. Joan Skinner and used to secure the listing of the building was made available and this supplemented the record office material. The contemporary sources were found in the archived store of planning records in Leicester City Council's Planning Department that documented the history of the Liberty Building as it related to conservation and urban policy. Feasibility studies, letters between the council and the developers, objection letters, committee minutes, council minutes, planning applications, faxes and emails were in this file and were consulted. Development plans and trade directory data were accessed in the University of Leicester's library. To ascertain the conservation aspect, the Liberty file at English Heritage's National Archives was consulted and contact was made with the English Heritage Regional Office in Northampton to obtain access to their archived documentation on the Liberty Building. At the local level, the records of the Leicester Victorian Society courtesy of both Dr J. Skinner and the Secretary of the Society were consulted. As with Castlefield numerous interviews and informal conversations were held with the key protagonists. The present and former Conservation Officers as well as the former Head of Urban Design in Leicester City Council, the Deputy Chief Executive of City Challenge, a further development planner with City Challenge, the Secretaries of the Victorian and Civic Societies, and Dr. Skinner, were all interviewed.

The Roubaix case study had the potential to present complex problems due to the potential difference in the type of material stored as well as the location and the organisation of the documents. These issues were evaluated by a preliminary week-long research trip to Lille and Roubaix, six months before an extended twenty-five week research stay in France. This pilot study revealed the type and extent of material held in the main archives as well as revealing no other in-depth academic work on the factory. The originality of the research was thus confirmed. To identify data and find materials contact was established with key individuals from Inventaire Général, the Municipalité de Roubaix, University Lille III, as well as with the head of the archives for the municipalité, the commune and the département. These initial contacts provided photocopied extracts of selected source materials as well as informing the location of further sources. Overall, eleven different archives, médiathèques and libraries were used to find the contemporary policy sources as well as the history of the building. These archives were located in Paris, Versailles, Fontainebleau, Lille, Roubaix and Villeneuve d'Ascq. The main archives were the Ministère de Culture et Communication which held a file on the Motte-Bossut factory that resembled the Liberty file containing letters, building plans, planning applications and architects plans. This file, like Liberty's, allowed the saga to unfold and enriched an understanding of the contention between the actors. Access to the files of the Motte-Bossut family and Alain Sarfati, the architect who re-designed the building, were held in the Centre des Archives du Monde du Travail (CAMT) and accessed after written authorisation was obtained. These files traced the history of the factory and the proposed and actual changes during its restoration. Roubaix's médiathèque provided the urban policy documents as well as the secondary literature on the history and contemporary condition of the ville. Informal conversations and formal interviews were also held with members of Inventaire Général, the Ville de Roubaix, community members and various academics to clarify the debate surrounding Motte-Bossut's re-use.

In all cases newspaper articles from local newspapers; the *Manchester Evening News, Metro, Manchester Guardian, Leicester Mercury, Voix du Nord, Nord Matin* and *Nord Éclair* were analysed along with national newspapers such as the *Times, Guardian, Le Monde* and *Le Figaro.* The sources therefore spanned three decades were verbal, written, drawn, published, unpublished and in British and French leading to a comprehensive exploration of relevant sources. The sources utilised allowed the structure of the thesis to follow on the lines outlined below.

Structure

Set in the context of the convergence of conservation and urban policy after the Second World War explored in chapter 3, four crucial elements of using the historic environment to make a place were identified and analysed. These were explored in chapters 4 to 7. Chapter 4 deals with the initial phase of recognising the historic environment; chapter 5 is concerned with managing change which in all three case studies fall predominantly in the 1980s and 1990s; chapter 6 analyses the marketing strategies involved in seducing urban users whereas chapter 7 examined how new urbanites were captured through manipulating the historic buildings and their surrounding spaces. Chapter 8 ties these chapters together by synthesising the previous chapters by analysing how contemporary values of the historic environment are formed and expressed.

The four research questions defined at the outset of the research evolved into four stages of using the historic environment to re-make urban centres: What were the motivations for retaining or demolishing the historic environment? (Recognising); who managed this urban change and how and why certain actors assumed and asserted their dominance? (Managing); how was the historic environment marketed to appeal to people and to attract investment into the urban centre? (Seducing); how did actors manipulate the historic environment in an attempt to return function, vibrancy and activity through transforming space into place? (Capturing). Contained within these stages were explorations of how decisions were made regarding the fate of the historic environment, who made the decisions, how they were financed, how the concept of history was shaped into a coherent marketing strategy that used the selected past to sell the present and imagined future and how the historic environment was moulded to fit the contemporary urban agenda. At the heart of this exploration was a desire to unravel the motivations, valuations, and complexities in selecting the past to meet the contemporary urban agenda.

The four elements of place making[35] identified by this thesis are explored in sequential chapters. This of course presumes that the process is sequential when in fact the various stages are interchangeable and in some cases, they occurred simultaneously. For example the motivations for retaining or demolishing the historic buildings differed between actors and agencies as well as over time. However, for the logistical coherence and layout of the thesis the chapters have been arranged into thematic rather than chronological order. Chapter 3 outlines the policy context for the thesis by firstly analysing the degree of convergence between conservation and planning policy after 1945 in Britain and France. Secondly, the chapter also considers how restored buildings came to be viewed as urban, economic and social assets through changing supply and demand factors. This chapter therefore traces industrial and societal change and the policy responses to this in Britain and France from the nineteenth century to the demolition date for the Liberty case study in 2002 and in doing so sets the contextual framework for the thesis.

The following chapters examine the role of the historic environment in place (re)making. Chapter 4 examines how historic place was recognised as having historic significance in terms of listed building status and also the potential for this significance to be translated into a contemporary value. Central to this theme is the assertion that the historic environment does not hold an innate value but rather needs to be invested with a subjective contemporary meaning, and for a collective purpose, in order for it to remain in the urban landscape. The chapter analyses how historic place is recognised and revealed through an exploration of those actors who invest historic significance to place: local historians and community groups as well as official bodies such as English Heritage, Inventaire Général and the various branches of local, regional and national government. Managing urban change in the context of the de-industrial city required that a prompt but sustainable solution was sought, Chapter 5 therefore analyses how the working practices, remits, agendas as well as the availability of finance in

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[35] There are alternative viewpoints of place-making, see, for example, the Academy for Sustainable Communities website:(http://www.ascskills.org.uk/pages/sustainable-communities) for their definition but the four stages identified here are designed to incorporate many of the other components commonly associated with place-making such as identity, community, environment, and connectivity. Other components of place-making relate solely to the act of reconfiguring landscape whereas the working definition used in this thesis analyses how this reconfiguration has been motivated, managed and how it was designed to return/diversify the meaning of the historic environment thereby moving beyond the physical act of urban design.

Manchester, Leicester and Roubaix facilitated or hindered the formulation and implementation of an urban policy designed to revitalise Castlefield and the areas surrounding Liberty and Motte-Bossut. The power struggles between the actors to attain dominance and to impose their construction of place, their view of history and the competing visions for the urban centres are revealed in this chapter. The degree to which these conflicts were reconciled altered the face of urban regeneration as they influenced whether the historic buildings were retained or demolished. The tension between local and global issues is also in play here as the chapter examines how the local, regional, national or international focus of urban regeneration influenced the decision to retain or demolish the historic environment.

The next two chapters consider the techniques utilised by the dominant actors to attract and retain urban users. Chapter 6 investigates the marketing techniques employed by the dominant actors to seduce potential urban users and investors through the promotion of an urban utopia, based on the projected harmonious fusion of past, present and future. Chapter 7 extends this process of seduction by examining the attempts of planners, policy-makers, urban designers and architects to capture the seduced urban users so that they remained in the revitalising area. More specifically the chapter analyses how additions, alterations and demolitions to the historic environment were intended to foster connections between people and place through penetrating the senses and allowing the seduced urban users to conduct their daily life patterns in and around the restored historic environment.

Finally, Chapter 8 syntheses the previous chapters by assessing the ascription of contemporary values to the historic environment in each case study. These values are then placed in the context of the existing system of governance to analyse how the evolving institutional framework and organisational structure conditioned the value and perception of the historic environment during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Chapter 3

Industrial, Urban and Cultural Policy, 1945-2002

The industrial built environment has influenced the development of European urban centres since the eighteenth century. The rise of urban centres during the industrial era, the decline associated with deindustrialisation and the subsequent rebirth during the post-industrial period was illustrated by the form and function of the industrial buildings. These factories, mills, warehouses, canals and railways served as the visual evocation of success, failure and re-invention as the buildings went from occupied to redundant and then in some cases they were either demolished or restored and re-used. In each period, industrial, deindustrial and post-industrial, the spaces and places of the eighteenth through to the twenty-first century were consciously manipulated to meet the contemporary agenda. The convergence of the public, private and voluntary sector during the late twentieth-century determined the extent to which the vacant, redundant spaces of the de-industrial period could be transformed into prosperous post-industrial urban places. The industrial environment therefore became a pawn in the global game of city marketing as agents sought to promote their urban distinctiveness in order to attract people and investment into the city centre.

This control over urban space was not a new phenomenon. Engels' account of the Great Towns revealed the degree to which the bourgeoisie controlled spaces and turned them into profit-making places during the British industrial revolution.[1] Similarly the impact of the *Barlow Report* (1940) allied with *Paris et le Desert Français* (1947) coordinated the move away from dense industrial centres to a more evenly distributed population. What was innovative however was the restoration and re-use of the buildings to meet the needs of a nascent service sector economy. This change was neither arbitrary nor ad-hoc. Rather this innovation was the outcome of the gradual, but it must be stressed incomplete convergence of the planning and conservation movements after the conclusion of World War II. Restoring and re-using the industrial buildings from the late 1970s became a conscious regeneration strategy as both legislation and policy merged in a pragmatic realisation that embraced industrial buildings as assets rather than liabilities.

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[1] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844,* Oxford, 1993

This chapter analyses the impact of industrialisation and deindustrialisation on the urban environments of Britain and France, with particular reference to the emergence of conservation and urban policies. The emergence and convergence between them reveals the legislative and policy framework that conditioned the valuations of the urban historic environment and thus facilitated the restoration and re-use of the historic industrial environment. The aims of this chapter are therefore threefold: first, to chart the influence of the industrial environment on the urban landscape; second, to provide the contextual background for the inner city crisis and, thirdly, to offer an analysis of how the historic industrial environment became an increasing component of urban regeneration and cultural urban policy in both Britain and France during the late twentieth-century.

Industrialisation and Regional Planning Policy

Despite the fact that nineteenth-century industrialisation in France did not have the same geographical reach of that witnessed in Britain it still influenced planning policy during the second half of the twentieth-century. France remained a predominantly rural, agricultural country until after World War II when the urban population exploded from 53 per cent in 1946 to 73 per cent in 1975, a rise of approximately 16 million urban residents.[2] However despite this late surge in urbanisation, Roncayolo suggested that 'the city in France is a structure of much greater duration and strength than that of industry'.[3] In certain regions, predominantly Nord and Alsace-Lorraine and in specific cities such as Paris, St-Etienne, Lille, Roubaix and Mulhouse the urban landscape resembled that of a British industrial city. Indeed just as Manchester resembled an 'Amazonian jungle of blackened bricks',[4] Roubaix was known locally as the town of a thousand chimneys and the textile mills of Mulhouse and the coalmines of Decazeville left an indelible mark on the French landscape. Industrialisation in both countries brought related urban social problems as revealed by the legacy of poor housing, ill health and over crowding that needed attention during the post-war period. The

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[2] I. Scargill, *Urban France*, Kent, 1983 quoted in C. Flockton, *France,* London, 1989, p. 121

[3] M. J. Miller, *The Representation of Place, Urban Planning and Protest in France and Great Britain, 1950-1980,* Aldershot, 2003 p. 41. There is also a revisionist view of the French industrial revolution that needs to be considered in this context, see J. Horn, *The Path Not Taken: French Industrialization in the Age of Revolution*, 1750–1830, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2006

[4] J.B. Priestley in G. Messinger, *Manchester in the Victorian Age; The Half-Known City,* Manchester, 1985, p. 195

closest population explosion to match that of British cities such as Middlesbrough was in St Etienne, which witnessed an increase from 16,000 people at the start of the nineteenth-century to 200,000 at the end.[5] French industrial centres, like British cities suffered from the negative impact of industrialisation on urban living and working conditions as well as the urban environment. The problems of poor housing, pollution, ill health and rising unemployment caused by industrialisation had to be addressed in both British and French industrial centres during the immediate post-World War II period. Furthermore, industrialisation in both countries also caused a regional imbalance that was reinforced by London's position as a world city and the uncontrollable growth of Paris during the period 1851 to 1936, a problem that resulted in the establishment of the post-war planning framework: *aménagement du territoire.* In Britain rapid industrialisation caused an uneven regional balance both of population and socio-economic conditions which also influenced the twentieth-century planning framework.

Post-war planning in both Britain and France put in place decentralising policy measures that redirected the emphasis on the traditional industrial centres to new urban ones. The Barlow Commission was created in 1937 to address regional population imbalance in Britain and inquired into the

> causes which have influenced the present geographical distribution of the industrial population of Great Britain…. and to consider what social, economic or strategic disadvantages arise from the concentration of industries or of the industrial population in large towns or in particular areas of the country. [6]

The consequences of Britain's rapid industrialisation secured the first example of a comprehensive and national approach to planning. The Barlow Report set down the post-war planning guidelines, which favoured a move away from urban centres, and conurbations into strategically designated satellite towns through planned dispersal of the population. The New Towns Act of 1946 was the culmination of this belief and eventually twenty-eight New Towns were created across Britain as the trend for out-of-city living accelerated. The Victorian industrial city stood condemned in favour of clean and well-planned New Towns and zoned areas of housing and industry. Similarly regional imbalances or rather the primacy of Paris was reflected in J.F. Gravier's 1947 polemic *Paris et le*

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[5] Scargill, *Urban,* 1983, p. 10

[6] B. Cullingworth and V. Nadin, *Town and Country Planning,* 14th ed, London, 2006, p. 19

Desert Français as it examined the capital's overbearing importance in the demographic, political and economic spheres. Gravier linked this dominance to industrialisation: 'urban development, since the industrial revolution has been expressed in France, essentially in the formation of a Parisian monopoly – intellectual, artistic, financial, commercial, industrial, demographic'.[7] Gravier pointed out that this Parisian dominance was detrimental to the economic, social and spatial development of France. Between 1896 and 1931, industrial employment in Paris increased by 63 per cent as against an 18 per cent increase in the rest of France.[8] Moreover, Gravier was concerned that the rest of France was in danger of marginalisation in the face of a dominant capital. The impact of this book had far-reaching effects for urban France as it stressed the need to stimulate regional development.[9]

Gravier's book had a profound influence on both regional and economic development. Both financially and administratively regional development assumed central importance. During the early 1950s special state funds were created for regional development; twenty-one economic planning regions were created in 1955 and were designed to redress the balance of power between Paris and the peripheral areas. Furthermore in 1955, the Commissariat Général au Plan, which was the agency in charge of implementing the Monnet Plan, was given regional responsibilities. The mid 1950s also witnessed an increased control on the location and expansion of industrial firms in Paris and the designation of nine new industrial parks outside Paris. Establishments employing more than fifty persons or occupying more than 5500 sq feet could not expand their premises by more than 10 per cent without governmental approval. Firms would also be denied space to build a factory in Paris if their 'activities were not directly linked to the life of Paris and can be established elsewhere'.[10] Therefore stimulating industrial development in other areas of France through the creation of new industrial parks and Parisian restrictions was an integral part of post-war planning. These steps were the first indication that the State was concentrating

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[7] J.L. Sundquist, *Dispersing Population: What America Can Learn From Europe*, Washington DC, 1975, p. 92

[8] Ibid

[9] The situation was similar in London where the government set up the Location of Offices Bureau in 1963 to encourage offices to move out of London and in 1964 banned any new offices from being built in London. See P. Hall, *Urban and Regional Planning,* 4th edition, London, 2002, p. 91 for more detail.

[10] Ibid

on regional development and the importance of stimulating provincial villes as well as highlighting the continued imprint of industrialisation on urban life.

Regional development was the foremost consideration of British and French town planning during the immediate post-war period[11] as emphasised by the Barlow Report, Gravier's book, and the creation of Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et l'Action Régionale (DATAR) in 1963. DATAR created eight Métropoles d'Equilibre in order to try to balance the power of Paris. Lille-Roubaix Tourcoing, Nancy-Metz, Strasbourg, Lyon-Saint Etienne, Grenoble, Marseille-Aix, Toulouse, Bordeaux and Nantes-Saint-Nazaire were the urban centres chosen to be the eight métropoles. These métropoles were designed to act as a catalyst for regional development and government funds and attention were placed on the new technology centres in Grenoble and the declining industrial cities of Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing. This focus on construction, as witnessed by the creation of new towns such as Villeneuve d'Ascq and the new hi-tech advancements in Grenoble, reflected a desire to progress and to modernise. Modernism pervaded French society as represented by Le Corbusier's many experiments, most notably Ville Radieuse, but was also illustrated by the attitude to the urban historic environment. Rapid urban expansion posed a quandary over how to accommodate new infrastructure within the existing environment. For example, between 1958 and 1965 the historic core of Metz, which included thirteenth-century houses, was demolished in favour of a new bus station.[12] The situation was similar in Roubaix as the Motte-Bossut factory, one of the case studies, was threatened with demolition to make way for a public transport interchange.

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[11] See Hall, *Urban and Regional Planning,* 2002 for more detail on British and French regional policy

[12] Scargill, *Urban,* 1983, p. 124

This conscious disregard of the historic environment in the name of modernisation was matched by the post-war plans for a new and better Britain.[13] In the post-war world of a better tomorrow there was a 'revolt against the dreariness of the Victorian town'.[14] Sharp's 1947 plan for Exeter stated that 'to rebuild the city on the old lines would be a mistake'.[15] This was supported by Lutyens and Abercrombie in Hull who agreed that 'there was now both the opportunity and the necessity for an overhaul of the urban structure'.[16] The Manchester advisory plan of 1945 took these visions one-step further and promoted the demolition of Victorian buildings. Indeed the nineteenth-century town hall was deemed unnecessary in the 'new' Manchester, as was the case in Leamington Spa where their Victorian town hall was seen as obsolescent.[17] The historic environment and the inner cities were to play little part in a 'better' Britain.[18] If certain cities did embrace a fledgling preservation movement, for example Warwick, whose reconstruction plan was entitled, *Warwick: its Preservation and Development*, the industrial cities made no 'explicit recognition of any need to conserve'.[19] Larkham relates this to changing tastes and trends as conserving the Victorian and industrial past was unheard of during the 1940s. Naturally, as Binney found, using the benefit of hindsight, it was 'only until the

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[13] This had been the popular consensus between planning historians until Larkham found that selected British towns and cities did embrace the concepts of preservation and conservation. Edinburgh for example was heavily in favour of retaining its historic structures: 'of the human handiworks which have overlaid these natural features, there are many that have acquired an historic interest and possess an architectural value. . . . Nothing is so likely to arouse controversy and opposition as change or destruction of any of the ancient human landmarks of the city. This cherishing of the heritage of the past is laudable but it makes the work of the planner more perilous.' P. Abercrombie and D. Plumstead, *A Civic Survey and Plan for the City and Royal Borough of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1949, p. 53 cited in P.J. Larkham, The Place of Urban Conservation in the UK Reconstruction Plans of 1942-52, *Planning Perspectives,* Vol.18, No.2, July 2003, p. 301

[14] E.D. Simon, *Rebuilding Britain, Twenty-Year Plan,* London, 1945, p. 76.

[15] T. Sharp, in his two influential books, *English Panorama* (1936) and *Town Planning* (1940) never embraced the idea of keeping the past – just learning from it. See Larkham, *Planning Perspectives,* Vol.18, No.2, July 2003 for more on Sharp and his plan for Exeter.

[16] Cullingworth and Nadin, *Town and Country,* 2006, p. 21

[17] Larkham, *Planning Perspectives,* Vol.18, No.2, July 2003, p. 305

[18] See Ibid for a comprehensive re-examination of the contemporary significance of historic buildings in the post-war period.

[19] Larkham, *Planning Perspectives,* Vol.18, No.2, July 2003, p. 306

industrial revolution receded into history', that its industrial environment was able to 'acquire the patina of antiquity'.[20]

Deindustrialisation and Urban Policy

Just as industrialisation conditioned the urban landscape as well as the socio-economic composition of the city, deindustrialisation and the resulting unemployment shaped urban form and function from the 1960s onwards. The severity of the decline was reflected in the 9 per cent fall in the share of GDP ascribed to manufacturing between 1974 and 1991.[21] This decline affected the employment patterns in British cities. Between 1971 and 1988, total employment in manufacturing fell from 36.4 per cent to 23.1 per cent.[22] The Clydeside conurbation with its strong reliance on shipbuilding lost 200,000 jobs in manufacturing between 1961 and 1981. This was mirrored in the West Midlands where 20 per cent of manufacturing jobs were lost between 1978 and 1981.[23] However, the worst affected areas of these conurbations were the central wards. For example, unemployment in the innermost wards of Manchester reached 30 per cent on average during 1986.[24] The picture was similar in French industrial cities where more than one million industrial jobs were lost between 1973 and 1983.[25] By 1984, 40 per cent of those unemployed were former manual workers,[26] the majority of whom were concentrated in those cities that were dependent upon a single type of industry. Marseille lost one-quarter of its industrial employment between 1975 and 1982 and Paris lost 40,000 jobs per year in the manufacturing sector between 1975 and 1981.[27] The culmination of these high levels of unemployment resulted in riots in British and French inner cities as the remaining citizens expressed their anger at the perceived injustice over the declining employment opportunities in inner cities.

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[20] M. Binney, *Bright Future*, *The Re-use of Industrial Buildings,* London, 1990, p. 31

[21] S.V. Ward, *Planning and Urban Change,* London, 1994, p. 190

[22] Ibid

[23] B. Robson, *Inner Cities, Reconciling the Social and Economic Aims of Urban Policy,* Oxford, 1978, p. 27

[24] Ibid, p. 29

[25] Flockton, *France,* 1989*,* p. 53

[26] Ibid, p. 54

[27] Ibid, pp. 124-125

Urban centres also suffered from a population exodus, partly as a result of planned dispersal[28] but also as a suburban idyll increasingly lured people out of an urban dystopia. Between the 1951 and 1981 censuses the largest towns lost on average, one third of their population. Manchester's population decreased from 709,000 to 449,000, Liverpool's from 791,000 to 510,000 and London's from 3.7 million to 2.5 million.[29] This was matched by the population loss in French industrial cities and even Paris lost 10 per cent of its population between 1962 and 1982.[30] The consequences of deindustrialisation on the city were a culture of discontent, a disappearing population, reduced employment opportunities and a degraded physical environment. It was no surprise that Margaret Thatcher, after her 1987 election, promised to 'do something about those inner cities'[31] and Francois Mitterrand also focussed on the urban centres. The dual processes of deindustrialisation and depopulation thus caused the degeneration of both French and British industrial cities. The severity of the decline required a broader planning ethos than that gained from the previous focus on regional planning and as such urban policies developed in Britain and France from the late 1970s.

The desire for urban renewal in France was revealed by the Loi Foncière of 1967 which provided for a longer-term vision of the city through the creation of the Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme (SDAU). The SDAU was designed to plan for medium and long-term (20-30 years) development of single communes or groups of communes. In comparison with Britain the SDAU is similar to the structure plan as it is concerned with the development principles of a certain area. The remit of the SDAU was a strategic and thematic approach to urban planning rather than a detailed land use plan. The Loi Foncière also introduced the Plan des Occupation des Sols (POS), which is similar to the British local plan. The POS is a detailed land use plan that complements the SDAU by implementing its aims. The SDAU and POS also took into account the design and location of new buildings and were therefore indicative of a shift from quantitative to qualitative concerns. Just as urban design has become an integral

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[28] The New Towns development was a conscious policy of dealing with urban overspill which accounted for some of the planned dispersal.

[29] Robson, *Inner Cities,* 1978, p. 18

[30] Scargill, *Urban France,* 1983, p. 135. This may have also been as a result of the planned dispersal of Parisian population resulting from the post war policy framework.

[31] Cullingworth and Nadin, *Town and Country,* 2006, p. 361

part of New Labour's drive to secure an urban renaissance, as illustrated by the creation of the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE), the aesthetic appearance of the French city during the 1970s reflected which elements of the urban landscape were ascribed a contemporary value.

Before the mid 1970s the emphasis on regional development was matched by the focus on improving the socio-economic status of French cities.[32] The result of this focus on the improvement of urban centres was witnessed with the numerous schemes implemented to try to improve urban conditions. Numerous schemes were implemented to try to secure adequate living and working conditions. Zones á Urbaniser par Priorité (ZUP) were designated in 1958 to try to solve the housing problem and the introduction of the Habitation á Loyer Modéré (HLM) and with it the *grands ensembles* changed the appearance and image of French cities.[33] Zone de Redynamisation Urbaine (ZRU) were introduced to allow for the comprehensive redevelopment of inner city areas as planning controls were brought in to improve the condition of urban areas. French urban centres, as in Britain, were often characterised by large areas of poor quality housing or *îlots insalubres* where 20 per cent of the population was classed as living in 'acutely overcrowded conditions' hence the ZUP's and HLM's.[34] New buildings were permitted by two decrees of 1958 and 1961 which provided the first instance of a subsidy to demolish an insalubrious house and thus opened up space in which to construct new buildings.

The subsidies for demolition and new build were an indication of the need for a comprehensive improvement of the inner cities. The wide-scale demolition of

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[32] The dire socio-economic conditions of French cities were born out of the rapid urbanisation during the *trente glorieuse* following World War II. During this period France underwent the kind of transformation seen in Britain during the nineteenth-century and experienced markedly different urban pressures to post-war Britain. The population of France grew from 40.3 million in 1946 to 55 million in 1985. This was partly due to the 'baby boom' era, which Britain also experienced but was also as a result of, rural to urban migration. This rural exodus was due to increasing mechanisation and a growing attractiveness of urban life. Indeed the agricultural labour force fell from 36 per cent of total employment to 21 per cent in 1962 and 12 per cent in 1972. Urban migration was supplemented by a significant number of foreign workers following the return of the *pieds-noir* in 1960. Rapid urban growth ensured that by 1980 72 per cent of the population were concentrated in urban areas as opposed to 53 per cent before World War II cited from Flockton, *France,* 1989, p. 122

[33] The *grands ensembles* were viewed in the same way as the tower blocks in England

[34] Scargill, *Urban,* 1983, p. 90

landmark buildings, such as the houses in Metz and Les Halles (Paris), as well as the destruction of the everyday and the familiar led to a backlash against the pace of change.[35] Just as happened in the 1830s after the Napoleonic wars had contributed to the widespread destruction of the existing environment in France this comprehensive demolition provoked a nostalgic reaction from both society and the agents of change as illustrated by the growth in heritage attractions, heritage conferences and legislation.[36] In Britain this was illustrated by a series of reports published by in Ministry of Housing and Local Government during the 1960s. In particular the report *Preservation and Change* 'noted the high and accelerating rate of urban redevelopment', and suggested that 'conservation policies should be developed for sensitive areas'.[37] This was supported by the Council of Europe who found that the 'demolition of a building is a traumatic experience for those people whose lives are subconsciously framed around it.'[38] The pace of change, or rather the speed at which buildings were being lost, was therefore a key element of the desire to rediscover the past.[39]

In Britain there was also a focus on housing problems as illustrated by slum clearance programmes, the New Towns developments and also by Thatcher's 'Right to Buy Scheme'[40]. Additionally a number of initiatives were devised during the late 1970s and early 1980s that were designed to reverse the decline of urban centres. Enterprise Zones were introduced in 1980 to encourage industrial and commercial activity through offering advantageous economic conditions, such as tax breaks. The introduction of the urban development grant in 1982 was a vital indicator of the Thatcher government's position on urban policy. This grant was 'to promote the economic and physical regeneration of inner urban areas by

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[35] Miller used the example of the threatened demolition of the courées in Roubaix to show the discontent with the pace of change required by local and central authorities. See Miller, *The Representation of Place,* 2003

[36] S. Loew, *Modern Architecture in Historic Cities: Policy, Planning, and Building in Contemporary France,* London, 1998, p. 28

[37] P. J. Larkham, *Conservation and the City*, London, 1996, p. 72

[38] Council of Europe, *The Industrial Heritage: What Heritage?* Strasbourg, 1987, p. 44

[39] This is supported through interviews with local historians who were fearful that the pace of change in Manchester city centre would wipe out the remaining industrial heritage. This is covered in more depth in the following chapter.

[40] This allowed council house tenants to purchase their home from the local authority. The value was based on market valuation but a discount was also offered on account of the rent already paid by tenants and was passed by the Housing Act, 1980

levering private sector investment into such areas'.[41] City Action Teams and Inner City Task Forces were the first example of a co-ordinated city based response to the crisis. These developed out of the *Action for Cities* report in 1988, which again stressed the importance of the enterprise culture in alleviating the inner city crisis.[42] This enterprise culture was increasingly based around cultural policy and the re-use of the historic environment to lever in private investment.

This emergent enterprise culture was matched by the transformation in society during this period as tastes, lifestyles and consumer patterns altered. The decline of the manufacturing sector was paralleled by an increase in the service sector; in particular the growth of financial and producer services brought wealth to certain people who tended to locate in similar spatial locations. There was a dichotomy to the societal changes as the urban working class lost jobs, hope and lived in poor conditions and were thus trapped in a culture of despair. However, the new middle class demanded new houses, new infrastructure and increased opportunities to spend their disposable income and desired these facilities to be located in a confined, predominantly urban spatial setting. The sharp reduction in income tax levels following the decision of the Conservative Government released significant amounts of money for leisure purposes.[43] The growth of London Docklands complete with the restoration of New Concordia Wharf in 1979 as well as Wapping Dock was the tangible consequence of the increase in disposable income for the new middle class.[44] The focus on property-led regeneration, the evolution of the preservation movement allied to the increased consumer base ensured that there was both a supply and demand aspect to urban living whose restored historic buildings quickly acquired a cachet, a

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[41] Cullingworth and Nadin, *Town and Country,* 2006 p. 362

[42] This enterprise culture favoured single-issues bodies (quangos) and entrepreneurs and as such was part of a wider agenda to reduce the power base and financial capacity of local governments and thus to impart centralised control on potentially dissident City Councils. This is explained in further detail in chapter 5 with special reference to Manchester and Leicester and in chapter 8 in a wider theoretical context that synthesises the local – national governance relationship during the 1980s and 1990s.

[43] The Conservative Government cut the basic rate of income tax from 33 per cent to 25 per cent as well as the top rate from 83 per cent to 40 per cent in 1979.

[44] Demographic changes also influenced this change in society and the consequences for the urban environment. Sexual liberalisation with the legalisation of the contraceptive pill, relaxed divorce laws allied to an increase in the financial gain of service sector employees led to an increasingly independent lifestyle that required one bedroom luxury apartments that demanded the proximity of home to workplace and to leisure opportunities.

lifestyle aspiration that represented post-modernity, prosperity and post-industrialism.

This lifestyle change was less pronounced in France as the *trente glorieuse* receded into the intangible past from the mid 1970s. However, the focus on cultural regeneration through the conversion of industrial buildings into museums, art galleries, dance studios and theatres illustrated the same belief in culture to stimulate the economy. The lifestyle change was reflected by an urban landscape that embraced mixed-use development, a mosaic of services, apartments and offices rather than the strict zonal appearance of modernist cities. This was yet another example of human interaction conditioning the environment to fit the contemporary agenda. This phase of reinvention was however different to what had gone before. The focus was now on re-using the existing environment to save the present and required a conscious and concerted effort to change the image of urban space, to transform the negative connotations of the industrial city and to reconfigure the urban landscape to allow the industrial structures to power the move into the post-industrial city. The decision to re-use the historic environment to service the needs of a changing society related to both issues over land, economics and architectural trends as well as the gradual recognition of industrial heritage as an integral component of culture and conservation.

Cultural Urban Policy

The decision to restore and re-use industrial buildings linked with a nascent cultural urban policy designed to regenerate cities. Indeed, as Hall recognised in the 1980s and 1990s European cities became

> more and more preoccupied by the notion that cultural industries…may provide the basis for economic regeneration, filling the gap left by vanished factories and warehouses, and creating a new image that would make them more attractive to mobile capital and mobile professional workers.[45]

Capitalising on an area's heritage through museums, archives and visitor attractions became a key component of the post-industrial urban society. The most discernible socio-economic change in the late twentieth and early twentieth-century was the substitution of manufacturing and production by a cultural and consumption based approach. Indeed, local, regional and national policy-makers now view cultural urban policy as the panacea for urban ills, a tool to stimulate

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[45] P. Hall, *Cities in Civilisation: Culture, Innovation and Urban Order,* London, 1998, p. 8

economic development and eradicate social exclusion whilst at the same time providing the basis for an attractive and marketable urban lifestyle. The contraction of the manufacturing sector led to a focus on finding and marketing urban distinctiveness and on what the city could become on the European stage. Where once the city was the producer, it became the product that was sold and consumed. This distinctiveness can be defined in numerous and varied ways such as performing arts, sport, heritage, gastronomy, architecture or art. What was important is both what was distinctive and how this was repackaged and sold to both attract and retain people and investment in the urban centre. For this thesis it was how history, in the form of the historic industrial environment was perceived as distinctive, selected, and manipulated to meet a contemporary agenda that gambled on creating a marketable and unique urban personality. In the trajectory of socio-economic change cultural policy sat alongside the development of the creative industries and the tertiary sector to promote a European city-region that was able to reverse its (de)industrial decline and take advantage of the relocation of footloose companies, improved telecommunications, flexible capital and transient populations who have increasingly 'been shifting from an overwhelming emphasis on material well-being and physical security toward greater emphasis on the quality of life'.[46] This cultural change witnessed in the switch from material and physical security to a much more salient focus on lifestyle provided the demand aspect to a supply side that necessitated the reversal of the inner city decline caused by deindustrialisation. Hall posited that culture filled the gap vacated by 'vanishing factories and warehouses', however although culture did replace heavy industry to become the main industry of post-industrial society it lent heavily on the physical industrial legacy to achieve this. Rather than demolish factories and warehouses, conscious policies were implemented from the mid 1970s to restore and re-use them in order to stimulate the cultural and economic regeneration of European urban centres.

The polysemic nature of culture renders any narrow definition impossible; indeed culture has been described as 'everything'.[47] In terms of cultural urban policy and

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[46] R. Inglehart, *Culture Shift in an Advanced Industrial Society*, Chichester, 1990, p. 5

[47] D. Mitchell, There's No Such Thing as Culture: Towards a Reconceptualisation of the Idea of Culture in Geography, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol.20, No.1, 1995, pp. 102-116

the regeneration of declining de-industrial urban centres culture 'represents a people's strategy for adaptation'.[48] Additionally Barnes argues that 'culture is a set of beliefs and assumptions developed by a given group in its efforts to cope with the problems of external adaptation and internal integration'.[49] Culture therefore became everything and anything: a flexible strategy that was able to meet contemporary socio-economic needs. The one fixture in the ever-changing cultural shifts was the built environment – the physical capital of the city facilitated and housed the cultural changes in society. This was witnessed in nineteenth-century Britain whereby the museums, libraries, churches, art galleries and function rooms attested to the wealth, class divides and recreational activities of the educated middle class.[50] Similarly the existence of public houses revealed one aspect of working class culture. On each occasion the built environment transmitted visual, subliminal yet powerful messages as to the cultural capital and social infrastructure of the city. Moreover, the architectural style, condition and location of these buildings projected positive urban images of wealth, prosperity, innovation and success. European examples demonstrating the projection of positive urban images abound: Cambridge University (1284)[51], the Paris Opera House (1875), and Bilbao's Guggenheim museum (1997) are a selected few.

Culture and the condition of the built environment are inseparable; consequently urban image and the built environment are also united. The gradual realisation in the capability of culture to transmit powerful urban images that could assist in the stimulation of the urban economy was witnessed in the mid 1970s. Previously, culture[52] had little significance in the economy, 'teaching, museums, forms of production and consumption, the celebration of large events…, were conceived as strategic investments for the domestic economy.'[53] However, culture was only a secondary component of a nineteenth-century economy that functioned on the production rather than the consumption of goods. Similarly, although lifestyle changes in Western Europe from the 1960s signalled the advent of a popular

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[48] Inglehart, *Culture Shift in an Advanced Industrial Society,* 1990, p. 3

[49] Ibid, p. 4

[50] See for example, H. Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914* Routledge and Paul, London, 1976

[51] Date of the construction of the first college, Peterhouse

[52] As separate from other service sector industries

[53] J. Monclus and M. Guardia, *Culture, Urbanism and Planning*, Aldershot, 2006, p. xiii

culture, fashion, music, cinema and theatre, culture was still a form of entertainment rather than the main component of the urban economy. The connection between urban images and the development of a viable urban economic base saw local politicians adopt an aggressive approach to place-promotion. Previous locational advantages such as being situated near raw materials or the sea were eradicated by the increasing flexibility of a post-industrial society. In an increasingly global world of transient populations, communications and aspirations cities needed to assume a competitive advantage over their rivals who now spanned countries. Manchester's traditional rivalry with Liverpool broadened to include cities such as Barcelona, Bilbao, Frankfurt and Milan as cities fought to win contracts and attract footloose companies, European funding and the Olympic Games, as well as flagship buildings designed by world-renowned architects. Distinctiveness was the tool that gave cities an advantage over their European rivals.

From the 1970s industrial heritage started to be promoted as a way of defining urban identity, a unique quality that offered innovation, associational value through the relationship to a successful past as well as utilising the existing 'sunk' urban capital. The economic virtues of restoring industrial buildings were extolled by Binney who found that industrial buildings were 'built to last, their load bearing walls are solid and made to carry massive floor loadings'.[54] Furthermore he stated that 'they are extremely adaptable as the majority are laid out on an open plan and can be repaired and upgraded for a range of uses'.[55] The buildings' adaptive re-use therefore offered the chance for the private sector to be 'handsomely rewarded by profit'.[56] The durability and flexibility of the industrial environment was emphasised by several pioneering attempts to regenerate the city by re-using the existing industrial environment for apartments, offices and leisure facilities. This broadened the perception of industrial buildings as merely heritage attractions to place them at the very heart of property-led urban regeneration. These schemes developed in many countries with notable examples in the United States with Lowell National Heritage Park (1978), in France with the rehabilitation of the Le Blan complex in Lille by Reichen & Roberts (1980) and in Britain with Dean Clough in Halifax

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[54] Binney, *Bright Future*, 1990, p. 13

[55] Ibid

[56] Ibid

(1983). All of these buildings were restored and re-used for housing, offices, leisure as well as exploiting the tourist industry. From the end of the 1970s there was an increasing realisation in the Western world of the economic capability of the existing industrial environment to regenerate the inner city areas. The past was now selected and valued, commodified, managed, manipulated and marketed as part of an attempt to cure the problems of the present. Economy and culture combined to transform de-industrial space into post-industrial place.

The Place of Conservation in Cultural Urban Policy

European Architectural Heritage Year in 1975 exemplified the burgeoning interest in the historic environment. On a local level this was witnessed through the explosion of interest in museums, heritage attractions and genealogy but was also reflected through planning legislation and policy. The fast and uncomfortable pace of change in urban areas flagged up a desire to seek security in the past.[57] In part this was illustrated by the evolution of the preservation movement to embrace conservation principles and the development of the heritage industry. The contraction of the manufacturing sector in industrial Western cities led to a reliance on what Hewison perceived to be the last and only resource – the selected past.[58] The decline of the traditional industries left urban centres with no option but to recycle, sanitise and re-present the past to cure the ills of the present. This was reflected by Wigan Pier and Beamish in Britain and Puy du Fou in France all of which opened during the late 1970s and represented the foundation of the heritage industry.

Lowenthal's seminal work *The Past is a Foreign Country* elucidates the kaleidoscope of reasons why individuals and organisations seek to enjoy the

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[57] See D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* Cambridge, 1985, pp. 36-73

[58] Hewison, *The Heritage Industry,* 1987

past.[59] Therefore for economic, psychological and cultural needs industrial heritage became a key component of cultural urban policy from the 1970s onwards across Europe and America. Commentators such as Hewison have openly questioned the authenticity of such ventures but this is to obscure the true relevance of these commodifications of the past. The very fact that there was both a need and a desire for this type of visitor experience reflected both societal and economic demand whereby the depression of the present was eased by the safety of a completed, and it must be added, purified past. It was of little surprise therefore that Wigan whose official unemployment rate stood at 18.8 per cent and whose derelict land holdings reached 30 per cent sought refuge in a past that could be marketed to meet the demands of a society who also wanted to shelter in the comfort of the past.[60] The word industrial once again became an economic stimulant as well as becoming a cultural pastime.

This embrace of the industrial environment stood in contrast to the origins of the British preservation movement in the nineteenth century which can be traced back to a reaction against 'crude forces' of urbanisation and industrialisation and thus focussed on predominantly rural, pre-industrial artefacts and desired a nostalgic evocation of the 'rustic idyll'.[61] Intellectual and philosophical ideas concerning the beauty of buildings, the importance of architecture and the

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[59] Lowenthal, *The Past*, 1985, see also Our *Past Before Us: Why Do We Save It?* London, 1981 and *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge, 1998

Lowenthal concentrates on the cultural, rather than economic or political benefits of the past to state six reasons why he believes the past is central to the present day. These are categorised under the headings familiarity, escape, reaffirmation, identity, guidance and enrichment. Concurrent throughout the themes is the sense of security and permanence that the past presents. Walking through an area is familiar because you have walked there before, perceived the same buildings and used both the street patterns and the landmarks to orientate yourself – in this way the past also offers guidance. The sense of fear, apprehension and anxiety felt when walking alone through an area that is being built or is newly built arises from the lack of familiarity a person has with that area - a sense of safety comes from knowledge and familiarity. Lowenthal uses Carl Becker's Mr Everyman to illustrate this point, 'without this historical knowledge, this memory of things said and done, his to-day would be aimless and his tomorrow without significance.' C.L. Becker, Everyman his own Historian, reprinted from *American Historical Review,* Vol.37, 1932, pp. 221–236, in Winks, *Historians as Detective, The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers,* Yale, 1932 cited from D. Lowenthal, *The Past*, 1985, p. 39

[60] See Hewison, *The Heritage Industry*, 1987 for his insightful and provocative discussion on the increasing use of an inauthentic past. Unemployment figures and dereliction quoted for 1976. See pp. 19-24 for his research into Wigan and Wigan Pier.

[61] G. Ashworth, *Heritage Planning, Conservation as the Management of Urban Change*, Groningen, 1991, p. 16

backlash against modern design circulated through William Morris, John Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc throughout the late nineteenth-century. The logical consequence was the 1882 Ancient Monuments Act, which preserved pre-industrial structures such as Stonehenge. The industrial city was strongly condemned by those who rejected the modern and those who desired a return to the pre-industrial ideal where 'smoke need no longer befog us nor noise deafen us, nor disorder assault our eyes'.[62] The French preservation movement was not based on any entrenched dislike of industrialisation but was rather designed to induce nationalism.[63] The desire to protect the historic environment stemmed from the large-scale destruction and demolition of the built environment during the Napoleonic wars. After this point there was a belief especially amongst an elite that monuments, in the name of historical continuity, needed to be saved from destruction.[64] However, the criteria for listing buildings remained the same and rested with the subjectivity of special interest often based on the age of the building.

Naturally, due to this listing constraint, it was only when industry had acquired the 'patina of antiquity'[65], that it started to be viewed as historically significant. This antiquity in its nascent form was seen in the late 1960s and early 1970s in Britain and France. The formation of the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust in 1967 was an early example of the change in the British attitude to its industrial past whereas the creation of an eco-musée at Creusot – Montceau-les-Mines that centred on a Museum of Man and Industry and covered the coal, metallurgy and glasswork industries in 1972 displayed the contemporary significance of industrial heritage in France. The museum displayed mines, forges, kilns, factories, workshops, warehouses as well as working class dwellings and was a comprehensive illustration of industrial life. Again the timing was important and links to Binney's conclusions concerning the retreat of the industrial revolution into the intangible past. The 1960s and 1970s were also an important time for the protection of the historic urban environment as a result of increasing concern over urban renewal,

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[62] Simon, *Rebuilding Britain,* 1945, p. 90

[63] Arguably this was due to the spatial concentration of industry in France as well as the fact that urbanisation did not accelerate until the mid twentieth-century unlike in Britain where rapid urbanisation and industrialisation during the nineteenth-century was considered to have eroded the genteel British character.

[64] Loew, *Modern Architecture in Historic Cities,* 1998, p. 28

[65] Binney, *Bright Future*, 1990, p. 31

deindustrialisation and an increasingly unstable economic climate. The 1960s and early 1970s witnessed the start of a period in which the historic urban environment, especially the centrally located and structurally sound factories and warehouses of the industrial cities became valuable components of a desperately needed urban renewal.

The precedent for including historic buildings in urban planning policy originated from a similar time period and was underlined by legislative acts in both Britain and France during the 1960s. The Loi Malraux in 1962 provided legislative planning protection from comprehensive redevelopment through the creation of 'secteurs sauvegardé'. These were areas that contained a number of historically significant buildings and in many respects were similar to the British conservation areas created by the Civic Amenities Act (1967). The Loi Malraux was complemented by the Loi Foncière of 1967 as it created the Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme (SDAU) and Plan des Occupation des Sols (POS). These plans were similar to the British structure and local plans and they took into account areas of aesthetic and historical significance thus further strengthening the link between planning and protecting the urban historic environment. The exact location of a historic building as well as its situation in the urban environment was also a major concern of both planning and conservation legislation. The setting of a historic building had always been considered important in the preservation movement and indeed dated back to the nineteenth century.[66] An 'avis conformé' was required from 1979 onwards for any new building within a 500m radius of a listed building or a 'secteur sauvegardé'. Thereby the designation of a building or an area directly impacted on urban regeneration as new buildings could not be erected without due consideration to the historic environment. This was further strengthened by the creation of Zones Protection du Patrimoine (ZPPAU) in 1983 that replaced the 500m rule and gave responsibility for designation to local authorities rather than central government. This law was one example of decentralisation and broke with the French tradition of the *dirigiste* state.

By the 1960s there was therefore a legislative recognition of the contemporary significance of the historic environment. The secteurs sauvegardé also embedded a policy of protecting the historic environment into wider urban

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[66] Loew, *Modern Architecture in Historic Cities*, 1998, p. 30

concerns and the most important element of the Loi Malraux was that it placed an emphasis on combining an ideology of conservation within planning policy. The Loi Malraux also marked a significant shift in attitude from preservation to conservation as 'to save a neighbourhood was now to preserve the exterior and modernise the interior'.[67] The emphasis was still on retaining historical integrity but there was now a consideration of how the building could have a new use. Occurring under similar temporal parameters the Civic Amenities Act (1967) [68] was the first instance of a planning and protection policy in Britain that acknowledged the role of the historic environment in the urban future and unlike the Loi Malraux, focussed on preservation as there was no reference to finding a new use for a historic building. The change from preservation to conservation in France occurred much earlier than in Britain where 'finding new uses for old buildings' did not become common until the consequences of the economic downturn were realised during the late 1970s. This was taken up by Conservative urban policy during the 1980s, as the change from preservation to conservation started to facilitate urban regeneration. The remit of Urban Development Corporations revealed this changed through the aim to 'secure the regeneration of its area by bringing land and buildings into effective use'.[69] A new use for an old building was positively encouraged and therefore the historic environment became an increasingly useful component of urban regeneration.

Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) were created by the Local Government, Planning and Land Act (1980) and became one of the most significant urban policy initiatives introduced by the Thatcher government. All of the fourteen UDC areas[70] suffered from the consequences of deindustrialisation and were characterised by large-scale vacancy, dereliction and a degraded

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[67] Speech given by André Malraux in 1962, quoted from C. Barçon, 'Synthèse des thèmes principaux de réflexion et des propositions', in J. Vincent, (ed.) *Forum des Villes à Secteur Sauvegardé,* Paris: Ministère de l'Equipement, du Logement, des Transports et de la Mer, Editions du STU, 1989, p. 71-72 cited from Loew**,** *Modern Architecture in Historic Cities*, 1998, p. 304

[68] Before this the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act gave central government both the 'power and the duty to prepare statutory lists of buildings of special architectural or historic interest'. Cited from J. Delafons, *Politics and Preservation, A Policy of the Built Heritage 1882-1996*, London, 1997, p. 62

[69] 1980 Local Government and Planning Act, Section 136

[70] Twelve of these UDCs were in England, London Docklands, Merseyside, Trafford Park, Black Country, Teesside, Tyne and Wear, Central Manchester, Leeds, Bristol, Birmingham Heartlands, Plymouth. One was in Wales: Cardiff Bay and one was in Northern Ireland: Langside.

environment. The UDCs were also designed to restrict the influence of local authorities and especially those with traditions of municipal socialism. It was unsurprising that the bastions of municipal socialism London, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield were among the Urban Development Corporations set up between 1981 and 1992. The role of the UDCs was therefore multifaceted: to alleviate urban problems, control potentially uncooperative local authorities, and provide an arena in which Thatcher's individualist, entrepreneurial, market-led agenda could be played out.

The desire to restore and re-use the historic environment was in further evidence with City Challenge from 1991. City Challenge areas were designed to 'integrate new development with the best of old and provide a continuity of buildings and spaces'.[71] They were also designed to introduce a competitive spirit both within and between cities in order to secure funds to regenerate inner urban areas. The role of urban distinctiveness, of which the historic environment was an integral part, in winning funds was an early recognition of the political persuasiveness of the historic environment and its capability to 'sell the city'.[72] Both the UDCs and City Challenge focussed attention on the inner cities once again and were intended to deal with the consequences of deindustrialisation. Both the Thatcher and Major Conservative governments placed the inner cities back on the political agenda and ensured that the Blair government from 1997 onwards was able to work towards an urban renaissance. Though this renaissance has extended the work of the Conservatives it displayed continuity in policy through New Labour's focus on the restoration and the re-use of 'existing urban assets'.[73] By 1998, it was widely acknowledged that:

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[71] City Challenge, *Annual Report 1993/94,* Leicester, 1994, p. 7

[72] See L. Swales in G. Haughton and D. Whitney, *Reinventing a Region, Restructuring in West Yorkshire,* Aldershot, 1994. Swales argued that Leeds, Bradford, Huddersfield and Wakefield could gain an advantage by re-using their industrial heritage. In an increasingly globalised world of the post-modern anywhere the re-use of the mills would make the area standout, thus attracting both people and investment.

[73] These 'existing assets' are defined as underused or vacant buildings on brownfield land and often are associated with the historic urban environment such as factories and warehouses and disused railway stations

> it is time to build a future from the past. Conservation is not backward looking. It offers sustainable solutions to the social and economic problems affecting our towns and cities. It stands in the vanguard of social and economic policy, capable of reversing decades of decay by injecting life into familiar areas.[74]

From Newcastle's conversion of the Baltic Mill into an art gallery, to the restoration of the Albert Dock in Liverpool and to the re-use of Bristol's waterfront, the historic industrial environment has been an influential component of urban regeneration. New Labour's urban policy has evolved out of these successes and their drive towards an urban renaissance is based on re-using 'existing assets'.

A similar pattern has been followed in France where cultural regeneration became a common panacea to cure urban decay. Large-scale projects such as the *Grand Projets*, which resulted in amongst others, the Louvre and the Bibliothèque National, were followed with significant investments in building La Défense as well as the Stade de France in the decayed former industrial area of Saint-Denis. This focus on using culture to improve the urban environment also extended to re-using existing buildings. For example, the Motte-Bossut case study materialised from the *Grand Projets*, a former silk mill in Briançon is now home to apartments, a hotel, spa and restaurant, the Gare d'Orsay is a spectacular example of cultural re-use and St Etienne has invested heavily in recycling its historic environment as shown by the conversion of the Giron velvet factory into a village of antique dealers in the town centre and the Puits Couriot mining site which has become a museum. The legacy of the British and French industrial environment had a profound effect therefore on the development and rejuvenation of their urban centres during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and is continuing to influence urban policy into the twenty-first century.

Managing the Historic Urban Environment

The management of the historic urban environment differed in Britain and France. This difference in the origins of power and the agents of change is vital to the following chapters where the organisational frameworks, power struggles and conflicts of interests are investigated to ascertain how certain historic buildings were ascribed with a contemporary value manifested through their retention whereas others with listed building status were not valued and therefore demolished. This section provides a general institutional framework of

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[74] English Heritage, *Conservation-led Regeneration: The Work of English Heritage,* London, 1998

conservation and urban policy control in Britain and France so that the case study examples of Manchester, Leicester and Roubaix can be located within this framework throughout the rest of the thesis and particularly in chapters 4 and 5.

Both countries came out of World War II and turned to the state to control the regional development of their country. In Britain this relaxed in the 1960s as the Labour led government started to devolve power to the local and regional authorities on some urban issues. From 1979 the Thatcher government limited this burgeoning local authority control, as county councils were disbanded and power was vested back with national government and its quasi-autonomous national government organisations (quangos) from the end of the 1970s. The story in France was predominantly one of national government control. Despite the focus on regional development the départements and the provincial cities were still under state control in the form of the préfet and local decisions were still made by members of the national government.[75] This did not change until the decentralisation laws of 1981 when the devolution of power to the municipalités gave the maire hitherto unrecognisable control over the future of their communes.[76]

The Ancient Monuments Act (1882) first illustrated state involvement in the protection of the historic environment in Britain. The state was able, under the terms of the act, to transfer ownership from private bodies to a state-controlled agency in order to limit the damage to valued historic buildings. The state retains this control today through the Secretary of State who has the power to 'call in' specific cases and examine whether a building should be listed, upgraded, de-

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[75] The geographical context of France was born out of the Ancien Régime. The Régime designated France as a country of régions, départements and communes. The modern urban and economic planning system reflects this set-up and plans are made in the context of the needs of the régions, départements and the communes. An example of a région is Ile-de-France that covers Paris and outlying areas in the equivalent of what the British would call 'Greater Paris'. A département is a conurbation in the form of an unspecified number of villes such as Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing. The commune is the smallest form of authority and relates to a ville or a rural area such as Wattrelos. A préfet is a national government agent who works at the département level and implements national decisions on the local scale.

[76] Decentralisation was introduced after the Parti Socialiste assumed power in 1981 and was designed to increase democracy at the local level, however the Motte-Bossut case study will add to the decentralist debate by questioning the extent to which the municipalité were involved. See, I.B. Wilson, *French Land Use Planning in the Fifth Republic, Real or Imagined Decentralisation?* Nijmegen, 1988 for more detail on decentralisation and the extent to which it pervaded urban planning

listed or even demolished. Often, however, this is as a last resort and the Secretary of State is unable to prevent the demolition of a building that has been long neglected. In France control over selecting historic monuments and buildings to preserve or conserve rested solely with the State. This was evident in the nineteenth-century where works affecting a listed building were subject to ministerial approval rather than the approval of the local councillor whose city was affected by the condition of a listed building. Today control still rests with the State in the form of the Ministère de la Culture (formally the Beaux-Arts) and decisions to classify buildings and alter or demolish them is in the power of the State.

The decision to allow the demolition of a listed building is made solely by national government. In France, the Ministère de la Culture or his delegate is entirely responsible. The normal procedures for obtaining a permis de demolir do not apply as the demolition of a *classé* building is subjected to special regulations direct from the Ministère de la Culture. The future of the monument historique with regard to new buildings erected next to the building, alterations and demolition, therefore, can only be made with the consent of the Ministère de la Culture.[77] In Britain demolition is also only permitted after the Secretary of State has heard the case. Additionally, a set of regulations Planning Policy Guidance 15 (PPG15), must be followed before demolition of a listed building is permitted. In both instances the final decision concerning the future of a listed or *classé* building rests with national government. This has the benefit of supposedly standardising practice across the nation but nonetheless is also open to manipulation. The local context and importance of the listed building is often not understood and the internal politics of demolishing it in favour of a new development is often not divulged to a national Minister who has to base a decision on who presents the strongest case: historical significance is therefore reduced to a convincing interpretation of PPG15 in Britain and the decision that follows is divorced from any detailed understanding of local issues and needs.

Local authority control has become a central component in protecting the British historic environment since it was added in the Ancient Monuments Amendment Act (1913). This enabled local authorities to purchase an ancient monument thereby limiting the possibility of damage or destruction. In certain places, such

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[77] See Loew, *Modern Architecture in Historic Cities,* 1998, pp. 57-59 on the subject of demolition of *monuments historique*

as Bath and Rochester, local authorities were able from 1925, to control the height, character and scale of new buildings so they did not interfere with the historic environment. The Civic Amenities Act (1967) further strengthened local authority powers as they were able to 'determine which parts of their area are areas of special architectural or historic interest, the character of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance'.[78] Local authority control remains a key facet of conservation policy into the twenty-first century. The remit of city councils also extends to applications to central government to list buildings, designating conservation areas and issuing urgent works notices and compulsory purchase orders if a building is in danger of decay or demolition. Local authorities through their listed building consent, regulate the extent of change allowed to a historic building. Local authorities, therefore, are extremely influential in determining the historical integrity of both individual buildings and their geographical area. Devolving power to local authorities has also left the system open to differences between areas. Some local authorities are more pro-active, more sympathetic to the historic environment; others have their hands tied by the uncooperative nature of private owners. Spot-listing further added to the confusion by increasing the number of people who can apply to list a building and ensures the listing system and the protection measures that accompany it are not uniform throughout the country.[79]

This was of marked difference to the French system where the State retained control over the majority of *classement* as well as financially supporting municipalités when they needed to carry out repair works to the building. Only after the decentralisation laws were the municipalités allowed more control over their historic environment.[80] The French system until the early 1980s was explicitly top-down and as a result the involvement of local historical societies was of much less importance in France than in Britain. Local historical societies and regional industrial archaeology societies were powerful bodies across Britain; indeed the Victorian Society and Ancient Monuments Society are consulted on any proposed changes to the historic environment. This sort of involvement by the voluntary sector is on a much smaller scale, if virtually non-existent in France

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[78] See Delafons, *Policy and Preservation,* 1997

[79] Members of the public can apply to list a building if it is threatened with demolition.

[80] The impact of decentralisation has been questioned by Wilson who examined how much had changed in French governance. Wilson, *French Land Use,* 1988

where public elected bodies determine the course of action in almost all spheres of urban life.

Changes to the French system of governance under the 1980s decentralisation laws coincided with a period where civic boosterism became integral to urban rehabilitation and the historic built environment was a vital element of this. Under the decentralisation laws new regional authorities were created and tax raising initiatives and responsibilities were transferred from the State to the commune. In terms of restoration and re-use the ability to raise taxes and channel them into regeneration programmes ensured the local authorities had much greater control over the management of urban change than in the designation of historic buildings. Indeed, preparation of the POS, the equivalent of the Local Plan that determined land use was decentralised to the commune and thus the existing landscape and its future came under the remit of the local authorities. Local authority involvement in identifying marketable distinctiveness was thus permitted under the new laws. The restoration and re-use of the historic urban environment therefore shifted from national to the local agenda.

Subjectivity
The industrial environment has shaped the urban landscape in Britain and France since the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century. The long run effects of industrialisation and urbanisation left an indelible mark on the memory of the city. The emergence of a focus on urban areas rather than regions in both countries matched the evolution of a preservation movement that sought to anchor the rapid changes of the present in the security of a completed past. Conservation provided the familiarity in an uncomfortable urban world. In terms of policy and ideology the historic environment became part of an urban distinctiveness that was repackaged and marketed to attract people and investment to city centres, (see chapter 6). The historic environment was therefore a latent economic asset that, when harnessed was increasingly considered by the voluntary, public and private sector to be a central thrust of regeneration policy.

The industrial environment may have been a constant in the urban landscape of the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries but it was also overshadowed by controversy and contention. With the hindsight offered by a twenty-first century vision, the industrial city 'with its pollution, its slums and its short-term vision' was

adjudged to have, 'destroyed our confidence in the ability of the city to provide a framework for humane civic life'.[81] This backlash was witnessed through Ruskin and Morris during the nineteenth century, was carried on by the post-war belief that industrial buildings were outdated and finally through to the late twentieth-century desire to demolish prominent industrial buildings such as Euston Arch, The Firestone building and on a smaller scale, many locally important factories and warehouses as encapsulated by the demolition of the iconic Liberty Building. Historically the industrial environment had the ability to polarise opinion, elegantly summarised by De Tocqueville's belief that 'from this filthy sewer, pure gold flows'.[82] Subjectivity is therefore inherent with the judgement of industrial buildings. This subjectivity was supplemented by a conservation and policy system that permitted the selection of the past by an educated elite.[83]

Listing historic buildings began in Britain on 1 January 1950, under the Labour government and is subject to a set of criteria. Buildings are selected on the basis of age, architectural merit, distinctiveness or typicality, and method of construction. Occasionally a building can be selected for its associational value, for example if it has played a part in the life of a famous person, or as the scene for an important event. There are three categories in which a building can be placed into: grade I buildings are of exceptional interest, grade II* are particularly important buildings of more than special interest, and grade II are of special interest, warranting every effort to preserve them. This system is inherently subjective and again there are questions asked as to what warrants 'exceptional' 'associational' and 'special' interest and what is the difference between them. The system in France is exactly the same. The earliest form of preservation considered only those monuments and buildings that were of 'national' interest. This evolved by the 1913 'classement system' into 'public' and 'sufficient' interest. Those buildings placed into the first tier of the classification were considered to be of 'public interest'. The definition of what was worthy of inclusion was further confused by the second category whereby a building was inscribed onto *l'inventaire supplémentaire des monuments historiques* (supplementary list). In order to be included in the second category of classification (similar to the Grade

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[81] R. Rogers, *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, London, 1999, p. 26

[82] DeTocqueville in A. Kidd, *Manchester: Town and City Histories,* Lancaster, 2006, p. 31

[83] See P.J. Larkham, *Conservation and the City*, 1996 for more on the role of the elite.

II listed status in Britain) a building had to be of 'sufficient interest' a term that is open to interpretation by different actors in different time periods and situations. By using the words 'public' and 'sufficient' the French system is similar to the British system and both countries' classification systems are thus extremely subjective and therefore open to manipulation. This subjectivity allied to the limited local knowledge required to authorise the demolition of a listed or *inscrit* building leaves the historic environment at risk of manipulation from profit-driven entrepreneurs.

When the subjectivity of the listing system is supplemented by an urban agenda that demands the most cost effective and profit maximising regeneration strategy the need to manipulate urban space including the existing buildings is intensified. Historic buildings must not be preserved in aspic to admire and to nostalgically wonder at their bygone importance but rather must be made to work for the current situation. The past does not hold an innate value but rather in policy terms is ascribed contemporary value through the process of listing and through the decision to retain or demolish the structure. This value is intrinsically related to the urban agenda, the fit of the building to the aspirations of human agency, the availability of financial support, and the effectiveness and organisational framework of institutions and personalities as well as the cooperation of private owners. The following chapters will investigate the degree to which this subjectivity was harnessed to result in the retention or demolition of the historic industrial environment to secure an urban renaissance.

Chapter 4
Recognising and Revealing the Historic Environment

'It is us – in society…who make things mean, who signify'[1]

Urban reinvention demands that new places are created and that existing spaces are reconfigured and invested with new meanings and values. These help to define and meet the contemporary urban agenda. The decision over which components of the existing landscape to retain and which ones to demolish, like the decision over the location, architectural style and function of a new building is subjective and rests with a select group of actors and agencies who are able to implement their contemporary vision for the city. The selection of the past in terms of retention or demolition exposes these actors and agencies and allows us to question why the historic environment becomes relevant to the contemporary urban agenda and is thus ascribed contemporary values, whose values take precedence, for what reasons, how this changes over time and consequently whose voices are marginalised during the process. A key element of place-making is to recognise the potential of existing spaces to contribute to the changing demands of urban society and adapt to economic fluctuations. To select the past in terms of retention or demolition requires a value judgement based on a considered equilibrium between historic significance and contemporary relevance and relies on the subjective assessment of place by those actors charged with meeting their own agendas, be it urban regeneration, economic development, social inclusion, conservation or sustainability. These value judgements concerning the contemporary relevance of historic buildings are often attributed to the policy-makers, government organisations, architects and powerful private sector agencies whose high profile masks the kaleidoscope of sectional interests involved in the process of selecting, investing and regenerating the historic urban environment. This chapter both supports this argument by illustrating the top-down investment of contemporary meaning with the Motte-Bossut factory in Roubaix and defeats the notion by highlighting the role that the third sector played in investing meaning, recognising the potential of the historic environment and in alerting the public and private sector to the contemporary relevance of the historic environment with both Castlefield and Liberty.

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[1] S. Hall (ed), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London, 1997, p. 61

By both supporting and contradicting the statement the chapter also analyses the inevitable aura of contestation that arises through the process of selection, the manipulation of the built environment and the investment of meaning in order to meet personal and collective agendas. The polysemic nature of urban society – the heterogeneity both between different individuals and within collectives renders any singular meaning of the historic environment impossible. For example to trace the individual and collective meanings of a nineteenth-century factory would summon numerous, varied and conflicting meanings. For some it was the workplace, a symbol of the industrial economy, a business, a meeting place and, into the twentieth-century, the visual evocation of failure. However, within these broad meanings a number of personal emotions towards the building were expressed: a place of oppression, a place of necessity, and a symbol of the evils of capitalism, or an evocation of memories of camaraderie, family, wealth and success. The important point to note is the multiplicity of meanings ascribed to the built environment between people and over time. The methods employed by actors from the public, private or voluntary sector to either reconcile these meanings or impose their own values to secure the retention or demolition of historic buildings requires analysis. The competing visions, internal and external conflicts, conflicting interests and power struggles are therefore also examined to reveal the role of the public and voluntary sectors whose decisions affect the mental and physical landscape as well as the legacy of the urban, industrial past.

Investment of Meaning

Meaning and value are not interchangeable but are connected. For the purposes of this research meanings refer to an individual or collective feeling about the built environment which was then translated into a contemporary value if these feelings were applicable to the contemporary urban agenda. Meaning can be defined, expressed and invested in various ways – some of which are explicit and others which are personal and are never overtly expressed. However, in the context of this research two ways of communicating meaning that represent the investment of contemporary value to historic buildings are used. The first way is a national measure of historic significance revealed through the decision to give a historic building listed status or in France to designate a building a *monument historique*. The second way originates from campaigns mounted to retain threatened historic buildings which are predominantly led by local groups such as local historical societies or resident's associations. Campaigns by voluntary organisations to raise the profile of the city's history revealed, how, when

harnessed correctly, local attachment to place is a vital component of place-making. Therefore, the two ways of investing meaning and thus ascribing contemporary value reveal both national and local perceptions of historic place and how they align, compete, reinforce or repel one another.

Legislative Protection

National awareness of local historical significance was apparent with both Castlefield and Motte-Bossut. In Castlefield this was manifested through the designation of various buildings as Grade I and Grade II. This process commenced in 1952 with the Grade II designation of twenty-one Georgian houses and a chapel and reflected a requirement to list historic buildings into the Town and Country Planning Act of 1944 (see chapter 3). This was followed in 1963 by the Grade I listed status of Liverpool Road Station. Further houses were designated during the next wave of listing in 1974 as were ecclesiastical buildings and public works. Before 1973 the listed buildings were of a non-industrial character but gradually buildings of an industrial character were also given official recognition of their historical significance; the 1830 warehouse adjoined to Liverpool Road Station was listed in 1973 and the former Bridgewater Canal Offices and the Victoria warehouse were both listed in 1974.[2] However, it was not until 1988 when the profile of the area was raised by the campaigns of local historical societies that the valuable, attractive and distinctive industrial structures were recognised and listed. [3] Merchant's, Middle, Lower Byrom Street warehouses, the Power Hall in the surrounds of the former Liverpool Road Station, two railway viaducts, two railway bridges, Hulme Junction Locks, Canal Flour Mill, Lock 92 and the Bridgewater Canal Basin were all listed within this six-year period between 1988 and 1994.

Despite this flurry of listing activity by national government it did not provide new uses for them; rather it ensured they were ascribed with a national value but still stood empty. The campaigns of local historical societies endorsed the historic

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[2] The 1974 designations were influenced by the change in the Town and Country Planning Act of 1968 which further emphasised the need for preservation.

[3] As F. Bianchini and M. Parkinson, *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration; the West European Experience,* Manchester, 1994 have stated the onset of property-led regeneration led to an increased focus on the built environment which also coincided with the desire for an urban distinctiveness that could be repackaged and marketed to give cities a competitive edge. The historic environment was one way of providing this distinctiveness. Additionally, the older buildings are, the more likely they are to be listed which also contributed to the upsurge in listing during this period.

significance of the buildings and also crucially started to explore and convey the potential of restored and re-used buildings to meet the changing contemporary urban agenda.

The impetus for legislative protection for Motte-Bossut also came from national government in 1974 who believed that the factory, which at that point was still a working factory, was a valuable example of nineteenth-century industrial architecture and therefore worthy of designation. Unlike in Castlefield, where listed status resulted in very little public controversy, the proposal to inscribe the factory on to the *inventaire supplémentaire*, the equivalent of an English Grade II status provoked outrage in the municipalité, a stand-off situation that resulted in a five-year heated debate led by Roubaix's Mayor, Victor Provo against the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Culture et de l'Environnement which involved all tiers of the French governmental structure. The contestation surrounding Motte-Bossut also revealed the imposition of top-down control in pre decentralised France as well as the ability of national government to mediate local issues and to use local buildings to fit the national agenda.

Unlike, Castlefield and Motte-Bossut, it was local initiative that resulted in the designation of the Liberty Building as Grade II in 1994. This was achieved after the Leicester Group of the Victorian Society (LGVS) successfully applied for listed building status from the Department of National Heritage in 1994. This resulted from the work of one of the group's members, Dr J. Skinner, who comprehensively researched the building's history, architecture and construction. Skinner's work revealed that the building was a rare example of the Hennebique method of construction[4] and as such the building was spot listed Grade II in February 1994. Skinner's decision to research the building originated from the LGVS's belief that the building was an important component of Leicester's urban landscape. Moreover the research also stemmed from a longstanding concern that the building would be demolished as it was 'located in the City Challenge area of the city where redevelopment is going on at pace'.[5] The threat of

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[4] The Hennebique method was a pioneering example of reinforced concrete and the Liberty Building was a rare British example of this French engineer's work whose other notable works included the Châtellerault bridge (1899).

[5] Letter from Secretary of the Leicester Group of the Victorian Society to the Department of National Heritage, 1 December 1993

demolition was revealed by an application to demolish the Liberty Building submitted by the owners LCV International in 1993.[6]

Campaigns

Various campaigns were mounted by both national and local actors to retain or demolish the existing building, request adequate maintenance for the buildings, or resist the official legislative protection of the historic environment in Castlefield, Liberty and Motte-Bossut. The key themes to arise from the campaigns to retain or list the historic buildings were the role of local voluntary organisations contrasted with national government influence and the inevitable aura of contestation that surrounded the decisions over the futures of these historic buildings.

Unlike Castlefield and Liberty, there was very little involvement by local historical societies or local residents in these campaigns. Indeed, a recent URBED report found that there was 'no real French equivalent to the English concept of "local community", and they (France) are surprised by our (British) enthusiasm for relying on voluntary and community organisations rather than elected local authorities (of which there are 36,000!)'.[8] In this context it was understandable that the only action taken by Roubaisiens was to take a clandestine recording of the interior of the factory when it was threatened with demolition.[9] This video was recorded by Roger Leman who was the leader of the Atelier Populaire d'Urbanisme (APU), a local group created to campaign for the retention of their homes in the Alma Gare region of Roubaix.[10] This group dealt solely with the retention of the *courées*[11] and considered that Motte-Bossut was located out of its

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[6] This was refused by the City Council because of the building's place on their 'buildings of special interest' list.

[8] Urban and Economic Development (URBED), *Learning from Lille and Roubaix, Sub-Regional Planning and the Coordination of Transport and Development*, London, 2006, p. 12

[9] The title of the video is 'Fil de Vie'

[10] Interview with R. Leman, Leader of the Atelier Populaire d'Urbanisme, December 2006

geographical limits and was therefore not a part of their campaign. In line with URBED conclusions the APU provided a rare example of a local community group and its efforts to prevent the demolition of Motte-Bossut were constrained by their ongoing campaign as well as the geographical distance between the *courées* and the Motte-Bossut factory (see figure 5).

In reality there was very little need for a local community group to draw the Motte-Bossut factory to the attention of local and central government. National and local government did not have to be alerted to the plight of Motte-Bossut as was with the case with Castlefield and Liberty but rather the factory's future was already a constant source of contention and debate between the State and the municipalité.

The role of local historical societies in Castlefield's revitalisation cannot be overstated. Their work combined the efforts of several groups which spanned fifteen-years and which raised the profile of the area to the general public, media and the public and private sectors. Indeed, the Chairman of the Central Manchester Development Corporation the organisation which used the foundations laid by the historical societies to propel the area's regeneration recognised that 'it was the enthusiasm of local historians and archaeologists which introduced the area and its importance to a wider public audience'.[12] The first steps taken by local historians towards Castlefield's revitalisation were evident in the late 1960s as various local historical societies motivated by a fear that 'the large-scale redevelopment of Manchester was threatening to wipe out the industrial remains'[13] started to uncover the layers of history apparent in Castlefield.

Figure 5 Map of Roubaix highlighting the 2km distance between Alma Gare and Motte-Bossut

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[11] The *courées* were homes that were considered unfit for human habitation and were threatened with demolition as a result of the modernisation plans of Victor Provo, whose main priority was to ease the housing problems by replacing the *courées* which were deemed on the margins of being unfit for human habitation with new houses. However, Provo's plans were met with fierce and sustained opposition from the APU who were in favour of keeping their homes. See M.J. Miller, *The Representation of Place, Urban Planning and Protest in France and Great Britain, 1950-1980,* Aldershot, 2003

[12] Dr. J. Grigor, The Castlefield Renaissance, *Manchester Memoirs,* Vol.132, 1994, p. 61

[13] Interview with A.D. George, Former Head of Manchester Region Industrial Archaeology Society, 13 December 2005

ALMA-GARE, ROUBAIX

Alma-Gare

R   La Redoute

0   250   500

scale (metres)
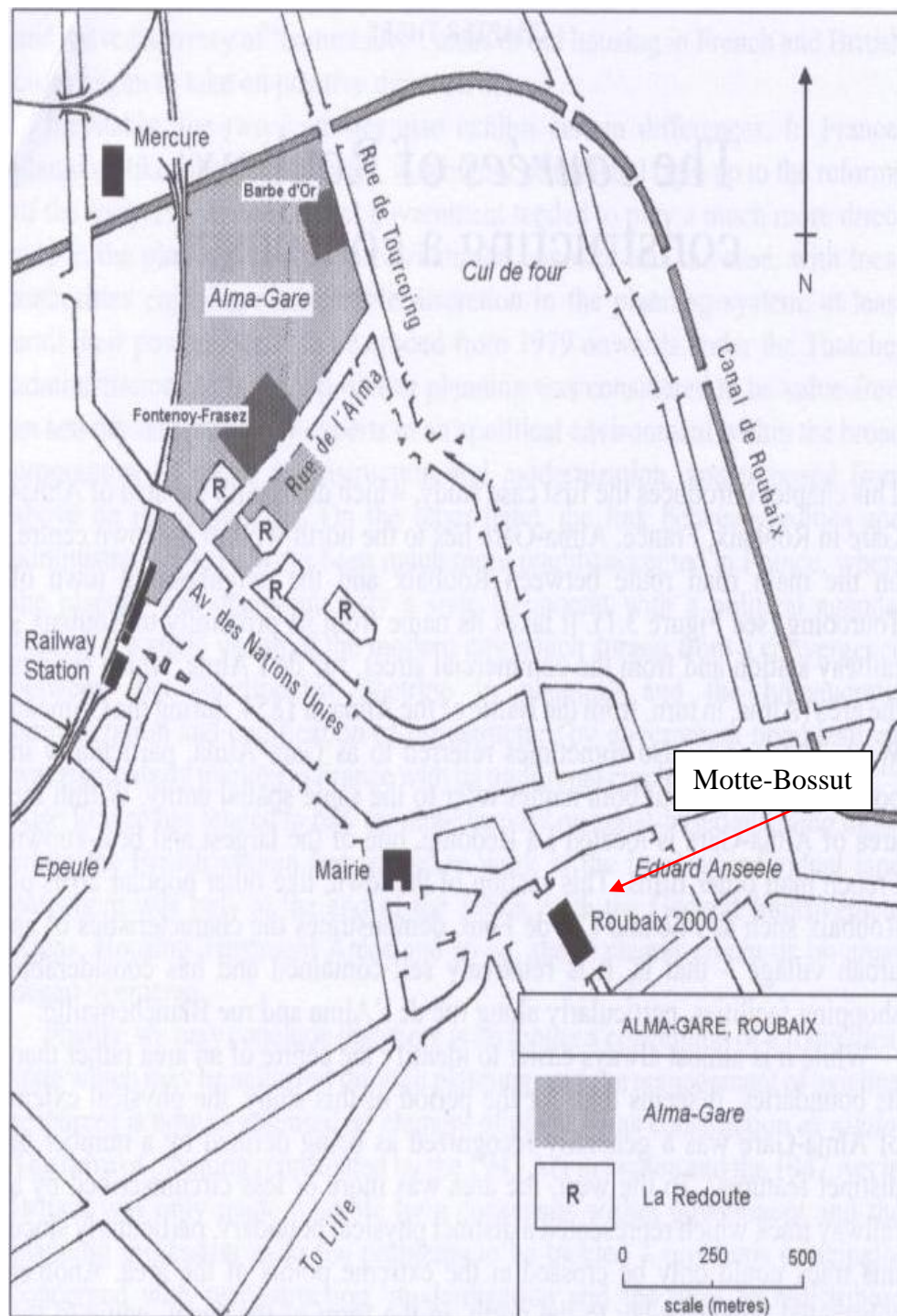
These groups were primarily the Manchester Region Industrial Archaeology Society (MRIAS) who recorded a number of industrial buildings, Civic Trust, Manchester Group of the Victorian Society (MGVS), Georgian Society and the Liverpool Road Station Society (LRSS). Alongside this were Roman digs led by Professor Barry Jones of Manchester University which led to evidence of Roman settlement and ensured Castlefield was known as the birthplace of Manchester. Despite the listed status of much of Castlefield, the area's decline ensured these historic buildings were hidden from the consciousness of both planners and the general public.

A series of parallel events by key individuals and local historical groups began the process of raising Castlefield's profile. These actors and agencies engaged with both the City and County Council to collectively secure the restoration and re-use of Castlefield's historic structures. The origins of Castlefield's renaissance in terms of raising the profile of the area were therefore solely based on the work of local people and of local initiative. MRIAS started this process by recording sites of specific historic interest in 1967. Although Central Manchester was the priority area MRIAS work spanned across the Greater Manchester region. At this time, Castlefield was considered one of many potential MRIAS projects and Castlefield was 'not given any special attention, the main task of our society was to record as many industrial remnants as possible'.[14] Castlefield's canal and railway heritage had not yet been detached from the rest of Manchester's industrial heritage. MRIAS' recording work was, however, the first step in recognising Castlefield's unique historical significance. The events in Castlefield illustrated the increased awareness of industrial heritage nationally during this period as shown by the opening of Ironbridge Gorge in 1967. In this context Castlefield provided a window into the transformation of both local and national attitudes towards industrial heritage from the late 1960s onwards.

Running parallel to the recording work of MRIAS was the research undertaken by the Civic Trust. Following a mandate by Sir Sidney Bernstein who sought to expand his Granada TV empire, located to the rear of Liverpool Road Station, the Civic Trust researched the history of the Castlefield area. The Trust's report (1972)[15] highlighted a number of areas of historical interest, such as the canal

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[14] Ibid

[15] D. Rhodes, Castlefield, 1972 (unpublished)

heritage associated with the Bridgewater canal which ensured that it was received, according to the author, like a 'lead balloon'[16] as it hindered Bernstein's plans to expand. However, this was the first official document to collate Castlefield's history and, along with MRIAS research, represented the origins of a campaign to recognise the area's uniqueness.

David Rhodes, Chair of the MGVS and also the City Council's Conservation Architect, researched three further reports into the Roman, Georgian and Industrial eras of Castlefield. These three reports came together to form Historic Castlefield, the first conservation and planning guidelines for the area in 1976. Just as MRIAS recording work paralleled the increased national awareness of industrial heritage during the 1960s, the reports produced by Manchester City Council linked to national reports such as *Preservation and Change* (1968) which highlighted the need to retain elements of the historic environment in the face of comprehensive urban change.

Castlefield continued to provide an insight into the wider context of conserving heritage as the formation of LRSS in 1975 coincided with European Architectural Heritage Year (EAHY) and illustrated how one isolated incident in an overlooked corner of Manchester reflected international concerns over the sustainability of Europe's heritage. The end of the 1970s, in line with EAHY, witnessed a concerted campaign to re-use Liverpool Road Station, a Grade I listed building and the world's first passenger railway station. Indeed this became the focal point of the campaign to raise the profile of the area; it was seen as a 'single issue campaign, almost independent of Castlefield'.[17] A number of railway enthusiasts and members of the various local historical societies joined together to form Liverpool Road Station Society. From its creation in 1975 the Society took the initiative to reveal the area's industrial heritage to a wider and more influential audience.

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[16] Interview with D. Rhodes, Former Conservation Architect in Manchester City Council, December 2005

[17] Interview with A.D. George, Former Head of Manchester Region Industrial Archaeology Society, December 2005

Figure 6 Actors Involved in 'Revealing Castlefield'

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                    ┌─────────────────────────────┐
                    │      Official Actors         │
                    │  • Greater Manchester Council│
                    │    (GMC), 1974-86            │
                    │  • Manchester City Council,  │
                    │    (MCC), 1979-present day   │
                    │  • Castlefield Conservation  │
                    │    Area Steering Committee,  │
                    │    (CCASC), 1982-92          │
                    └─────────────────────────────┘
                         ↗                  ↖
  ┌──────────────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────────────┐
  │ Local Historical Societies│     │ Liverpool Road Station    │
  │                           │     │        Society            │
  │  • MRIAS                  │     │       (LRSS),             │
  │  • Manchester Group of    │────▶│  1974-present day         │
  │    the Victorian Society  │     │ (Now known as Friends of  │
  │  • Civic Trust            │     │      the Museum)          │
  │  • Georgian Society       │     │                           │
  │  • Railway Enthusiasts    │     │                           │
  └──────────────────────────┘     └──────────────────────────┘
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Through lobbying, meetings and joint committees, Liverpool Road Station Society brought the station to the attention of Greater Manchester Council. The Station Society coordinated birthday celebrations for the station's 148th, 149th and 150th anniversaries and in doing so propelled both the area and the station into the local consciousness. Most interviewees viewed the 150th anniversary as the 'absolute turning point' for both Liverpool Road Station and for Castlefield.[18] Steam engines were driven around the city, a festival was held, and birthday cards were handed out to local people at Central Manchester train stations. Crucially, the cards were also given to the local press. The *Manchester Evening News* played a vital role in raising awareness of the area. The newspaper reported on the annual events and publicised the celebrations.

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[18] Interview with D. Rhodes, Former Conservation Architect in Manchester City Council, December 2005

Moreover, the paper followed this with detailed investigations of the area and its potential for regeneration. Headlines such as 'Treasures in a City's Backyard', and 'Visions of the Future' helped to improve the image of what was considered to be Manchester's backyard as well as bringing the area to the attention of Mancunians.[19] The newspaper described Liverpool Road as the 'spine from which history radiates in almost every direction'[20] as the promotional work of LRSS raised both the profile of the Station's and the area. The national desire to repopulate cities and increase urban activity levels was paralleled by local media campaigns that rooted national concerns in local issues and thus revealed how Castlefield dovetailed national policies in terms of re-centralisation and safeguarding the national heritage.

The campaign to restore and re-use Liverpool Road Station was assisted by three main factors. Firstly, British Rail sold the station to Greater Manchester Council for the token price of £1 and secondly contributed a further £100,000 towards the Station's restoration. Thirdly, the creation of Greater Manchester County Council in 1974 provided the Station with a governmental body that was prepared to invest in its restoration. GMC provided another example of a how a newly created urban agency can facilitate urban change. The creation of special urban bodies standing separate from the City Council has traditionally been utilised to secure specific urban changes that lay outside the capability of existing authorities. From the creation of utility companies in the nineteenth century to the use of Development Corporations and Urban Regeneration Companies in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, specially created agencies have significantly influence the type and extent of urban change. In order that GMC could establish itself it needed a high profile project of benefit to the Greater Manchester region. Restoring a Grade I listed building and turning it into a tourist attraction that would bring both people and investment into the region, therefore, fitted GMC's criteria. Moreover, the restoration of this decaying railway station was considered a low priority for the City Council faced as it was with more immediate concerns over housing and unemployment. GMC, therefore, initiated and co-ordinated the move of the existing Museum of Science and Industry exhibits from their temporary storage in

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[19] *Manchester Evening News*, 29 October, 1979, 31 October 1979, 16 September 1983

[20] *Manchester Evening News*, Vision of the Future, 31 October 1979

Figure 7 Campaign Poster for Liverpool Road Station
Source: Reproduced with kind permission of the Friends of the Manchester Museum of Science and Industry
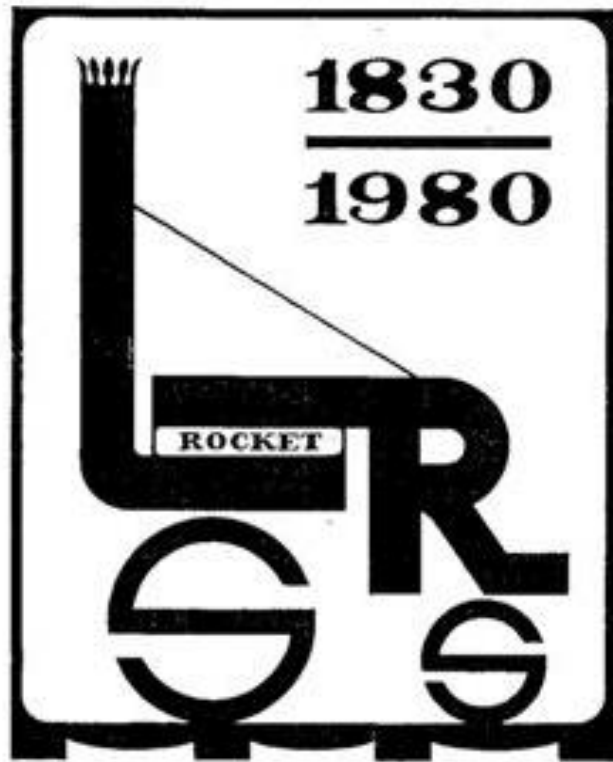
University of Manchester premises to Liverpool Road Station. The Museum opened in 1983 and in doing so raised the profile of the area, and indeed, forced a steering committee to be created to further co-ordinate the future development of the area.[21] The recognition of the historic significance of Castlefield and the ascription of contemporary value were aided by a multi-agency approach that held key links to the public sector. The historical societies were helped by the presence of two key men who were both members of various local historical societies as well as employees of either the City or County Council. The City Council's Conservation Architect was the Chair of the Manchester Group of the Victorian Society and another local historian worked on the Historic Buildings Advisory Panel for Greater Manchester Council. The influence of individuals working within the two main official organisations though hard to quantify, should not be underestimated and gave local historians access to the upper echelons of local government. Informal networks were therefore vital in ascribing contemporary value to Castlefield and also illustrated the unquantifiable influence that individuals can have in the British planning system.

In the words of the Chairman of the Central Manchester Development Corporation, Dr James Grigor opening the station played a 'key role in focusing interest and attracting visitors to Castlefield'.[22] The lobbying work of Liverpool Road Station Society, the publicity campaigns through newspapers, the creation of Greater Manchester Council, and the ready made use for the station ensured that Castlefield's historic legacy was put on a local and national agenda with the first steps towards its renaissance achieved by the unrelenting work of local historical societies.

Whereas in Castlefield the campaign focussed on raising the profile and finding new uses the objective of the campaign in Leicester was to prevent the demolition of the Liberty building despite its Grade II listed status. Following the successful listing of the building in 1994, the Leicester Group of the Victorian Society (LGVS) lobbied for adequate maintenance of the factory. Liberty stood

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[21] The Castlefield Conservation Area Steering Committee was created in 1982 and proposed to turn Castlefield into a tourist destination. The need for a steering committee was reconfirmed by the abolition of Greater Manchester Council in 1986 (see chapter 5 for more detail on the Steering Committee).

[22] Grigor, *Manchester Memoirs,* Vol.132, 1994, p. 62

vacant from 1989 and fell prey to vandals and intruders as discussions over a viable use for the building proved inconclusive. LGVS were in regular contact with Leicester City Council to ensure that the building was adequately maintained. Indeed, in 1995, The City Council's Building Conservation Officer informed the LGVS that 'Liberty Works has recently been the subject of a notice under the Public Health Act requiring the owner to make the building secure against intruders'. [23] The continuing deterioration of the building led the LGVS to campaign for its further protection from vandals in 1996 stating that

> Liberty has for many weeks now been open to anyone to walk in and there has been much vandalism. We believe that the owners should be required to board it up properly so that it is impossible for intruders to get inside. The current neglect will simply make it more expensive to rehabilitate. [24]

There was therefore a gradual realisation by the LGVS that the further deterioration of the building would threaten its position in the urban landscape.

By 1998 the building was adjudged to have fallen into such disrepair that the Chairman of the Leicester Group of the Victorian Society felt compelled to write to Leicester City Council's Chief Executive asking if it was possible to 'effect a repairs notice on the owners as to allow such a building to decay would bring derision on the whole concept of listing and opprobrium on those who allowed such decay to happen'. [25] This process was repeated in 2001 when the LGVS 'requested the immediate imposition of an urgent works notice to have the building made wind and weatherproof until an enterprising buyer is willing to refurbish it in the way it deserves'. [26] The LGVS, therefore, consistently pressed the City Council to try to ensure that Liberty was maintained. The application to demolish Liberty was submitted in February 2001 and was met with outrage by the LGVS and other local historical societies, as well as local residents.

Other historical societies also became involved in the campaign to maintain the Liberty Building and save the building from demolition. LGVS were pivotal in

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[23] Letter from a Conservation Officer at Leicester City Council to the Secretary of Leicester Group of the Victorian Society, 20 October 1995

[24] Letter from the Secretary of Leicester Group of the Victorian Society to Director of Environment and Development Leicester City Council, 7 October 1995

[25] Letter from the Victorian Society Chairman to Leicester City Council's Chief Executive, 10 May 1998

[26] Ibid

bringing the plight of Liberty to the attention of the Twentieth Century Society and the *Leicester Mercury*. Indeed the sub-committee reported that they had 'written to the Twentieth Century Society, the *Leicester Mercury* and the City Council firmly opposing demolition'.[27] The *Mercury* reported the debate over the future of the Liberty Building and interviewed some of the key actors in favour of retention as well as those in favour of demolition. Headlines such as 'Don't take a Liberty with the Future of our Landmark', 'I Say What a Liberty' and 'Liberty Plan will Lead to Bedlam' contrasted with other headlines stating 'Pull down Liberty Works Eyesore'.[28] These headlines along with the ongoing debate over the future of the factory illustrate the contentious nature of finding new uses for old buildings in regenerating urban areas.

A letter to the planning department of the City Council from the Ancient Monument Society supported the views of the local historical societies and lodged an official objection. The society examined the engineering assessment carried out by Cox Turner Morse[29] on the building as well as the redevelopment plans and concluded that as 'no costings had been prepared by the engineers it was not possible to compare the cost of conservation, repair and reoccupation with that of total demolition and redevelopment'.[30] This was supported by the Twentieth Century Society who also rejected the assessment of the engineers and lodged an objection with the Secretary of State. This letter requested that the application to demolish to be 'called in for review'.[31] The Society was 'concerned at the lack of understanding of the existing structure given in Cox Turner Morse's report and also found 'discrepancies between Cox Turner Morse's report and the notes from Weeks Consulting'.[32] From this the Twentieth Century Society stated that the 'lack of clarification suggests that Cox Turner Morse do not have

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[27] Leicester Group of the Victorian Society Building's Sub-Committee Report, 5 May 2001

[28] *Leicester Mercury* headlines, 2 May 2001, 13 April 2002, 26 April 2002, December 14, 2001

[29] Cox Turner Morse carried out one of three structural surveys on the building in January 2001; two previous structural surveys were carried out by The Diamond Wood Partnership before the building was listed in September 1990 and in 2000 by Weeks Consulting.

[30] Objection Letter from the Ancient Monument Society to Leicester City Council, 27 April 2001

[31] Letter from the Twentieth Century Society to the Secretary of State, 11 February 2002

[32] Ibid

experience of structures of this age and type'.[33] Therefore the Society claimed 'that not all avenues have been explored, hence the proposal to demolish the Liberty Building is not justified'.[34] This view matched that of the Leicester Civic Society (LCS) who urged the Council to reject the application for demolition claiming that it was a vital historical asset.[35] The Civic Society followed this up with an official objection to the application to demolish the building. LCS stated that in their view 'the structural survey has created a deliberately gloomy outlook for the Liberty Works' and questioned why 'the owner was not obliged to take protective action sooner'.[36] This exchange of correspondence revealed the conflicting valuations of the historic environment as well as the inability of historical societies to infiltrate the urban agenda. This provided a marked difference to Castlefield where a decade earlier the local historical societies successfully secured representations within local government to secure the retention and restoration of the historic environment. The absence of informal networks in the form of key individuals holding positions in both local government and the historical societies was therefore an undoubted factor in Liberty's demise as their values were never incorporated into the urban vision of the dominant urban actors.

Individual resident's official letters of objection sent to the council questioned the inability of the City Council to take preventative action. They stated that 'we do not want to see the building demolished, it is a beautiful example of an Art Deco building.'[37] In addition to this, the resident's association Offside, created to defend the interests of West End residents, stated that 'we feel that the Liberty Building should be restored to its former glory and do not find the applicant's argument that this would not be viable to be sufficient'.[38] The residents also objected to the redevelopment of the site on the grounds that the new student accommodation would cause chaos in the area. Indeed, one resident noted that

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[33] Ibid

[34] Ibid

[35] *Leicester Mercury*, Causing concern: An artist's impression of the controversial development which could result if the Liberty Building is demolished, 27 April 2001, p. 3

[36] Email from the Leicester Civic Society to Leicester City Council, 7 May 2001

[37] Objection Letter from Resident to Leicester City Council, 1 May 2001

[38] Offside Resident's association objection Letter to Leicester City Council, 15 April 2001

Figure 8 Actors involved in securing listed status for Liberty and in campaigning for adequate maintenance

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                    ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
                    │      National Government        │
                    │  Department of National Heritage │
                    └─────────────────────────────────┘
                                    ↕
                    ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
                    │     Leicester City Council      │
                    │                                 │
                    │     Conservation Department     │
                    └─────────────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────────────────┐        ┌──────────────────────────────┐
│   National Organisations     │        │        Local Groups          │
│                              │        │                              │
│   • Twentieth Century        │        │   • Leicester Group of the   │
│     Society                  │ ←────→ │     Victorian Society        │
│   • Ancient Monuments        │        │     (LGVS)                   │
│     Society                  │        │   • Leicester Branch of      │
│   • English Heritage         │        │     the Civic Trust (LCS)    │
│                              │        │   • Local Residents          │
└──────────────────────────────┘        └──────────────────────────────┘
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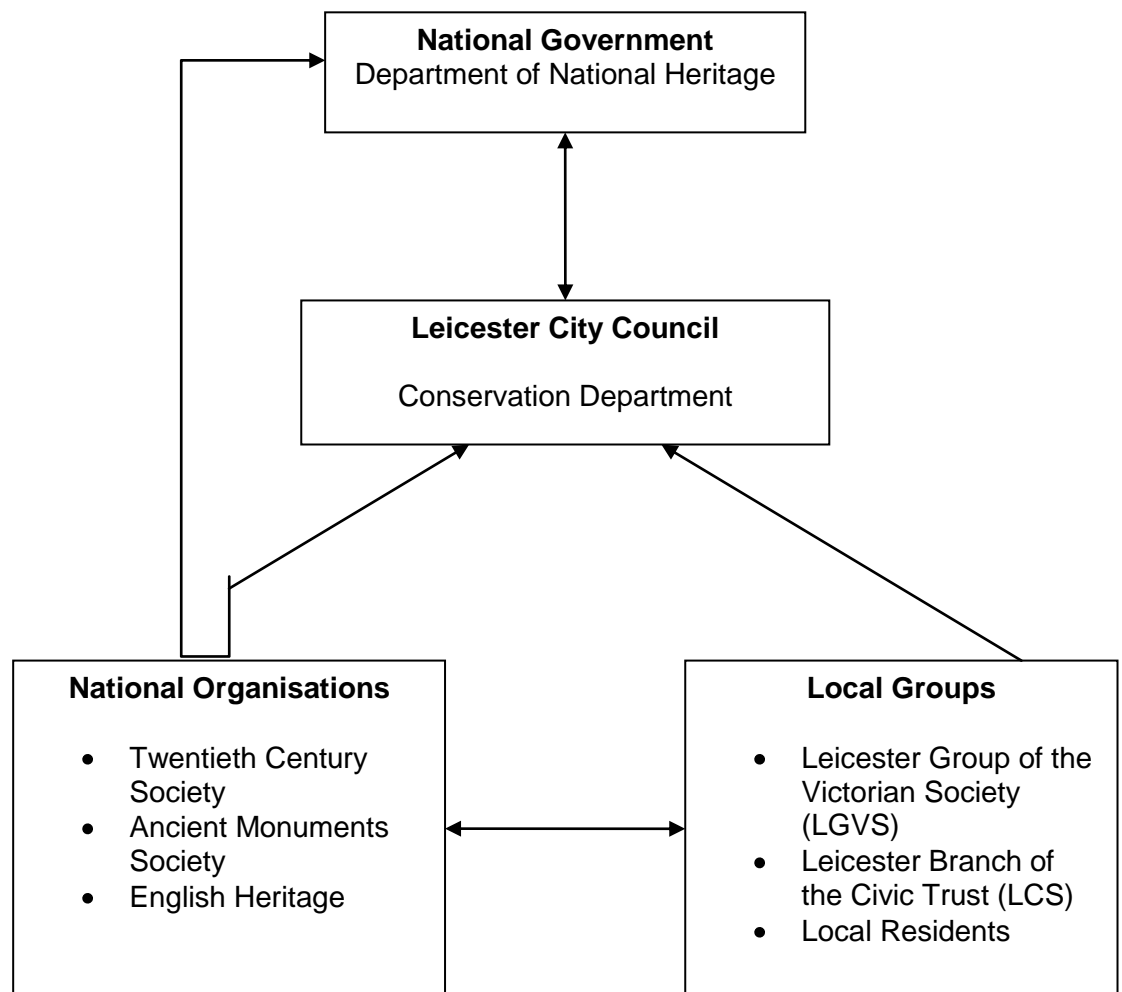
redevelopment of any listed building should benefit the whole community, for the good of the people and not just cater for the students. The universities should have more concern about maintaining a harmony between local residents and students that to satisfy their pockets alone.[39]

However, despite the residents' objections there was never a combined residents' association created to lobby for the retention of the Liberty Building and their efforts were not sufficient to prevent its demolition.

Overall the involvement of the various local historical societies alongside residents' objections illustrated the depth of feeling that the Liberty Building provoked in the local community. The situation was completely different to Castlefield in the respect that existing resident's views were aired during the discussions over the future of the building.[40] Without the involvement of the LGVS, it is likely that the building would have been demolished at an earlier stage and a significant landmark with local meaning also eradicated. The saga of the Liberty Building allied to Castlefield illustrates the continued importance of local historians who identify historic buildings and introduce them into the official arena. By their efforts, restoration and regeneration can be constituted in relation to the meaning and significance of the buildings for local communities.

Just as the campaign objectives in Castlefield and Liberty differed there was again a variance in Roubaix. A campaign was mounted by the municipalité to try to prevent the designation of the factory as a *monument historique*. There were three components of the municipalité's objection: firstly, that the building was not worthy of designation, secondly, the perceived institutionalisation of the town's negative industrial image through Motte-Bossut's designation and thirdly, the disruption to Roubaix's regeneration plans as a result of Motte-Bossut's designation as a *monument historique*. The municipalité, region and Communauté Urbaine de Lille (CUDL) and the State were in constant written contact during the five-year debate over Motte-Bossut's designation. Discussions concerning the future of the factory were held as early as 1974, crucially seven-years before Motte-Bossut closed thus reducing the threat of the building falling into disrepair through inaction. This was also at the same time as Castlefield's

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[39] Objection Letter from Resident (a) to Leicester City Council, 3 May 2001

[40] Castlefield did not have a critical residential mass during the 1970s and early 1980s. Indeed, the population of the whole city-centre was approximately 250 during this period.

historic environment was being actively promoted and revealed by local historians who formed Liverpool Road Station Society and thus further revealed the European emphasis on safeguarding industrial heritage in light of EAHY. Local and national opinion was polarised between demolishing and retaining the building and therefore the decision to nominate the factory for designation as a *monument historique* by the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Culture et de l'Environnement in 1974 thus giving legal protection against its demolition provoked outrage in the *municipalité*. The polarisation of local and national opinion was illustrated by a Parliamentary debate in October 1974 within which the Mayor's deputy, Victor Clérambeaux, who was also the deputy of the region Nord-Pas-de-Calais, requested that the proposal for Motte-Bossut's designation be rejected on the grounds that the factory was an 'édifice affreux'.[41] Value judgements between actors, therefore, as in the Liberty case, conflicted and illustrated that the valorisation of the past becomes contentious if it is considered to impede the regeneration of the contemporary city.

The *municipalité*, represented by the Mayor Victor Provo and his deputy, did not appreciate the historic significance of Motte-Bossut, stating in February 1976 that their were other choices throughout Roubaix and Tourcoing that could be added to *l'inventaire supplémentaire des monuments historique* instead of Motte-Bossut.[42] This belief stemmed from the location of the Motte-Bossut factory on a main gateway and its physical dominance of Roubaix's urban landscape. The problems of a deindustrialising urban centre were, in the opinion of Provo, institutionalised by the permanence of the visually imposing Motte-Bossut factory. As such Provo showed his dislike of Roubaix's industrial image when he stated that he would reluctantly allow the designation on the condition that the chimney, the visual evocation of industrial production, was demolished.[43] The image of a deindustrialised, failing, declining *ville* illustrated through the visually dominant

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[41] Letter from M. Clérambeaux, Adjoint au Maire, Député du Nord to the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Culture, 16 October 1974

[42] 'Il existe dans les villes de Roubaix et Tourcoing suffisamment d'usines permettant de conserver, si l'on estime utile, un témoin de l'architecture industrielle du siècle dernier et leur implantation est beaucoup moins contraignante pour les projets publics que celle de l'usine Motte-Bossut', Letter from the Maire to the Secrétaire de l'Etat à la Culture et de l'Environnement, 26 February 1976

[43] 'Il ne voudrait pas que celle-ci empêche la destruction de la cheminée dont il estime qu'elle ne peut trouver sa place dans le cadre de l'ensemble urbain prévu aux alentours de l'usine', Letter from the Directeur Régional to the Directeur de L'Administration Générale, 27 January 1976

industrial environment conflicted with Provo's desire to modernise through the creation of a sustainable service sector.[44] Provo's stance again illustrated how the value of the past is clouded by the contemporary urban condition and how the historic environment can be simultaneously seen as both a benefit and a burden. The resolution of the benefit versus burden argument rested with the perception of the urban condition and whether the historic environment could feasibly and quickly facilitate the regeneration of the urban centre.

This was illustrated by a further objection to the designation of the factory as the severity of the unemployment crisis in Roubaix during the 1970s regulated the view of the factory. In 1978 Motte-Bossut Company, the owner of the factory objected to the proposed designation on the grounds that designation would harm the future development of the factory potentially causing further unemployment at a time of existing distress.[45] The Communauté Urbaine de Lille also objected to the factory's designation on economic grounds based on the findings of a feasibility study carried out on the building which found that conversion to offices was unrealistic[46] and as such the CUDL believed that the financial repercussions of designation would affect Roubaix's attempt to regenerate. [47] However, despite these socio-economic concerns, the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Culture et de l'Environnement believed any financial problems could be overcome with the correct will and that the building was indeed worthy of designation

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[44] Roubaix re-invented itself as the home for mail order, Vente Par Correspondence (VPC) through the creation of Trois Suisses, Damart and La Redoute.

[45] 'Nous tenons à protester vivement contre cette décision unilatérale … qui vient apporter des contraintes importantes à la libre disposition de nos locaux et en interdit toute évolution ou toute adaptation ultérieure… Au moment où Roubaix souffre cruellement d'un manque d'emploi, nous tenons à vous dire qu'une telle disposition comporte une menace non négligeable sur l'avenir de l'activité existante dans ces bâtiments où se trouvent occupés, à ce jour, plus de deux cents salariés. Nous souhaitons, par conséquent, que vous nous indiquiez la procédure à suivre pour remédier à un tel état des choses.' Letter from the Motte-Bossut SA to the Préfet du Nord, 29 June 1978

[46] '…projet était à l'étude pour utiliser l'usine comme immeuble de bureaux… projet risque de poser des problèmes financiers importants', Letter from the Préfet du Nord to the Conservateur Régional des Bâtiments de France, 16 May 1975

[47] 'La décision du Ministère de la Culture et de l'Environnement vient hypothéquer lourdement un bâtiment et une entreprise qui n'en avaient guère besoin, et ce sans aucun profit réel pour la protection d'un patrimoine qui n'a, pas plus que de nombreuses autres propriétés, de raison d'être classé'. Letter from the Communauté Urbaine de Lille to the Préfet du Nord, 12 July 1978

> les difficultés soulevées par le maintien de ce bâtiment ne m'échappent pas, qu'il s'agisse de sa transformation en immeuble de bureaux ou de sa compatibilité avec le projet de rénovation du centre du Roubaix. Mais, compte tenu, tant des caractéristiques de l'édifice que de l'étendue de l'ensemble Motte-Bossut, je suis persuadé que ces difficultés ne sont pas insurmontables si l'on veut bien se donner la peine de les résoudre. [48]

The objection by the municipalité was primarily motivated by a desire to regenerate Roubaix and revealed how the past cannot be valued if its historical significance cannot be translated into contemporary relevance. The location of the factory ensured that the land it was situated on was a key component of the plans to reorganise central Roubaix. The listing criterion in France requires that land within a 500m radius of the building be subjected to statutory protection concerning the level of development allowed in that area.[49] This restrictive planning practice therefore significantly impacted upon the regenerative potential of the surrounding areas and offered an insight into why Motte-Bossut's designation was so contentious. Moreover, legislative protection of a historic building in Britain and France automatically alters the existing investment environment, initially signalling the need for greater expense to adhere to listing regulations. This was perceived by the municipalité to pose a significant problem to the planned regeneration of central Roubaix as revealed later in this chapter.[50] Just as the perception of urban needs mediated the value of the past, revealing and recognising the potential of the historic environment was regulated by the legislative framework in place.

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[48] Letter from the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Culture et de l'Environnement to the Maire, 17 May 1976

[49] *Zone Protège* replaced by a *Zones de Protection du Patrimoine Architectural Urbain* (ZPPAU) in 1983

[50] 'La protection de Motte–Bossut apparaît dans ces conditions comme un obstacle à la réalisation des projets envisagés par la ville de Roubaix.' Letter between the Préfet du Nord and the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Culture et de l'Environnement, 22 January 1975

Figure 9 Actors involved in the controversy surrounding Motte-Bossut's designation

Against Designation	For Designation
Motte-Bossut Company	**National Government:** Secrétaire d'Etat á la Culture et l'Environnement
Municipalité Victor Provo, Mayor Victor Clérambeaux, Deputy Mayor	
Communauté Urbain de Lille (CUDL) Oversee the development of the métropole	
Région Victor Clérambeaux, (Deputy of the Region)	
Département Préfet du Nord	

Conflict

Contestation was witnessed between agencies in each case study. The controversy over Motte-Bossut's designation revealed tensions between national and local agencies. In Leicester the campaign to ensure the building was adequately maintained exposed the conflicts between local public, private and voluntary sector agencies. In Castlefield tensions were apparent within the local council thus offering another dimension to the potential for conflict when selecting the past for urban regeneration schemes. Castlefield's designation in 1979 as an outstanding conservation area was the culmination of a campaign that had witnessed conflict between the City Council's Conservation Department and those in the higher echelons of the Council. Castlefield was proposed three times by the Conservation Department and was eventually designated as a conservation area in 1979. The poor environmental condition of the area and its negative image hindered its chances of becoming a conservation area. The head of the Conservation Department recalled 'no-one could see the history let alone the potential of the area, the canals were filled, the wharves were used as car park spaces and the buildings themselves housed tramps'.[51] However, repeated

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[51] Interview with W. Marshall, Conservation Officer in Manchester City Council, March 2006

and unrelenting calls for the designation of Castlefield from the Conservation Department alongside the work of local historical societies and raised the profile of the area ensured the whole entity of the area was officially recognised in 1979.

Conflict was also resolved in Motte-Bossut due to a combination of factors, namely a change in the Mayor and administration as well as the fact that national government continued to influence the future of Motte-Bossut by finding two complementary new uses that impacted on both the local and national scale (see chapter 5). However, continuous conflict in the Liberty case was never resolved as the following chapters reveal. This was mainly due to competing and confused visions for the city which, allied to legal loopholes overruled the wishes of the voluntary sector in favour of the private sector.

The important point to note from the degree of contestation witnessed in all three case studies is the multiplicity of meanings invested in the historic environment and the differences in the contemporary values that resulted. The selection of the historic environment for retention, demolition or legislative protection was therefore never clear cut. Recognising the potential of historic place as well as managing the change in urban centres is inextricably bound up with multiple meanings, competing visions and conflicting personalities. As Motte-Bossut and Castlefield illustrated the key to streamlining meaning and reducing the complexities of place is for dominant actors to reconcile their differences through a shared appreciation of how the building can work for the future rather than, as happened in Liberty, creating a belligerent atmosphere in which issues spiralled out of control early on and were therefore never resolved.

The Influence of the Urban Agenda
A shared appreciation of the potential of the historic environment has to be connected to the regeneration of the city in order for it to remain in the urban landscape. In each case study the importance of conservation, restoration and re-use was measured in different ways. For Castlefield it was a way of regenerating a small area, the consequences of which would reverberate around the wider city centre and improve Manchester's external image. The picture was similar in Roubaix yet the remit was larger with regional, national and international issues mixed in with the regeneration of the centre-ville. However, in Leicester the view taken was on the micro scale whereby Liberty's re-use was not linked into a wider strategy which made it a blot on the landscape and an

interruption rather than a central component of a coordinated regeneration strategy: conservation was only seen as one part of the urban plan. The following section will develop how conservation fitted into the overall urban plan that also dictated the extent to which the recognition of historic place was also appreciated by the public and private sector.

There were three complementary schemes located within the immediate vicinity of the Motte-Bossut factory designed to revitalise Roubaix's urban centre which each reflected the desire of the municipalité to improve the housing condition, retail outlets and public transport networks in Roubaix. The severity of the housing problem was the first contentious issue related to Motte-Bossut's designation. The area south of the factory was the site for municipalités flagship housing scheme: Eduard Anseele. This was the earliest attempt in Roubaix to reverse the housing condition and indeed was the 'first time that a municipal council, with the backing of the ministry of finance, became the instigator, planner and supervisor of such a project.'[52] The project to renew the housing stock started in 1958 on a 13 hectare site that contained 70 *courées* and 2,160 houses that were below the accepted level for habitation located immediately south of the Motte-Bossut factory.[53] Approximately 1,550 new apartments in blocks ranging from nine to eighteen stories then replaced these houses. Schools, health centres, parking and a *foyer de personnes âgées* were also inserted into this part of Roubaix. The Eduard Anseele scheme took over twenty-years to complete and as such the decision to designate the Motte-Bossut factory complete with the 500m rule provoked outrage within the municipalité who perceived that the designation would inhibit and overshadow their flagship scheme. The new design of the Eduard Anseele neighbourhood was considered by the municipalité to mark a break from the industrial past where *courées* and poor living and working conditions abounded. Therefore, the designation of a neighbouring factory threatened, not only the successful completion of the project, but also institutionalised precisely the image that the municipalité wanted a modernising Roubaix to erase.

Roubaix 2000 was the second municipalité-led project to regenerate central Roubaix. This project linked into the Eduard Anseele scheme as it was located at

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[52] Miller, *The Representation of Place,* 2003, p. 110

[53] Y.M. Hilaire, *Histoire de Roubaix*, Chapter 11, Dunkirk, 1984, p. 290

the eastern edge of the housing complex. Roubaix 2000 commenced in the early 1970s and was designed to improve the retail outlets in Roubaix which suffered from the competition resulting from their proximity to Lille with its strong financial and retail economy, and from cross-border trade in Belgium. Traditionally, Roubaisiens spent their French francs in Belgium due to the strength of the franc against the Belgian currency. Therefore Roubaix's commercial base had no solid or historic foundations. Roubaix 2000 was designed to correct this imbalance with a planned increase in the number of retail outlets in Roubaix subsequently managed by a McArthur Glen retail outlet. This American-led project, completed in the late 1980s, highlighted the way in which Roubaix's industrial history, partly as a result of a change in Mayor from Provo to Diligent[54] was embraced and promoted by the local authorities. A pastiche replica of the brick used in the construction of the Motte-Bossut factory adorns the roofs of the airy modern glass fronted shops and has created a (inauthentic) high street in central Roubaix.

Figure 10 Motte-Bossut's location in terms of regeneration projects
Source: Motte-Bossut File at the Ministère de Culture et de la Communication, Paris
Image removed pending copyright clarification

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[54] This change which came in 1983 was vital for the future of the Motte-Bossut factory and is covered in greater detail in chapter 5.

The Roubaix 2000 scheme was completed after the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Culture et de l'Environnement compromised and only listed the facades of the factory. This was considered to be of minimal disruption to the ongoing regeneration efforts in central Roubaix

> en conclusion il est proposé d'inscrire simplement à l'inventaire les extérieurs du grand bâtiment ce qui est peu contraignant pour l'exploitation normale de l'usine et peut lui étude déjà avancée d'une transformation en bureaux du seul grand bâtiment facile à aménager et d'une rénovation de ce quartier (dégagement de Roubaix 2000, intégration de l'usine dans l'environnement, passage au dessus du boulevard et liaison avec l'hôtel de ville et la grande rue commerçante).[55]

Indeed, as the architect Sarfati was free to re-design the inside of the former factory the interior of Motte-Bossut was transformed into a modern, airy archive complete with escalators and lifts.

The third element of contention arose from the desire of the municipalité to replace the factory with a public transport interchange.[56] The location of Motte-Bossut on the main gateway into, and out from, Roubaix ensured that the land was considered as a potential site for the installation of a bus, metro and tram interchange. This was again an integral part of the desire of the Ville de Roubaix to regenerate central Roubaix by facilitating the ease of movement of people into Roubaix and linked to the desire of the Roubaix 2000 scheme to increase the number of shoppers in central Roubaix. A survey carried out by the CUDL, charged in 1973 with coordinating the development of the métropole as a complete entity, found that '70 à 79 pourcents des échanges à destination des centres des Roubaix et Tourcoing se feront également en utilisant les transports en commun'.[57] This figure aligned to the fact that the Mayor had control of changes to the transport networks in each commune ensured that Provo again objected to the designation of the Motte-Bossut factory.[58] The transport interchange allied to the urban condition, the severity of unemployment, the need

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[55] Letter from the Direction de l'Architecture, Conservation Régionale des Bâtiments de France du Nord to the Préfet du Nord, 12 March 1975

[56] 'Permettre le passage du futur métro qui amorcerait un virage près de la Place de la Liberté pour se diriger vers Tourcoing', Letter between the Préfet du Nord and the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Culture et de l'Environnement, 22 January 1975

[57] Communauté Urbaine de Lille, Visage d'une Métropole, Lille, 1973, p. 201

[58] 'Pour les transports urbains, c'est aux maires qu'il appartient de fixer les arrêts d'autobus: la Communauté Urbaine de Lille doit donc solliciter des maires les arrêts nécessaires', Communauté Urbaine de Lille, Visage, 1973, p. 15

for a retail sector and the desperate desire to continue with the flagship housing scheme thus revealed the multifarious ways in which the perception of the historic environment was conditioned by pressing urban needs and the barriers that hinder the transformation of historic significance into contemporary relevance.

The controversy surrounding Motte-Bossut's designation and the tensions between retaining the past and improving the future are entrenched urban concerns. The development of transport has been one of the most destructive forces of urban change. This stretched back to the demolition of homes following the coming of the railways in the 1840s, a process coincidently witnessed in Castlefield. In the late nineteenth century, Temple Bar in London was removed because it was adjudged to interrupt the traffic flow; similarly traffic plans in the 1960s in Britain obliterated numerous significant buildings and radically altered the urban landscape. The counterbalance of progression versus conservation was therefore a traditionally contentious element of urban politics. In this context the debate over Motte-Bossut's future provoked outrage due to the severity of the urban crisis. Moreover, retaining the past through statutory protection was fervently condemned by a progressive municipalité that staked Roubaix's regeneration on the replacement of Roubaix's negative industrial image with a modern, progressive and tertiary based outlook. Despite local protestations at the proposal to designate Motte-Bossut a *monument historique* national interests in the form of the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Culture et de l'Environnement still inscribed the facades of the factory onto *l'inventaire supplémentaire des monuments historiques* in 1979 as a result of it being an outstanding example of nineteenth - century, industrial architecture and thus revealed how different groups value different things dependent on their agenda.[59]

Whereas in Roubaix the emerging urban agenda contradicted the plans of the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Culture et de l'Environnement to designate Motte-Bossut a *monument historique*, the Manchester Local Plan devised in the early 1980s and published in 1984 was closely aligned with the beliefs and work of the local historians. Manchester City Council took the initiative to improve the urban condition and the existing industrial environment as revealed by the City Centre Local Plan (1984). Unlike in Roubaix where the focus was on demolition, in

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[59] This aligns with Mary Douglas' findings (see chapter 1)

Manchester the historic environment started to be viewed as a tool to secure regeneration. This was expressed by the objectives for the Local Plan. The main objective was to increase activity in the city centre after decades of decentralisation. The Plan therefore concentrated on the improvement of the transport system, housing condition, office space, tourist facilities and retail outlets.

In three of these main objectives, housing, office space and tourism, the emphasis was placed on 'conservation and best use of the existing urban infrastructure'.[60] The goal of the Local Plan was to have a city centre that was 'economically sound and that respects its own history'.[61] In terms of office space, it was stated that a 'central feature of the plan's approach will be to make use of the existing (office) stock through encouraging refurbishment of older buildings'.[62] The Plan also stated that 'over half of the vacant office space in the city centre was built before 1915. Many of these buildings are important to the Victorian and Edwardian character of the city centre – valuable potential assets if new roles can be found for them'.[63] This contrasted sharply with the 1945 plan which viewed these same buildings as commercial slums. Industrial heritage was increasingly considered as a vital component in ensuring Manchester city centre became 'economically sound' once again. Both economically and also in terms of land use the historic environment was increasingly seen by the public sector as a potential resource.

The historic environment was again used as a form of leverage to promote and thus revitalise the daily patterns of residents in the city centre. Additional housing would 'bring life back to underused sites and buildings' and indeed one of the important benefits of increased residency in the city centre was 'the contribution it may make to our key aims of conserving the city's finer buildings'.[64] This approach, whilst still incorporating the historic environment into the city's official Plan showed the dual importance of retaining an industrial landscape. To do so was not only a vital component in increasing and diversifying activity within the

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[60] Manchester City Council, *Manchester City Centre Local Plan,* 1984, p. 8

[61] Ibid, p. 9

[62] Ibid, pp. 22-23

[63] Ibid, p. 23

[64] Ibid, p. 28

city centre, but the Plan also made it clear that such buildings, contributed to 'maintaining and enhancing the city's unique character'.[65] However, the policy of re-using the existing environment was not universal. Indeed, the Local Plan acknowledged that if new uses could not be found for these buildings then 'demolition and re-use of the site for appropriate purposes…will need to be positively considered'.[66] The Plan also acknowledged that 'conversion and refurbishment of existing buildings…is fraught with economic difficulties'.[67]However, despite the fact that new apartments, new offices and new public buildings were constructed the regeneration of Manchester city centre was based on an appreciation of the potential of both new and old buildings.

In a clear link to GMC's desire to use the Museum of Science and Industry to improve the region, Manchester's position as a regional centre was continually stressed throughout the Local Plan and undoubtedly the desire to increase office space and improve housing conditions reflected the need to 'establish a satisfactory relationship between the city centre and adjoining areas'.[68] This desire to examine the consequences of Manchester city centre's regeneration within the region was a consideration in the promotion of Manchester as a tourist destination during the 1980s. Indeed, the Plan stated that 'visitors attracted by the city's finer architectural and historical features create demands for further facilities and attractions' which will in turn 'reinforce the regional role (of the city centre), especially where the growing market of business tourism is concerned, (which in turn) will boost the local and regional economy'.[69] The focus on tourism in the city centre was concentrated in Castlefield and as this chapter has revealed this was the result of the work of local historians alongside the City and County Councils.

Therefore, in respect of value, the historic environment was ascribed with official meaning due to the emphasis placed on adaptive re-use to meet the objectives of the Local Plan. The urban agenda merged with the beliefs of local historians who during the late 1970s, revealed, promoted and campaigned for the retention of

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[65] Ibid

[66] Ibid, p. 23

[67] Ibid, p. 28

[68] Ibid, p. 9

[69] Ibid, p. 29

the nineteenth-century industrial buildings to ensure that the historic environment retained its value and Castlefield became a successful example of mixed-use regeneration.

Leicester City Council and the national government, both by linked and distinct policies devised a number of strategies to reverse the decline seen in concentrated areas of the city centre. The 1992 Local Plan originated from the Planning and Compensation Act 1991. This Plan supplemented the existing structure plan[70] and nominated ten objectives for the improvement of the city centre. Among these identified objectives were updating the housing stock, a third of which was pre1918 and classified as unfit or substandard; improving retail functions through the creation of a new shopping complex; increasing and diversifying employment opportunities in terms of attracting and retaining 'growth' industries in the service sector, as well as improving the environment. The Liberty Building was in a designated priority area (shown by number 3 on figure 11). Having been designated Britain's first Environmental City in 1990, Leicester was duty bound to consistently focus on upgrading and maintaining its urban environment. Indeed the City Council clearly stated in the 1992 plan that they 'attach considerable importance to environmental issues including, for example, energy conservation, the retention of green wedges, and other areas of open space and the protection of historic buildings and areas which add so much to the quality of the city'.[71] These objectives were coordinated by local and national government through the Local Plan and the City Challenge scheme.

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[70] The Leicester and Leicestershire structure plan was incorporated in 1974 to plan for both the city of Leicester and the surrounding county. Leicester City Council, *Leicester and Leicestershire Structure Plan. Written statement 1974,* Leicester City Council, Leicester, 1974

[71] Leicester City Council, *Leicester Local Plan*, Leicester, 1992, p. 6

Figure 11 showing Liberty located in priority area (number 3)
Source: Leicester City Council, City of Leicester Local Plan (Deposit Copy),
Leicester, January 1992

During the 1980s and 1990s the regeneration of the historic environment became increasingly important, and ultimately became enshrined in various planning documents. This was the case in Manchester and numerous other cities such as Glasgow, Newcastle, Liverpool and London as well as with continental European cities such as Roubaix and Barcelona. Under the umbrella objective of improving the image of the city, Leicester's local plan underlined the importance of 'pursuing a strategy of balance – promoting new development where necessary, encouraging the regeneration of older areas, and protecting and enhancing the best features of the City's heritage'.[72] This marked a distinct change from the modernist decades of the 1960s and 1970s when older buildings were replaced by a plethora of steel framed buildings. As in Manchester, increasing emphasis was placed on the capability of the existing environment to adapt to meet the contemporary needs of the city whilst at the same time the importance of the historic environment was entrenched both in planning projects and in the public consciousness.

The City Challenge scheme from 1993 to 1998 also, as in Manchester, focussed on blending old and new as both the City Council and City Challenge saw industrial buildings as assets with potential and not as disposable buildings that had served their purpose. It was a stance that acknowledged the impact of the historic environment both on local people, through providing 'continuity of building, spaces and communities'[73] and on urban development generally. The limited extent of land for building and development in Leicester: 'it is a city with a limited supply of land available for new development'[74] meant that unlocking existing sites was a high priority. Examples were given in the Local Plan of successful schemes funded by the Urban Development Grant that converted Midland House into offices on Charles Street and St. John the Divine Church on South Albion Street into flats. The Local Plan further stated that the 'current availability of City Grants should encourage developers to participate further in similar redevelopment and conversion schemes'.[75] The desire to release some of

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[72] Ibid, p. 5

[73] City Challenge, *The Action Plan*, Leicester, 1993

[74] Ibid, p. 5

[75] Ibid, p. 47

the housing pressure [76] by recycling old buildings and resolving one of the priorities in the Local Plan explains why the Liberty Building was designated in City Challenge's plans to be converted into 200 building units and was to be funded by applying for a City Grant. [77] The adaptive re-use of the Pex Sock factory became the flagship scheme of City Challenge. This scheme required £10 million funding from various sources including the public and private sector to be re-used as the Land Registry and apartment accommodation – thus contributing to two of the major objectives of the Local Plan – to relieve the housing pressure and to diversify the employment opportunities.

Leicester's regeneration plans during the 1990s also allowed for the construction of new buildings. The Freemen's development on the site of the former cattle market was supplemented by the construction of a new shopping complex as well as numerous new build apartments to cater for the burgeoning student population associated with the University of Leicester and the transition of Leicester Polytechnic to its new status as DeMontfort University. However, this period from 1990 to 2002 did witness an increasing emphasis on exploring new uses for old buildings. Thus the decision to demolish the Liberty Building was surprising and revealed the tensions and contradictions associated with maintaining historic buildings while also attempting to secure an economically viable, sustainable regeneration within a clearly defined timescale.

Conditioning Civic Attachment

The importance of civic attachment in revealing previously overlooked, hidden or underestimated historic areas and buildings has been noted. Altman and Low found that 'place attachment may contribute to the formation, maintenance, and preservation of the identity of a person, group, or culture'. [78] This was certainly the case with the campaign for Castlefield as the formation of a group of people to become the Liverpool Road Station Society represented an attachment to a historic place (the world's first passenger railway station) that was sufficiently strong enough to manifest itself into a tangible expression of emotional bonds between people and the built environment. Community attachment is shaped by

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[76] Resulting from the need to construct 1160 new houses a year to replace the outdated stock, Ibid, p. 37

[77] City Challenge, *Bid Application*, Leicester, 1992, p. 38

[78] I. Altman and S. Low, *Place Attachment*, New York, 1992, p. 10

the objective features of the built environment and individual's subjective perceptions of that environment.' [79] These subjective perceptions of historic buildings in Castlefield and the Liberty boot and shoe factory however needed to be coalesced into an effective organisation in order for these perceptions to have a tangible effect upon the future of the historic environment. Due to the inherent subjectivity of these perceptions there also needed to be a shared goal on which to act. This common ground was the history of place and the shared goal became the retention and re-use of the building resulting from the fear of demolition. These commonalities between previously unrelated individuals reveal how different people, whatever their geographical location, invest meaning in a historic place. This lack of proximate geographical connection to historic place is particularly revealing from both a community and place attachment viewpoint. The role of non-residents in both Castlefield and Leicester in campaigning for the retention of historic places provides an interesting dimension as it probes the attachment to non-residential places.

In comparison with the campaigns to prevent the demolition of Castlefield's historic buildings and the Liberty factory, the clandestine video of the Motte-Bossut factory may appear insignificant. Undoubtedly the case study provides a contrasting case of national rather than local attachment to place on the governmental scale, yet coming before the decentralisation laws of 1983 this was to be expected. Furthermore, when placed into the context of the traditional French method of governance the clandestine recording assumes more importance.

The level of civic orientation differs greatly between countries, indeed country of residence is an 'important predictor of voluntary association joining'. [80] The differences between countries are clearly illustrated by the level of civic attachment to historic place in the three case studies: Castlefield, Liberty and Motte-Bossut. The absence of any developed civic interaction with the historic industrial environment in Roubaix cannot be solely attributed to individual backgrounds in terms of 'cultural capital' for example, wealth, education and access to opportunities but rather the act of forming, joining and maintaining civic

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[79] Altman and Low, *Place Attachment*, 1992, p. 257

[80] R. Curtis, E. Grab and D. Beer, Voluntary Association and Membership in Fifteen Countries: A Comparative Analysis, *American Sociological Review*, Vol.57, No.2, April 1992, p. 150

societies is 'embedded in cultural and institutional arrangements defined at the broad level of national policy'.[81] Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas discuss the level of involvement in civic activity under the umbrella term of 'statism.' This concept contributes to the analysis of the civic differences and therefore the differences in who ascribes value to historic place in Britain and France.

France has traditionally been a prime example of 'high statist' rule in which its political governance derived much of its legitimacy from a bureaucratic elite and autocratic rule.[82] State supremacy was in the French case considered paramount to the successful functioning of the nation and civil society was therefore regarded as a potentially subversive element that needed to be controlled. As civic societies were viewed as a source of 'chaos and anomie'[83] various legislative measures were introduced in France to prevent the membership of associations and indeed freedom of association was not legalised until 1901. This contrasted with the British non-statist society in which the State 'existed mainly to serve the convenience and protect the rights of individuals in private life'.[84] Civic activity was traditionally encouraged in Britain which was expressed by the multitude of civic societies in nineteenth century as well as the current focus on community consultation and community development.[85] Set in this context it is therefore unsurprising that the results of the 1981 and 1991 World Value Survey returned low figures of 27 and 26 per cent respectively for France in a study of the number of individual memberships to voluntary associations as

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[81] E. Schofer and M. Fourcade-Gourinchas, The Structural Contexts of Civic Engagement: Voluntary Association Membership In Comparative Perspective, *American Sociological Review,* Vol.66, No.6, December 2001, p. 824

[82] Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas, *American Sociological Review,* Vol.66, No.6, December 2001, p. 811

[83] R. Jepperson and J.W. Meyer, The Public Order and the Construction of Formal Organisations, p. 216 in P.J. DiMaggio and W.W. Powell (eds) *The New Institutionalism in Organisational Analysis,* Chicago, 1991

[84] J. Harris, Society and the State in Twentieth Century Britain, p.67 in F.M.L. Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950*, Vol.3, Cambridge, 1990

[85] See for example: I. Burkett, Traversing the Swampy Terrain of Postmodern Communities: Towards Theoretical Revisionings of Community Development, *European Journal of Social Work*, Vol.4, No.3, pp. 233–46, 2001, H. Wollmann, The Fall and Rise of the Local Community: A Comparative and Historical Perspective, *Urban Studies,* Vol.43, No.8, pp. 1419–38, 2006, C. C. Williams, Developing Community Involvement: Contrasting Local and Regional Participatory Cultures in Britain and their Implications for Policy, *Regional Studies,* Vol.37, No.5, pp. 531–41, 2003, M. Raco, Sustainable Development, Rolled-out Neoliberalism and Sustainable Communities, *Antipode,* Vol.37, No.2, pp. 324–47, 2005

opposed to 52 per cent and 43 per cent for Britain during the same two years. Indeed, France was rated 19th out of 19 countries in 1981 and 17th in 1991 thus showing their unease with civic involvement.[86]

These figures do not mean that attachment to historic place does not exist. Indeed in Roubaix at the same time as Motte-Bossut's future was being debated there was a fervent grassroots campaign to prevent the demolition of the Alma Gare *courées*.[87] It cannot therefore be stated that the French nation are passive citizens who absorb national government changes without protest. Rather the argument presented here is that each campaign needs to be judged against the institutional and organisational frameworks that it is supposed to operate in as well as the issues, tensions and contradictions apparent in the emerging urban agenda. Justified by these indicators local attachment to threatened historic buildings was expressed in varying degrees and with varying success rates in each case study. Both local attachment and national detachment are vitally important components of investing meaning into historic places but in both cases it was the politics of place in terms of how the building met the emerging urban agenda as well as the flexibility of the method of governance that mediated the extent to which historic places retained and supplemented their historical significance with contemporary value. The following chapters turn to focus on how the campaigns of the voluntary sector and the imposition of national control informed the management of regeneration and how the past was selected by the public and private sector in order to foster relationships between new urban citizens and a re-branded urban place.

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[86] Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas, *American Sociological Review,* Vol.66, No.6, December 2001, p. 808

[87] See Miller, *The Representation of Place*, 2003 for an explanation of the movement to save the working class houses in the Alma-Gare district of Roubaix.

Chapter 5

Managing Urban Change: Policies, Partnerships and Politics

Throughout history place-making has demanded the adaptation of the physical environment to meet the needs of the contemporary urban agenda. Walled cities became free cities, canals gave way to railways and skyscrapers replaced low rise buildings. Decisions over whether to add, alter or demolish were encouraged by a select group of actors and agencies whose knowledge of the city resulted in the creation of new places from existing spaces. Placed in the context of conservation and urban regeneration, the degree to which these actors, mainly planners, policy-makers and architects recognised the contemporary relevance of the historic industrial environment regulated the decision to retain or demolish these historic buildings. Whereas the previous chapter examined an earlier chronological period for each of the case studies[1] and the values ascribed by the voluntary sector and conservationists, the present chapter will explore the decisions made in a further phase[2] of place-making in which change was managed in Castlefield, Motte-Bossut and Liberty. During this phase the conceptualisations of urban space held by planners, policy-makers and architects were implemented to secure a transformation of both the image and appearance of Castlefield, Motte-Bossut and Liberty.

This chapter thus moves away from analysing the meaning of the historic environment as represented by listing, designation and campaigns to retain buildings to focus on how this meaning was managed by planners, policy makers and architects both by adopting long-term, consistent policies and by working through public and private sector partnerships within the container of a changing local, national and international political system in which different funding streams

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[1] In Castlefield this period was between 1969 when the Manchester Region Industrial Archaeology Society started recording Castlefield's historic structures and 1983 when the Manchester Museum of Science and Industry opened in the converted Liverpool Road Station. The temporal parameters were similar for Motte-Bossut, from 1974 when the building was first proposed by the State for designation as a *monument historique* and 1979 when the building was inscribed onto *l'inventaire supplémentaire.* For Liberty the previous chapter examined the period between 1989 when the factory closed until 2002 when the building was demolished.

[2] Broadly speaking the temporal parameters stretch from 1984 and the Manchester City Centre Local Plan to 2001 when the decision was made to demolish the Liberty Building. During this period Motte-Bossut was also restored and re-used.

were available to those with the capability to access local, central and international finance.

It is important to outline the various agencies working on the local, national and international scale from the public and private sector that were involved in the decisions for Castlefield, Motte-Bossut and Liberty in order to understand the policy, partnership and political dimensions. The management of change in Castlefield was influenced by local, regional and national agencies throughout its twelve year period of regeneration from the City Centre Local Plan in 1984 to the exit of the Central Manchester Development Corporation (CMDC) in 1996. Constant in the process was Manchester City Council (MCC) which devised the City Centre Local Plan during the early 1980s and became the principal partner of Central Manchester Development Corporation during the years 1988 to 1996.[3]

The Corporation's remit was to 'bring money in and get things done'. CMDC also recognised that they were best placed to 'channel significant amounts of government money' and also recognised the limitations of MCC who 'had to represent the whole of Manchester and therefore administratively, physically and financially they were unable to focus their attention on one area like CMDC could'.[4] At 187 hectares Central Manchester Development Corporation was the smallest Urban Development Corporation in the UK and consisted of six sub-areas located in the southern third of Manchester's city centre.

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[3] Interview with G. Hood, December 2005. Urban Development Corporations were 'designed to play a number of simultaneous roles: to act as institutional vehicles to oversee the implementation of market-driven urban regeneration agencies; to operate as localist political bodies under the direct control of central government; to facilitate the incorporation of private sector interests into local decision-making processes; and to counteract the power of Labour-led, leftward-leaning city authorities. M. Raco, A Step Change or a Step Back? The Thames Gateway and the Re-birth of the Urban Development Corporations, *Local Economy,* Vol.20, No.2, May 2005, p. 143

[4] Ibid

Figure 12 Map of Central Manchester. The financial core is shaded in black in the centre. Castlefield is located in the south west corner of the grey shaded area in between the River Irwell and Regent Road. Source: Courtesy of B. Robson, *Evaluation of Urban Development Corporations in Manchester, Leeds and Bristol,* HMSO, London, 1996
Image removed pending copyright clarification

Figure 13 Map showing the boundaries of Central Manchester Development Corporation.
Source: *Ibid*
Image removed pending copyright clarification

The Castlefield Conservation Area Steering Committee (CCASC) was involved from 1982 until the CMDC era (1988-96). This agency brought together public and private interests from Greater Manchester and coordinated these potentially disparate interests into a coherent group with the fixed aim to 'provide momentum for the overall development of the area' in order to 'help the individual projects to progress more quickly and benefit from each others presence'.[5] The Steering Committee met at regular intervals and was spearheaded by members of Greater Manchester Council (GMC) and MCC. Other members were drawn from Salford City Council and later CMDC as well as the major landowners in the area - Manchester Ship Canal Company, Rochdale Canal Company, Granada and British Rail. By bringing together diverse groups the Steering Committee aimed to reduce the potential for conflict and thus ensure that the historic significance of the various buildings had the potential to be turned into contemporary relevance by satisfying the various interest groups in the area.

The Steering Committee's role changed through the years as a result of the abolition of Greater Manchester Council (GMC) in 1986 and the creation of the Development Corporation in 1988. The loss of the financial support from GMC after local government reorganisation under the Thatcher government affected CCASC's ability to coordinate the future development of the area. Central Manchester Development Corporation's creation (1988-1996) also affected the composition and powers of the Steering Committee as two CMDC members were added to the committee and the future of the area was now coordinated by CMDC in conjunction with Manchester City Council. Finally CMDC created the Castlefield Management Company in 1992 to ensure their exit strategy was enforced. This agency comprised public and private interests from the Museum of Science and Industry, Granada, Manchester Ship Canal Company, Manchester and Salford City Council and the English Tourist Board. CCASC was therefore made redundant by the new management company. In addition to these agencies, a local entrepreneur Jim Ramsbottom acquired three buildings in Castlefield during the mid 1980s and early 1990s. This complex management structure required first class coordination and control to ensure all the interests were represented fairly and so that the regeneration of the area was not affected by dogmatic bureaucracy and conflicts both between, and within, agencies.

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[5] Draft Report to Planning, Policy and Recreation and Arts Committees, Development and Promotion of the Castlefield Conservation Area, Manchester, 23 November 1981, p. 1

The complex arrangement of agencies in Manchester was reflected in Roubaix as the future of the Motte-Bossut building was influenced by all tiers of French government and again demanded partnership and leadership to deliver regeneration. The Ministry of Culture and Communication, the General Council in the département du Nord, the Regional Direction of Cultural Affairs (DRAC) in the region, the Communauté Urbaine de Lille (CUDL) who were concerned with the development of the métropole as well as the Ville de Roubaix who worked on the commune level. Roubaix's plight was therefore promoted by local, inter-communal, regional and departmental agencies. The Motte-Bossut building reached all levels of French governance to pervade the national consciousness and so ensured that the building's intended final use was consistent with national policies. In the private sphere France Telecom and SARI, the largest office development company in France were involved in managing the project's completion.

The fate of the Liberty Building was managed by local, regional and national agencies over a thirteen year period from closure in 1989 to demolition in 2002 that witnessed the creation of one Conservative and two New Labour urban regeneration agencies.[6] Leicester City Council (LCC) was involved throughout this period. The City Challenge team were involved during their time in Leicester that is from 1993 to 1996. The creation of Leicester Regeneration Company and the East Midlands Development Agency under New Labour added a further complexity to the process of restoring and re-using the building. English Heritage was also involved in the discussions about the building's fate. Unlike with the Motte-Bossut building there was also a multiplicity of private agencies involved with Liberty. Cassidy Developers worked on behalf of the private owner, Cox Turner Moore carried out structural surveys, Bridgewater Coulton completed feasibility studies, and HB Architects worked to re-design the building. There were therefore many separate agencies working with the future of the Liberty Building and but these were never joined in a coherent manner as in Castlefield and the Motte-Bossut building. As the next sections reveal, the extent to which

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[6] This mirrored the national policy context as the Conservative belief in special urban agencies under Thatcher was extended by New Labour who has created a number of single-issue urban initiatives so much so that urban governance has been described as resembling a patchwork quilt. See C. Johnstone and M. Whitehead, *New Horizons in British Urban Policy, Perspectives on New Labour's Urban Renaissance*, Aldershot, 2004 for more information.

these agencies worked together to form policies, deliver change and access funding determined the fate of the historic environment.

Key Factors

There are three key reasons why the Liberty Building was demolished yet Castlefield's historic buildings and the Motte-Bossut building were restored and re-used. Firstly, the proposed future of Liberty was characterised by short-termism and uncertainty whereas there was evidence of a long-term, consistent policy in place to help find new uses for old buildings in Castlefield and for the Motte-Bossut factory. This long-term policy originated from, and was backed by, several agencies in Castlefield and with Motte-Bossut but evolved over time and survived changes in personnel to ensure that their re-use was the product of a long-term strategy that was consistent with local and national goals. Secondly, there was a spirit of partnership and a clear organisational structure in place to deal with Castlefield and Motte-Bossut; this was not the case in Liberty where there was constant conflict and a blurred hierarchical system. Thirdly, the political power and influence of the agencies involved with Castlefield and Motte-Bossut secured funding from a number of sources; the inability of all agencies to source funding contributed to Liberty's demolition. The mechanics and dynamics of retaining or demolishing historic buildings to facilitate regeneration will be unravelled by exploring the decisions implemented in Castlefield, Motte-Bossut and Liberty in greater detail under these thematic headings.

Long-Term Policy

The management of change in both Castlefield and with the Motte-Bossut factory was secured by a long-term consistent focus by local and national agencies on the importance of restoring the historic environment for the wider regeneration of Manchester and Roubaix. The long-term policy originated from local agencies in Castlefield such as GMC, MCC, and CCASC which then merged with national policy through CMDC in 1988. Throughout the twelve year[7] process of managing change in Castlefield the emphasis of all agencies was to capitalise on the local history of the area and to achieve this they had to adapt to market conditions and national policies as circumstances changed.

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[7] From 1984 and the Manchester City Centre Local Plan to 1996 and the exit of Central Manchester Development Corporation

Development of the tourist and housing markets were priorities for Castlefield Conservation Area Steering Committee, Greater Manchester County Council and Manchester City Council during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Central Manchester Development Corporation extended the work of the Steering Committee and local government by incorporating tourist and residential elements into a comprehensive mixed-use policy in which offices, restaurants and bars were juxtaposed with museums and apartments during the late 1980s and into the 1990s. The initial ideas for Castlefield's revitalisation originated from the City Council and the Steering Committee and focussed on using Castlefield to capture the tourism market.[8] Indeed CCASC's remit was 'to highlight the special part Castlefield can play in increasing tourism to the city, the county and to the North West as a whole'.[9] During the 1980s tourism was considered by the Steering Committee to be a lucrative market which could breathe life back into Manchester city centre. CCASC's Officers Working Party stated that 'tourism is jobs' and reported that in 1980 tourism in the North West generated spending of £290m, £58m of this was in Greater Manchester.[10] The local plan published by MCC in 1984 was in agreement with CCASC and believed that 'the historic Castlefield area has the potential to become a tourist attraction in its own right'.[11] In the early 1980s the Steering Committee promoted the idea of Castlefield as Britain's first Urban Heritage Park (UHP) in order to 'revitalise older historical areas and to provide recreational facilities and space'.[12] The opening of the Museum of Science and Industry in 1983 in Liverpool Road Station was consistent with this approach. The museum was complemented by the Air and Space Museum in the former Upper and Lower Campfield Markets next to the station in 1984 and the provision of a heritage and visitor centre were the physical embodiments of this tourist driven policy. The Castlefield Carnival and the Inland Waterways Rally held on Castlefield's canals from the 1980s were

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[8] Again Castlefield acted as a microcosm of British society as the focus on heritage tourism swept over Britain during this period. See Working Party on Alternative Uses of Historic Buildings. *Britain's Historic Buildings: a Policy for their Future Use,* British Tourist Association, London, 1980

[9] Castlefield Conservation Area Steering Committee, Draft Report, January 1984, point 1.4

[10] Castlefield Conservation Area Steering Committee, Officers Working Party Meeting Minutes, 2 December 1984

[11] Manchester City Council, *City Centre Local Plan,* Manchester, 1984, p. 42

[12] Castlefield Conservation Area Steering Committee, *Officer's Working Party Tourism Development Plan*, 1985, point 3.1

further innovative events that reinforced this policy.[13] The unique historical significance of Castlefield was exploited by local government in a move that saw the cumulative layers of historical development in the area as a catalyst by which the image of a deindustrialised, decaying inner city could be transformed to attract visitors to the city centre.

The provision of both luxury and budget hotel facilities by CMDC showed the continuation of this policy. The conversion of the Victoria and Albert warehouses was voted the world's best new hotel in 1993 by *Executive Travel Magazine*.[14] The Castlefield Hotel, built by YMCA complemented the V&A hotel as it offered budget accommodation in the area. Both these developments were funded by a grant from CMDC and illustrated the consistent focus between agencies and over time.

Whilst improved tourist facilities in Castlefield remained at the heart of CCASC and City Council policy, both agencies also recognised the potential benefits of re-introducing housing into Castlefield.[15] Indeed, the first private housing scheme in Manchester city centre was completed by Wimpey Homes in conjunction with MCC in St Johns Gardens in 1979. At this time Manchester city centre's total residential population was just 250 and thus establishing a residential base with significant tax revenue potential was seen as a vital element in Manchester's long-term regeneration by a local authority charged with ensuring the city centre was economically sustainable and viable. The local plan of 1984 emphasised the focus on housing; it stressed that 'the listed riverside warehouses may have potential for conversion to housing'[16] thus illustrating the potential of the historic buildings to attract a resident population which would supplement the tax revenues. The Central Manchester Development Corporation years (1988-1996) witnessed an explosion of apartment building in Castlefield. Supported by a CMDC grant forty-four luxury apartments were constructed within the restored Middle warehouse. Converted warehouses were complemented by new

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[13] The Castlefield Carnival is still enjoyed in the twenty-first century

[14] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Eight Years of Achievement,* Manchester, 1996, p. 26

[15] During the nineteenth century Castlefield was the location for a number of dwellings to house the working classes. A significant proportion was however demolished as a result of the advent of the railway in the area from the 1830s onwards.

[16] Manchester City Council, *Local Plan*, 1984, p. 103

apartments which were constructed throughout Castlefield as the urban housing market became an increasing priority for the private sector during the mid to late 1990s.

Figure 14 New build apartments in Castlefield
Source: R.M. Madgin

CMDC's creation in 1988 allowed for a more ambitious approach in Castlefield due to their ability to source funds and to work with the private sector on a single-issue campaign. Working in conjunction with the City Council's 1984 local plan but still maintaining authority over the type and extent of change,[17] CMDC capitalised on the previous work carried out by local agencies as they recognised that 'an important start has been made in Castlefield but much still needed to be done to maintain and build on this momentum'.[18] The tourist and housing focus was moulded into mixed-use development policy, backed by central government funds. CMDC boosted developer confidence in the area through pump-priming[19] and focussed on making Castlefield an area in which to live and work, and to visit. CMDC provided grants for the conversion of Merchant's warehouse and Gail House into office space. This gave local entrepreneur Jim Ramsbottom the finance to convert Merchant's warehouse, Gail House and the lock-keepers cottage and to reflect the enterprise culture favoured during the Thatcher era.[20] Although the initiative for the evolution of the area rested largely with local agencies which stretched back to the local historical societies and was carried through by the Castlefield Conservation Area Steering Committee, Greater Manchester County Council and Manchester City Council, Central Manchester

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[17] Following the abolition of Greater Manchester County Council in 1986 resulting from local government re-organisation, the changing priorities of the Friends of the Museum and the abolition of the Steering Committee, Central Manchester Development Corporation adapted the existing local plan devised by the City Council to quickly implement their pump-priming strategy. Helped by the absence of red tape and the ability to process applications quickly and without the need to divulge information to the public the Development Corporation were able to attain supremacy over the City Council in terms of decision-making. However, despite the extent of Development Corporation powers, CMDC developed a close working relationship with the City Council, as is outlined in this chapter.

[18] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Planning for Regeneration*, Manchester, 1996, point 1.3

[19] Merchant's warehouse needed a £4million grant to be able to be restored and re-used as offices. This grant was helped by CMDC money and the rest was provided by Jim Ramsbottom, a local entrepreneur who bought Merchant's warehouse and the adjacent lock keepers cottage during the late 1980s.

[20] Ramsbottom bought these properties between the mid 1980s and early 1990s but was unable to restore them until CMDC provided grant funding but brought another actor into the area.

Development Corporation was able to capitalise on the existing local initiative to secure a mixed-use development in Castlefield.

The opposite occurred with the management of the Motte-Bossut (1979 to 1993) building during a similar temporal span to Castlefield (1984 to 1996). In Roubaix long-term national policies were implemented by local actors and secured the re-use of the former factory. The eventual use of the Motte-Bossut building stemmed from the evolution of national policies concerning culture and communications. As with Castlefield the emphasis on improving the tertiary sector was evident. These policies were put in place by local agencies largely as a result of the decentralisation laws and therefore the ideas for Motte-Bossut's potential re-use originated from national rather than local policies and agencies as was the case in Castlefield. These two case studies emphasise the importance of the existing systems of governance in delivering urban change and how the views of agencies within this system are conditioned by the existing and evolving organisational structure and institutional framework.

The Centre des Archives du Monde du Travail (CAMT) housed in the east wing of Motte-Bossut arose out of a longstanding belief in cultural democracy and the exposure of the French cultural heritage to the *Grand Publics.* This policy stretched back to André Malraux, De Gaulle's Minister of Culture in the 1960s and further manifested itself through the archives law of 1979.[21] This law allowed for the creation of archives that could store 'documents of any date and form from any public or private organisation that were of public interest'.[22]Jack Lang, the new Minister for Culture in Mitterrand's Socialist government, further embedded this belief by announcing plans in 1983 for the creation of five inter-regional archives. Lang was a staunch believer in the connection between culture and the economy; one could not be achieved without the other. The opportunity to use culture to help boost Roubaix's economy was thus welcomed.[23] Mitterrand's focus on the *Grand Projets,* a series of architecturally innovative buildings constructed to serve a cultural purpose aligned with this belief in cultural

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[21] Malraux created the Ministère de Culture et de la Communication in 1959

[22] Loi de 3 janvier 1979

[23] Francois Mitterrand visited Roubaix in 1983 and was shocked by its plight.

democracy.[24] CAMT was one of the *Grand Projets* and showed how Roubaix profited from national government policy. Motte-Bossut, therefore, satisfied both Lang's and Mitterrand's criteria of using culture to stimulate a depressed economy. The decision to install archives in the Motte-Bossut building was thus instigated by the evolution of national policies concerning culture and the economy. Undoubtedly the regeneration of Castlefield was also motivated by national concerns such as repopulating inner cities and solving the urban crisis but there was not the direct link from policy to re-use as occurred with Motte-Bossut. Rather in Castlefield local wishes determined both the shape of regeneration and type of new uses in the area, again illustrating how the system of governance influenced the reconceptualisation of urban space.

Eurotéléport was housed in the remaining part of the building and developed from national policies to improve communications. In 1983 Mitterrand launched the *Plan Câble* an integrated telecommunications policy through which he wanted France to become the most advanced European nation in communications technology. This plan resulted from a continued focus on telecommunications that started in the 1970s. The VII national plan (1976-1980) defined telecommunications as a priority action programme which dedicated funds to research and implementation. The Nora-Minc report in 1978 suggested that the Directorate General of Telecommunications (DGT)[25] should be the nucleus of a new Ministry of Communications'.[26] The nationalisation of telecommunications was further reinforced during the early 1980s when finance ministers found that DGT's profits, at this time France's biggest national investor, could be diverted into the nation's budget. Improving telecommunications therefore became a major national priority. Both CAMT and Eurotéléport resulted from long-term national policies that related to specific areas of the economy. This differed from the historic buildings of Castlefield where end uses were determined by local agencies and largely implemented by the financial capabilities of a national organisation.

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[24] The new Louvre, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Musée d'Orsay were just three examples.

[25] DGT was the previous name of France Telecom. The name was changed in 1987 to reflect the role of the state in French telecommunications.

[26] M. Palmer and J. Tunstall, International Telecommunications: What Price Policy? Deregulation and Competition in European Telecommunications, *Journal of Communication*, Vol.38, No.1, 1988, p.65

Long-term national policies were implemented by local French agencies. This interplay between local and national agencies reflected the transformation in French politics as the *dirigiste* state gave way to decentralisation. In this way, just as Castlefield offered a window into broader national developments the re-use of the Motte-Bossut factory illustrated the transition from the traditional method of government to one which was designed to give the municipalité increased autonomy. The exact nature of both CAMT and Eurotéléport was decided by local government in conjunction with private sector agencies. Discussions between the Ville de Roubaix and the National Archives were held in November 1987 to decide what the archives would hold. Ideas discussed included a museum of fine arts,[27] a collection of political posters and a regional video library. However, these suggestions were rejected in favour of an archive of the world of work.[28] Coopers and Lybrand were commissioned by the Ville de Roubaix in 1986, in a move that reflected the increased autonomy of the municipalité after decentralisation, to undertake a feasibility study into the exact nature of the proposed communications centre. An international telecommunications centre to be called Eurotéléport was finally agreed by local and national government in 1989. The decision to name the centre 'Eurotéléport' was as a result of a wider inter-communal focus on improving the European status of the métropole.[29] Eurotéléport was designed to complement the Euralille development in neighbouring Lille as it provided European businesses relocated in Lille with hi-tech communications.[30] The end use of the Motte-Bossut was, therefore, determined by the evolution of national policies in culture and communications. These national policies also affected the future of the métropole as well as Roubaix's urban regeneration and illustrated the integrated approach taken to regeneration in France.

Unlike Castlefield and the Motte-Bossut building, where either local or national policies secured a viable end use for historic buildings, the Liberty Building never captured the sustained attention of policy makers during a fifteen year period

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[27] Subsequently housed in Tourcoing

[28] Y. Lebrigrand, La Création du Centre des Archives du Monde du Travail, in D. Nierinck, *Plaisir d'Archives, Recueil de Travaux Offerts,* Mayenne, 1997, p. 171

[29] Roubaix is part of the Lille Métropole in which there are 92 communes and all are run by the Communauté Urbaine de Lille with a focus on improving the constituent parts of the métropole in order to improve the whole unit. This is explained in further detail in chapter 6.

[30] Plans for the Euralille development were discussed in 1986

(1987– 2002).[31] Instead it was the subject of a series of discarded proposals for its restoration and re-use. A number of planning applications were received by the City Council between 1987 and 2001 to change the use of the Liberty Building. The council refused permission for a mixed-use scheme comprising a casino, restaurant, betting shop and snooker hall in 1987 on the grounds that this particular re-use was 'detrimental to the amenity of nearby residents'.[32] An application to demolish the building was received by Leicester City Council's planning department in 1992 and refused in 1993. The building's future came under further scrutiny during the City Challenge scheme which was created in 1993 to

> achieve by March 1998, sustainable improvement in the physical, economic, social and environment of the City Challenge and linked areas….thereby improving the quality of life for the people who live in, work in and visit the area….and creating a model for future regeneration.[33]

Liberty was located in the City Challenge area and was initially considered by City Challenge to be a 'prime asset for facilitating the regeneration of the Bede Island area'.[34] However, uncertainty reigned over the nature of the building's end use; no planning applications were submitted between 1993 and 1997 as several different options were discussed and then discarded. A consensus was neither reached nor was a Steering Committee, such as in Castlefield, created to try to smooth tension, align opinions and foster shared values which conveyed both poor working relations as well as the marginal position that Liberty occupied in the city's regeneration.

The initial proposal for the Liberty Building during the early 1990s was to restore it and re-use it for residential accommodation. However, this plan did not come to fruition due to the prevailing unfavourable market conditions allied to the fact that

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[31] This dates from the first application to change the use of Liberty until the building was demolished in 2002.

[32] Planning Refusal Number 87 / 1958 / 5, 19 November 1987. The casino was seen as a particularly inappropriate use for the building. Interview with A. Ward, Urban Design Planning Officer, Leicester City Council, December 2005

[33] Mission Statement of City Challenge found in City Challenge, *Annual Report 1994-95*, Leicester, 1995, p. 2

[34] Interview with K. Tailor, Deputy Chief-Executive of City Challenge, January 2007, One of the other buildings, the listed Pex Sock Factory became the flagship project of City Challenge and is now home to the Land Registry and residential accommodation.

urban living in Leicester was not yet fashionable. [35] Indeed, Castlefield's regeneration also slowed during this period as market conditions dissuaded private agencies from large-scale investment. A series of proposals were then suggested between the early 1990s until the demolition of the building in 2002. Firstly, discussions took place between the owners LCV International, City Challenge and Leicester City Football Club and another end use was proposed.[36] The planned expansion of the football club required conference and hotel facilities. The proximity of the Liberty Building to the stadium made it a viable base for these facilities. However, these plans for Liberty failed as Leicester City Football Club changed their development strategy and decided to relocate to a new stadium. Secondly, City Challenge wanted the owner to restore the building and re-use it as student accommodation. However, this scheme, along with similar plans for other disused factories in the area, failed as 'factory owners were looking for unrealistic capital gains'[37] which in a time of market uncertainty was idealistic. Thirdly, the local community were also interested in securing community facilities in the area and considered the Liberty Building as a potential venue. Lack of funding halted this ambitious plan. There was then a four-year period (1993-97) during City Challenge in which the building stood vacant. Fourthly, after a change in ownership a new application to convert the former factory into student accommodation was submitted in 1997.[38] Fifthly, although this application had five years to be realised, in 2001 another application was submitted by the owner to demolish the building, and this was accepted after Cassidy developers met all the legal requirements and proved the building was beyond their ability to repair on a realistic financial basis. The former factory was demolished one month after the expiry of the 1997 application in March 2002.

Between the first application to change the use of the building in 1987 and the last application for restoration in 1997 several new uses were proposed,

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[35] Ibid

[36] Ibid

[37] City Challenge, *Annual Report 1993-94*, Leicester, 1994, p. 11. The owners LCV International paid £203,000 in 1987 and in 1996 put the building up for sale for £500,000 which was estimated to be £100,000 over the market value, Leicester City Council Property Services, Liberty Report and Valuation, 21 May 1996

[38] The Liberty Building changed owner by this time and new ideas came with this switch. Market conditions had also considerably improved by the late 1990s as apartment living started to become fashionable and therefore profitable. Additionally the potential returns from students were now well recognised due to the growing student numbers in both the University of Leicester and DeMontfort University.

demolition considered and new owners brought in to little avail as the ten year period was characterised by uncertainty and delay. Even after a planning application had been accepted for student flats in 1997 there was still, paradoxically, uncertainty as to the new use. Feasibility studies explored the idea of offices, luxury apartments and student accommodation and demonstrated that uncertainty had still characterised plans for the future of the Liberty Building, as they had since 1987.[39] The failure to formulate a consistent plan for the building resulted in demolition since prevarication during this fifteen year period the former factory had deteriorated beyond the point of repair.

The building was considered to be past the point of economic repair but it was generally agreed by all parties that 'the building is not in such a poor state that it is beyond redemption on structural grounds'.[40] Cassidy developers, working on behalf of the owner stated that 'retention of the Liberty building is impossible without substantial grant assistance in excess of £2m'.[41] Various structural surveys were carried out. In 1990 a survey found that it would cost £0.31m to repair the building. The were various cracks in the reinforced concrete floors but the consulting engineers 'formed the opinion that these various cracks were not indicative of any serious structural defects'.[42] By 2000 the next structural survey, commissioned by the building's developers on behalf of the owner to determine 'as far as possible the condition of the reinforced concrete structure',[43] estimated that 15 percent of the structure was defective'.[44] This proved to be the main point of contention between the developers/owners and English Heritage. The same survey revealed that 15 percent was a high proportion of degradation and if 'not addressed at this stage (November 2000), further deterioration of the damage will occur, which in the long term, could impair structural stability'.[45] The structural report stated 'in its present condition, the building will not satisfy present day regulations in having to produce guarantes, insurance etc. for potential

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[39] Feasibility studies were carried out by Concept Project Management in September 2001, Strutt and Parker in October 2001, Bridgewater & Coulton in December 2001

[40] Letter from English Heritage to Leicester City Council, 2 July 2001

[41] Letter from Cassidy Developers to Leicester City Council, 7 December 2001

[42] The Diamond Wood Partnership, Structural Survey of Liberty Works, 24 September 1990, p. 3

[43] Weeks Consulting, Structural Survey carried out in November 2000, point 1.2

[44] Ibid, point 5.0

[45] Ibid, point 5.1

owners/end users and financial institutions'.[46] The developer's satisfied PPG15 regulations that the building was 'past economic repair'[47], and as such Liberty was demolished.

The key finding of the 2000 structural survey was the extent of Liberty's deterioration, believed to be 'structurally sound'[48] at the time it was listed but after a decade of inaction and minimal repairs secured its dilapidated state. The concrete structure was reinforced with steel; any excess moisture or rainwater that seeped into the structure would cause rusting and the metal frame to expand. The only method to reverse this damage was cathodic protection that transmits an electrical current through the structure and limits the rusting process. This was expensive but was warranted to 'achieve the 66 year design life demanded by the developers.'[49] Justification for demolition hinged on cost, the availability of grant/gap funding[50] and the ability of the public and private sector to work together to find a viable new use for the historic building. The Liberty building therefore provides an intriguing example of missed opportunities, the consequences of uncertainty and the failure of public – private agencies to work together as well as revealing the loopholes and complexities of re-using historic buildings.

Formulating a consistent, coordinated plan for a historic building was therefore, a vital component to ensure that it is retained in the urban landscape. Moreover, the fragility of historic buildings is exacerbated by indecision and uncertainty and a national-local framework needs to be established to manage the process of restoration and re-use. As shown in Castlefield and with the Motte-Bossut building, the impetus can come from local or national policy makers but a viable end use needs to be identified as soon as possible before buildings like Liberty deteriorate beyond the point of no economic return to the owners other than demolition and redevelopment.

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[46] Cox Turner Morse, Structural Survey Report, January 2001

[47] English Heritage, Memorandum, 12 February 2002

[48] Leicester Group of the Victorian Society, Building Sub-Committee Report, May 2001

[49] Letter from English Heritage to Leicester City Council, 2 July 01

[50] Grant funding regulations changed during the 1990s to state that funding would not be offered to a private owner if the building would eventually return a profit. Interview with K. Tailor, Deputy Chief-Executive of City Challenge, January 2007

Partnerships

Securing the effective re-use of Castlefield, Motte-Bossut and Liberty depended on the ability of local, regional and national agencies to co-operate to find feasible new uses and financial support to restore and re-use the vacant historic buildings. This was secured in different ways in Castlefield and with the Motte-Bossut building. In Castlefield it was predominantly the links between organisations that provided the foundations for regeneration whereas the restoration and re-use of the Motte-Bossut factory illustrated the power of *Grand Notables* in France.

Figure 15 Links between the public sector agencies in Castlefield, 1982 – 1996
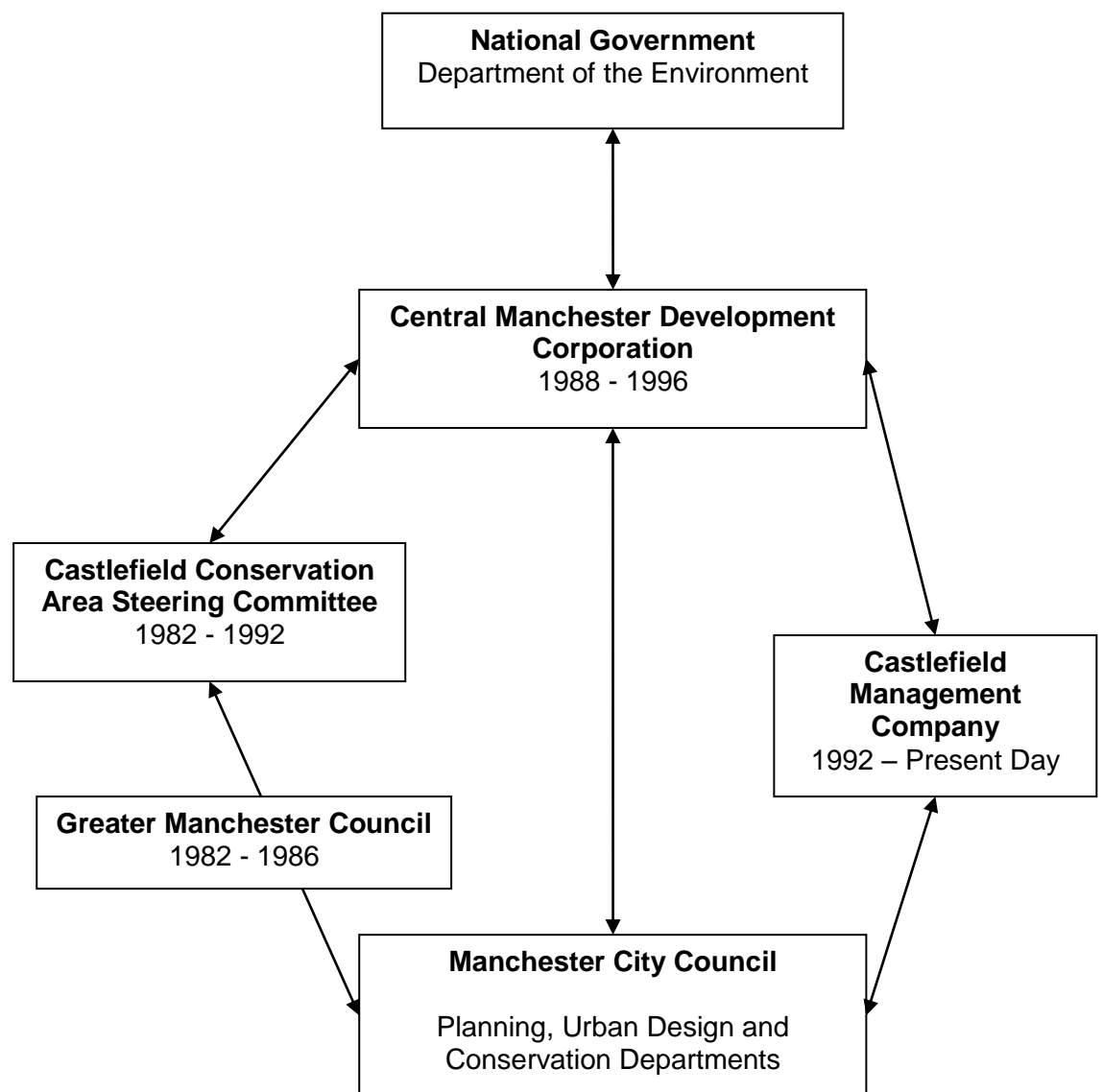
Close working relationships between agencies characterised the long-term regeneration of Castlefield. This originated during the 1970s and 1980s between Liverpool Road Station Society and Greater Manchester Council who allied to secure the restoration of Liverpool Road Station and was further entrenched through the creation of the Castlefield Conservation Area Steering Committee in 1982 who aligned with the tourist driven focus of local historians and Greater Manchester County Council. Merging public and private interests into a Steering Committee was a definitive element of the spirit of partnership that existed throughout the twelve year process of managing change. CMDC followed through the idea of partnership through their creation of the Castlefield Management Company in 1992 to ensure that the area was effectively managed after CMDC was wound up. The CMDC era intensified the need for partnerships due to the speed of change and their ability to lever in private investment.[51]

The Conservative imposition of an unaccountable quango on a left wing Labour local authority in 1988 was intended to undermine the fledgling City Council-led regeneration process. The imposition of a quango state reflected the changed role of City Council's during the Thatcher era. Indeed, Ward believed that 'one of the most profound changes of the last two decades has been in the form and function of local government'.[52] The role of City Councils was the subject of fierce academic debate[53], in particular between Ward and Imrie and Raco who interpreted the maxim that local government had been transformed from 'being the central player in the development and delivery of policy to that of a strategic enabler' in conflicting ways.[54] For both Manchester City Council and Leicester City Council the quango state resulted in a redefinition of their roles, which was

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[51] Central Manchester Development Corporation was not subject to normal planning restrictions and indeed was able to speed up planning applications. The sheer number of applications that were received and the short turn around in acceptance or refusal required clear lines of communication between all agencies involved.

[52] K.G. Ward, A Critique in Search of a Corpus: Re-visiting Governance and Re-Interpreting Urban Politics. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* New Series, Vol.25, No.2, 2000, p. 169

[53] See the introduction in R. Rodger *The Transformation of Edinburgh*, Cambridge University Press, 2004 in which he cites D. Marquand, Commentary After Tory Jacobinism, *Political Quarterly,* Vol.65, No.2, 1994, pp. 125-27 and R.A.W. Rhodes, Hollowing out the State: The Changing Nature of Public Service in Britain, *Political Quarterly,* Vol.65, No.2, 1994, pp. 138-51

[54] R. Imrie, and M. Raco, How New is the New Local Governance? Lessons from the United Kingdom, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* New Series, Vol.24, No.1, 1999, p. 47

initially a source of contention. Manchester City Council formally expressed their opposition to the Urban Development Corporation yet CMDC started work in 1988. There was, therefore, mistrust and suspicion between a national and local authority whose ideological standpoints lay at opposites end of the spectrum. However, despite the fact that Central Manchester Development Corporation was the dominant partner, a set of criteria was put in place to try to secure a harmonious working relationship. There were four main components of this.

Firstly, Manchester City Council became the local development authority, thus retaining its development control powers. Secondly, the City Council also had three seats on the Central Manchester Development Corporation board thus ensuring Manchester City Council's involvement in every stage of regeneration from proposals, to amendments, and to approval of planning applications. Thirdly, the ethos of partnership was also mutually acknowledged, indeed Dr James Grigor, the chair of Central Manchester Development Corporation, stated: 'to achieve the ambitions we all share for Castlefield will require a philosophy of partnership between the Development Corporation and Manchester City Council'. [55] Fourthly, Central Manchester Development Corporation used the existing Local Plan drawn up by Manchester City Council in 1984 to achieve their aims of regenerating the southern section of Manchester city centre. The belief in fostering effective working relationships between different agencies in conjunction with a long-term policy was vital to securing Castlefield's renaissance. Despite this working relationship Manchester City Council was still the junior partner to the Development Corporation who were able to access different types of funding to lever in private investment and were also able to fast track planning applications. Manchester City Council therefore enabled CMDC to regenerate Castlefield rather than holding equal weight in the partnership. This relationship closely resembled that proposed more generally by Ward and Imrie.[56]

Managing the successful restoration of the Motte-Bossut factory also rested on the ability of local and regional agencies to work together to put Roubaix on the national agenda. This process, which occurred during a similar time period to Castlefield's regeneration, was facilitated by the close connections between a

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[55] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Area Regeneration Framework*, Manchester, 1994, p. 7

[56] See Imrie and Raco, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* New Series, Vol.24, No.1, 1999

series of *Grand Notables*, French politicians whose power extended beyond their commune. The new mayor of Roubaix, André Diligent ended over seventy years of Socialist rule when he assumed charge in 1983. He needed a flagship project to establish both himself and his party in Roubaix. To achieve this, Diligent aligned himself with national policies and proposed and then defended the Motte-Bossut factory as a candidate to house the new inter-regional archives. Diligent's proposal was supported by Pierre Mauroy, the French Prime Minister.[57] It was the first of many instances when Mauroy supported Roubaix's regeneration. Mauroy, in addition to his role as the Mayor of Lille, was also the Chair of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region and President of the Communauté Urbaine de Lille (CUDL) and therefore heavily involved from conception to completion of the project at inter-communal, regional and national levels. Furthermore, the decentralisation laws introduced under Mitterrand during the early 1980s created a regional agency that Mauroy was able to penetrate, increased the tax raising powers of the Ville de Roubaix and allowed them much greater authority over the management of restoration and re-use than it had in the designation of the building. As in Castlefield, local, regional and national agencies worked together to secure the restoration and re-use of historic buildings. However, in Roubaix the remit for re-use was designed by national government through their policies on culture and communication but defined and implemented by the local and regional authorities whereas in Castlefield, the Local Plan (1984) was adopted by a national agency.

Mauroy and Diligent worked together as they both recognised the benefits of adopting an inter-communal approach to ensure that projects in the Lille métropole were coherent and complementary. A series of related projects was thus launched during the 1980s and early 1990s. These included Euralille and Eurotéléport which both Diligent and Mauroy realised could work together turn the métropole towards Europe as Eurotéléport provided the communications basis for firms relocating to Lille in the Euralille scheme.[58]

An influential figure in the only remaining tier of government, the Nord department, Gérard Vignoble, a member of the Conseil Générale was a key

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[57] 'Elle bénéficie du soutien de Pierre Mauroy, à l'époque maire de Lille et Premier Ministre'*, V. Thiéry, Du Coton au Carton, Changement de Production Pour La Filature Motte-Bossut, Les Bâtiments d'Archives, *Livraisons d'histoire de l'architecture*, Numero 10, 2 Semestre 2005, p. 107

[58] Open Letter from André Diligent to Communauté Urbaine de Lille President, September 1993
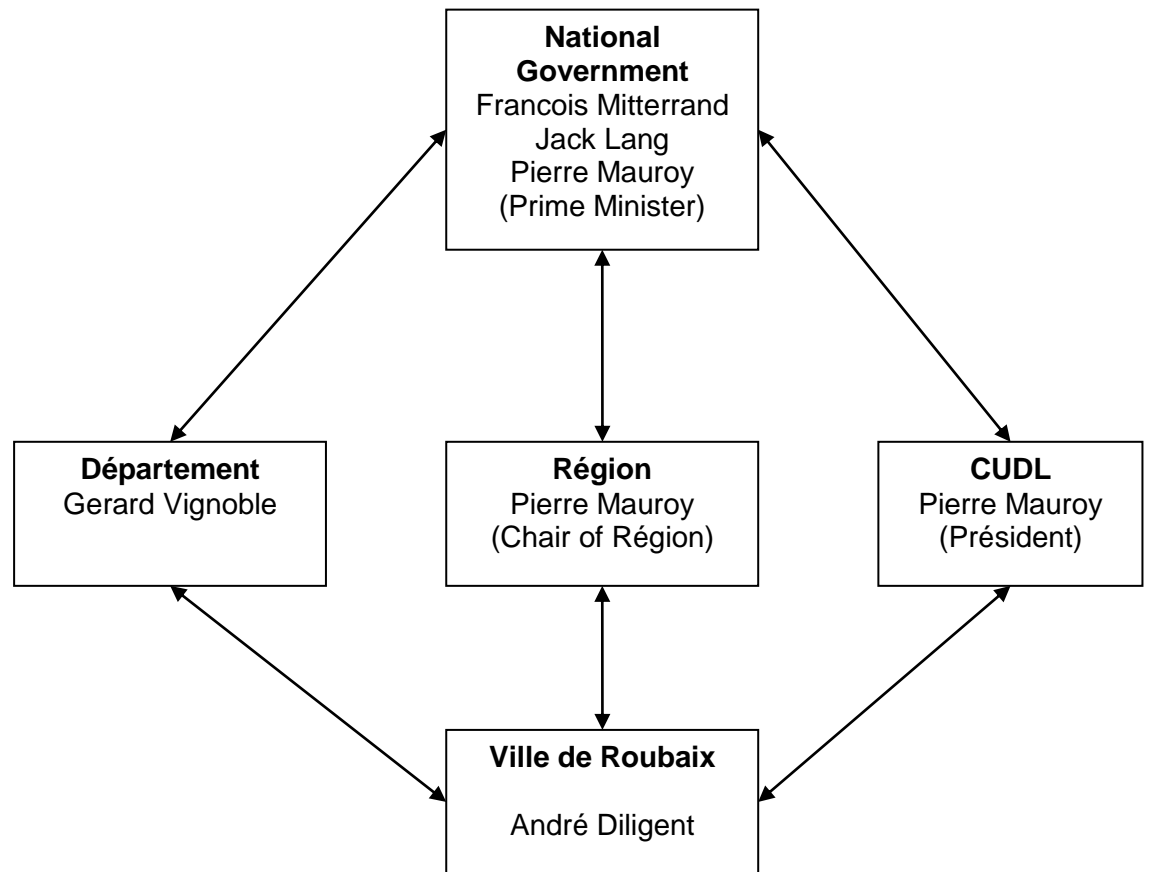
political ally of Diligent and ensured Motte-Bossut was on the agenda of the département.[59] The re-use of the west wing of the Motte-Bossut factory as a telecommunications centre was promoted by Vignoble, a previous high-ranking member of the national post office and telephone company, *Poste, Télécommunications et Télédiffusion* (PTT). Vignoble visited New York in 1984 to view the Staten Island teleport and used his knowledge of telecommunications to promote Motte-Bossut as a teleport. Vignoble provided the technical expertise and influential access to a government council to ensure that the Motte-Bossut building was a viable candidate for the implementation of a national policy.

The position of key allies of Diligent in each tier of French government ensured that the Motte-Bossut building was recognised in the higher echelons of power and was strategically and politically well placed to take advantage of national policies.[60] Whereas Castlefield's plight was noticed by national government as a result of the previous work carried out by local public sector agencies, with the Motte-Bossut the links between the tiers of government through key political allies of Diligent's ensured Roubaix's plight reached the national arena. Partnerships either between local agencies as in Castlefield or between tiers of government as in both Castlefield and Motte-Bossut, enabled practical uses for vacant historic buildings to be articulated and were vital to securing their restoration and re-use. Local policies and initiatives as in Castlefield or strategically placed allies in a

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[59] Vignoble, also the mayor of neighbouring Wasquehal and Diligent joined forces against the perceived dominance of Lille and the new town Villeneuve d'Ascq in the Communauté Urbaine de Lille.

[60] Of course there is also the personal politics dimension in which Diligent staked his personal and political capital on this project. There may well have been opponents to the scheme but they were unlikely to mount a campaign against this project which was not in their constituency and which also had the power of key men behind it. Moreover, Diligent himself was the up and coming politician who had coordinated the end of seventy years of Socialist rule and thus it was unlikely that against this background of support, both popular and political that any objections would have been sustained.

Figure 16 Links between the *Grand Notables*

	National Government Francois Mitterrand Jack Lang Pierre Mauroy (Prime Minister)	
Département Gerard Vignoble	**Région** Pierre Mauroy (Chair of Région)	**CUDL** Pierre Mauroy (Président)
	Ville de Roubaix André Diligent	

defined governmental structure as with Motte-Bossut captured national attention. Partnership between actors and agencies in both places pervaded the national consciousness which in turn gave investors confidence and policies legitimacy. The amalgam ensured restoration and re-use of historic buildings in Castlefield and Motte-Bossut.

Unlike Castlefield and Motte-Bossut, the Liberty Building during the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s was characterised by the absence of partnership between key agencies. There were no existing local policies that Liberty could use in order to attract financial and administrative national government support, nor were City Challenge able to provide a viable suggestion for the end use of Liberty. The lack of partnership between agencies was again revealed by the deterioration of the Liberty Building. It was stated by Leicester City Council and 'generally agreed by all agencies that the building had lacked adequate maintenance since it was listed in 1994'.[61] Eyewitness reports state that there were pools of water inside the building and in particular the top floor was covered with standing water.[62] LCC did not have the power to serve the 'urgent works notices' that were needed to prevent the deterioration of the structure. Letters threatening 'urgent works notices' were sent by LCC to the owners in 1994, 1995, 1996 and 1999. Further urgent works notices that would have weatherproofed the building and tightened security were not served and so for a significant period of time the former factory was not maintained. In an ideal situation Leicester City Council would have ensured close working relations with the private owner to ensure that the building did not further deteriorate.

However, such a partnership did not materialise and Leicester City Council did not serve an 'urgent works notice' for two reasons. Firstly, the future of the building was not resolved and 'clearly the council could not be expected to commit itself to a potentially expensive operation if the building had no real future'.[63] Secondly, there was a doubt of the ownership of the building. The council were reluctant to serve a notice if they did not know from whom to recover

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[61] Leicester City Council, Development Control Sub-Committee Report, 18 December 2001, p. 24

[62] Interview with S. Bradwell, Leicester City Council Conservation Officer, December 2006

[63] Email between the Conservation and Planning departments in Leicester City Council, 21 May 2001

their costs.[64] English Heritage lamented the fact that LCC failed to serve 'urgent works notices' and believed that the 'deterioration of the building has got to the state where demolition was inevitable'.[65] The lack of partnership between LCC, the owner and English Heritage was an indictment of conservation policies and practices. The failure of all partners to engage with each other to understand the severity of deterioration ultimately contributed to the demolition of the building. The air of uncertainty and confusion that had characterised the plans to re-use the building was also apparent between the different agencies involved.

The absence of partnership undermined initiatives to secure financial support for the restoration and re-use of the Liberty Building. Just as financial support was not forthcoming in the City Challenge era (1993-1998) under the Conservative government, this pattern continued under New Labour as neither the Leicester Regeneration Company nor East Midlands Development Agency (EMDA)[66] for wholly residential schemes. However, LCC approved a planning application for Liberty's change of use to student accommodation in 1997 and had previously refused a mixed-use application for the building. Avenues of funding were, therefore, cut off as a result of the lack of cooperation between LCC, Leicester Regeneration Company and EMDA.

Politics: Funding and Ownership

In terms of securing funding and resolving the ownership issue the ethos of partnership was again evident in Castlefield and the Motte-Bossut building. Finding financial support and securing an owner whose aims were concurrent with local and national government policy was vital to secure the restoration and re-use of the historic buildings.

In Castlefield, the buildings were owned by a number of different organisations and individuals. The prime capital landowner in the area was the Manchester Ship Canal Company, with British Rail and the City Council also significant landowners. Regeneration, as proved by the Liberty example, required either the co-operation of landowners with local and national government plans, or the

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[64] English Heritage, Memorandum, 12 February 2002

[65] Ibid

[66] Urban Regeneration Companies and Regional Development Agencies were created by New Labour. East Midlands Development Agency was created in 1999 whereas Leicester's URC was created in 2001

acquisition of strategic sites located within the development area. This was a process that was started by the Castlefield Conservation Area Steering Committee in the early 1980s. Indeed the minutes of a CCASC meeting in 1984 revealed that MCC had agreed to purchase an area in excess of four acres from the Manchester Ship Canal Company.[67] Furthermore, a co-ordinated, systematic approach to land acquisition was illustrated by the industrial survey questionnaires that were sent to 93 Castlefield businesses in 1984 with the aim of ascertaining the land ownership pattern in Castlefield. [68]

Central Manchester Development Corporation continued this process of site acquisition and spent 15 percent of their total budget buying land in their development area.[69] In Castlefield, CMDC acquired vital sites such as parts of Liverpool Road, a former coach park on Water Street as well as the former timber yard in Castle Street and Rochdale Road.[70] Acquiring these sites, mainly through negotiation with the current owners, reduced the fragmentation of land ownership and allowed existing policies to be implemented efficiently. CMDC, did however, pursue a Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) on a group of premises that were 'impeding the Castle Quay scheme' which was to restore and re-use the Middle Warehouse and the area around it. [71] Jim Ramsbottom, an entrepreneurial bookmaker from neighbouring Salford whose vision for the area matched Thatcher's market driven society bought Merchant's Warehouse and Gail House as the ownership of key buildings was rapidly resolved.[72] Ramsbottom provided an example of a cooperative private owner who worked closely with Central Manchester Development Corporation to ensure that his plans would be funded and thus realised, in marked contrast to the situation with Liberty in Leicester.

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[67] Castlefield Conservation Area Steering Committee, Officers Working Party Meeting, 18 May 1984

[68] Castlefield Conservation Area Steering Committee, Industrial Survey Questionnaire, no date

[69] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Planning for Regeneration*, Manchester, 1996, p. 7

[70] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Annual Report, 1989-90,* Manchester, 1990, p. 12

[71] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Annual Report, 1990-91*, Manchester, 1991, p. 10

[72] Ramsbottom, like the rest of the private sector were interested in profit maximisation and as such Ramsbottom aligned himself with CMDC policies by increasing the office space and night-time economy outlets in Castlefield

Once the ownership issue was resolved, Castlefield's rejuvenation was facilitated by a number of different funding bodies. The City Grant which accounted for 25 percent of the Corporation's spending was used to secure the restoration of the Victoria and Albert warehouse and its re-use as luxury hotel as well new buildings such as the Youth Hostel and Woollam Place, a new build housing development.[73]

Allied to the City Grant funding, which came from Central Government, was European funding in the form of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and financial support from English Heritage which combined to restore and re-use Merchant's warehouse for studio offices. Ramsbottom also invested in the restoration of the Merchant's Warehouse and Gail House. The matrix of funding was further supplemented by the English Tourist Board who funded the various tourist initiatives in Castlefield, such as the museum and the canal trips through their Area Initiative Funds. Private funding, such as by Macbryde Homes' £5 million investment to build new housing on Slate Wharf, showed the depth and scope of funding opportunities open to CMDC. The grant-aiding and pump-priming capability of Central Manchester Development Corporation ensured the corporation in Castlefield alone spent £8 million and attracted in excess of £100 million investment into the area.[74]

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[73] See Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Annual Report,* 1991, p. 10. The City Grant was available to 'long-term viable development projects where the cost of a project exceeded its completed development value.'

[74] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Eight Years of Achievement*, Manchester, 1996

Figure 17 Youth Hostel shown in the background of the photograph
Source: R.M. Madgin

Figure 18 Merchant's Warehouse before restoration during the 1980s
Source: Reproduced with the kind permission of the Friends of the Manchester Museum of Science and Industry

Figure 19 Merchant's Warehouse after restoration in 2007
Source: R.M. Madgin

The various agencies in Castlefield worked consistently and co-operatively to reduce the number of owners and to thus ensure that all owners held shared values and a shared appreciation of the potential of the historic environment and could thus find the financial support necessary to implement their visions of the historic environment.

The story was similar if less complex with the Motte-Bossut building where public ownership and public sector funding reduced the complexities involved with restoration and re-use of historic buildings. The Ville de Roubaix bought the factory after the liquidation of the Motte-Bossut Company and they ceded the section devoted to CAMT to the State. The ville retained ownership of the rest of the building and dedicated themselves to working in partnership with national, regional, departmental and private agencies to secure the establishment of a communications centre on the remaining site.

The Centre des Archives du Monde de Travail was funded by a région-state partnership in which the state contributed 75 percent and the région 25 percent of the 145m FF budget (approximately £15 million). The scheme was therefore completely funded by public sector money. Reflecting the increased revenue generating powers of local authorities after decentralisation the Eurotéléport scheme was funded by a Société d'Economie Mixte (SEM) and then a Société d'Anonymie Economie Mixte (SAEM), which were public-private financial mechanisms that provided funding used to realise the restoration and re-use. The SEM was used during the initial process of restoring the building. A SEM is a public-private partnership that was used throughout the post World War II era for planning, housing and transport improvements. Typically the local authority retained control and contributed a significant amount of money. In the Eurotéléport scheme, Roubaix provided 25 percent of the capital in the SEM.[75] This was raised through taxes, more specifically, the taxe d'habitation and taxe professionnelle. Private investment came from the largest office development company in France, SARI, and France Télécom, amongst others. The SAEM was used from 1994 onwards to secure the smooth running of Eurotéléport. The

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[75] S. Graham, Networking the City, A Comparison of Urban Telecommunications Initiatives in France and Britain, PhD, *University of Manchester,* Faculty of Science and Engineering, 1996, p. 209

SAEM gave more control to private investors and ensured the survival of Eurotéléport rested with the private sector. The impact of the decentralisation laws were exposed by the financial autonomy demonstrated by the Ville de Roubaix as they were able to use their increased tax revenues as a way to fund the new uses of the Motte-Bossut factory. Changes to the system of governance in France therefore conditioned the contemporary value of the building by finding new ways to finance the restoration and re-use of Motte-Bossut.

The two crucial elements in deciding the future of any building, acquiring financial support and the issue of ownership, were not in the case of the Liberty Building resolved during a fifteen year period. In order to secure the costly and time-consuming process of restoring a historic building funding needed to be available from a variety of well defined sources with re-use in Castlefield and Motte-Bossut. The building was in private ownership, unlike the Motte-Bossut case, and was not the object of any attempts to acquire the building either through negotiation or through prosecuting a Compulsory Purchase Order. Moreover, the various agencies were unable to secure any form of grant funding that would have made the project viable.

There were many barriers to funding a viable project. Firstly, during the early 1990s national finance for gap funding was abolished and replaced with grant funding. This coincided with the change in Liberty's ownership and closed off many of the avenues for funding for the new owner. Grant funding was not awarded for any scheme that resulted in a profit for a private investor and therefore Liberty's restoration was not a valid case for funding.[76] Any possible financial support from English Heritage was rendered impossible as the building did not lie in a Conservation Area.[77] Additionally the City Council did not have any grant money for the project.[78] Neither Leicester Regeneration Company nor East Midlands Development Agency nor English Partnerships was able to provide 'grant funding to schemes which are wholly or substantially for residential purposes'.[79] As the planning application for the Liberty Building had been

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[76] Interview with K. Tailor, Deputy Chief-Executive of City Challenge, January 2007

[77] Leicester City Council, Development Control Sub-Committee Report, December, 2001, p. 26

[78] Ibid

[79] Letter from Leicester Regeneration Company to Cassidy Developments, 3 September 2001

submitted for residential use and a 1991 application for mixed-use of the site was refused. Potential funding from the European Union as exploited in Castlefield was only available for deprived wards. The Liberty Building stood in Castle Ward which was not considered to be one of Leicester's most deprived wards, yet another funding avenue was closed.[80] The transfer of historic significance into contemporary relevance was thus hindered by the lack of available finance.

Feasibility studies that investigated the viability of re-using the Liberty Building estimated that there was a shortfall of between £2.5 million to £3.8 million dependent on the type of re-use. However, this loss took into account £2 million[81] to buy the land and a further £180,000 was costed in to take account of the interest charged at 6 percent over 18 months. Therefore, if the land had been ceded into public ownership, as was the case with Liverpool Road Station and the Motte-Bossut factory gap funding would have been reduced to approximately £1 - 2 million, depending on the end use. Compulsory purchase (CPO) powers were available for both Leicester City Council and during City Challenge but in both cases this was not used. The City Challenge team spent a substantial proportion of their allotted money acquiring land and the Liberty Building was considered a lower priority when considered against the large swathes of land that needed to be acquired in order to facilitate the wider regeneration of the area.[82] This was yet another example of how the urban context conditioned the perception of the historic environment as previously illustrated by Provo's regeneration plans for the centre-ville (see chapter 4). In respect of the urgent works notices, Leicester City Council was still reeling from the protracted struggle to reclaim costs from the owner of St. Matthew's Church in the mid 1990s. The City Council carried out urgent works with money borrowed from English Heritage; however, the owner of the Church went bankrupt and the City Council struggled to pay back the money they had borrowed to carry out the urgent

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[80] Leicester City Council, Development Control Sub-Committee Report, December, 2001, p. 26

[81] This figure fluctuated dependent on the end use of the building. For example luxury apartments provided the greatest shortfall and offices the least.

[82] Interview with K. Tailor, Deputy Chief-Executive of City Challenge, January 2007, Removing scrap yards and clearing contaminated land were integral to unlocking the development potential of the area which contained one quarter of the derelict land in Leicester. These were considered to have wider regeneration consequences than those that converting a historic building would bring.

works. The fragile position of LCC hindered their ability to source funding for the restoration of threatened buildings.

The VAT requirements for repairs to existing buildings were another prohibitive factor in the Liberty restoration saga. VAT for new build is 0 percent whereas renovation is rated 17.5 percent. Thus the extra costs arising from VAT 'would clearly influence the cost factors with the Liberty Building'.[83] One of the options was to make the refurbishment of the Liberty Building economically feasible was either partial retention or, as happened with the Motte-Bossut factory, retention of the façades. However, it was 'understood that retaining the façade would characterise the building work as renovation rather than new build and attract 17.5 percent VAT instead of 0 percent VAT'.[84] Exemption from VAT would have ensured that the gap funding needed to make re-use viable would have been reduced by between £400,000 and £600,000. Standardising VAT requirements in line with new build would have reduced the amount of gap funding needed for the Liberty Building thus making increasing the economic viability of restoration and re-use.

As shown in Castlefield and Motte-Bossut with the prompt resolution of land ownership and the coordinated approach to sourcing financial support, these strategies were vital for the chances of restoration and re-use of historic buildings. This was not forthcoming with the Liberty Building. Inertia, procedure, and local circumstances resulted in the demolition of the historic building. A re-think of the process of listing and funding for historic buildings is essential to ensure that local landmarks and embedded memories are not lost from the urban landscape.[85] Every effort needs to be made to reduce the VAT restriction for conversion, to bring buildings with no established viable use into public ownership, and to ensure that agencies work in partnership to reduce the time lag between closure and action.

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[83] Email between departments in Leicester City Council, April 2001

[84] Ibid

[85] The *Review on Heritage Protection*, 2004 and *Heritage Protection for the 21st century*, 2007 produced by the DCMS may improve the possibility of re-using historic buildings yet the VAT argument has not been resolved.

Integrated Planning Approach

Finding a viable new use for a historic building is integral to deciding the fate of a historic building. The restoration and re-use of Castlefield's historic environment and the Motte-Bossut building was the result of an integrated national – regional – local framework that worked to fulfil national desires to reverse urban decline and realise the goals of the wider region as well as the city/ville. The absence of a clearly defined end use for Liberty that reflected national policy and improved the outlook of the city and the region was an integral part of the decision to demolish the listed building.

The agencies and actors involved with Castlefield and Motte-Bossut worked together to implement policies that would regenerate the inner city as well as raising the profile of the wider area. In Castlefield this was evident from the pivotal role played by GMC and its focus on bringing tourists into the Greater Manchester area thereby creating jobs throughout the region. CMDC followed on this policy after GMC's abolition in 1986 by realising the consequences of regenerating the southern section of Manchester city centre for the rest of the inner city and the region. Indeed CMDC wanted Castlefield to 'kick-start Manchester's revival'.[86] Castlefield's renaissance did not take place in a vacuum and was not an isolated instance of restoring buildings because of their historic significance. Rather, this significance was updated and rejuvenated as contemporary values were ascribed in order to improve Manchester's image and to construct a new identity as an innovative city that fused past and present to create a prosperous future.

Castlefield's regeneration started off as a venture to improve the region and finished as a concrete example of Manchester's desire to become a European city. Indeed CMDC stated in their first published document that they had a 'key role in projecting Manchester as an international city of repute'.[87] CMDC therefore used the historical background of Manchester in terms of both its mental and physical landscape to implement a major European offensive. CMDC tried to reawaken the 'drive, innovation and determination of the pioneering' [88]

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[86] Interview with G. Hood, December, 2005

[87] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Strategy for Consultation*, Manchester, 1988, point 1.4

[88] Ibid, point 1.2

Manchester Men evident during the industrial revolution in order to transform Manchester into a '21st century city on a par with the great provincial cities of Europe'.[89] Castlefield fitted into this niche due to its historic buildings which offered a 'unique selling proposition'.[90] The outcome of Manchester's Olympic bid was announced in the CMDC created performance arena in Castlefield; Barca bar was built underneath a railway arch in Catalan Square and the area was designed to offer a 24 hour European way of life complete with a café culture and apartment living. Historic Castlefield's character was therefore the catalyst for promoting Manchester within Europe.

Figure 20 Barça Bar found in Catalan Square under the railway arches in Castlefield
Source R.M. Madgin

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[89] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Development Strategy for Central Manchester*, Manchester, 1990, p. 1

[90] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Strategy for Consultation*, 1988, point 4.1

The restoration of the Motte-Bossut factory was also part of a wider regional approach to regeneration. CAMT was one of five planned inter-regional archives that were designed to service the region rather than just the commune. Eurotéléport originated out of a desire to open up the Lille métropole to Europe. The location of the métropole at the crossroads of Europe ensured that Roubaix's regeneration was intrinsically linked to the fortunes of the métropole.

The vacant Motte-Bossut factory, a visually dominant building with extensive floor space, became Diligent's flagship project. Diligent's position within the system of governance was stronger when compared to that of Provo. The decentralisation laws gave the Mayor and the municipalité greater financial and political autonomy to manage the restoration and re-use of Motte-Bossut and thus allowed Diligent's value of the former factory to be expressed. In order to promote the building Diligent enlisted the help of key allies in the remaining three tiers of government and as such the fate of the Motte-Bossut building was related to regional, inter-communal and departmental needs. Eurotéléport complemented Euralille, the Channel Tunnel link, Eurotunnel, TGV extension, the ports of Calais and Dunkirk as well as raising the profile of the métropole and diversifying Roubaix's economy.

The failure to find a viable new use for the Liberty Building that related to the wider regeneration of the city and region secured the former factory's demolition. Unlike Castlefield and Motte-Bossut, a flagship use for the Liberty Building that would have met City Challenge's aims for Leicester to become a European city was never agreed. This was due to the failure to provide an integrated approach to conservation-led regeneration. The decisions taken by local, regional and national agencies in both Castlefield and with the Motte-Bossut building were related to the wider concerns of the surrounding areas. The re-use of the building was not an arbitrary function but rather a key component of Manchester and Roubaix's renaissance. This failed to happen in Leicester as the future of the Liberty Building was never connected to anything other than the immediate area.

Failure to put a deteriorating historic building into public ownership ensured only a few options were available for a private owner who sought to maximise profit in order to justify his initial outlay. A less profitable use, but equally beneficial use to the community, was a cultural re-use, as happened in Castlefield with Liverpool Road Station and with the Archives du Monde du Travail in Motte-Bossut.

However, again this was prevented due to competing projects within the city. The City Council recognised that the 'substantial floor space of the building' could be used for a 'potential cultural use, such as museum or arts facility', but 'such projects are being concentrated in the St. Georges area'.[91] Indeed, in a meeting with the City Council's planning officer assigned to the Liberty Building it was admitted that 'had the building been in the centre of Leicester then it could have been a different story'.[92] Again the failure to take an integrated approach to conservation and to realise the potential consequences for re-use resulted in the demolition of a landmark building. At no point was it evident that the building's re-use would benefit anything other than small, transient student population in Leicester. Even then, both City Challenge and Leicester City Football Club had competing projects that diverted both attention and potential financial support away from Liberty.[93] The decisions over Liberty's future therefore failed to consider the wider consequences of re-use and as such a viable end use for the factory was not found.

The Liberty example illustrated the importance of national government in financing and owning historic buildings that otherwise rapidly deteriorate in the absence of a clear plan for their future. The absence of a clear framework with evident local and national goals contributed to the demolition of the factory. Indeed English Heritage realised the consequences of a lack of cohesion between the agencies involved by stating that

> we intend to review with Leicester City Council their strategies for conservation-led regeneration, identifying any case where statutory intervention and/or practice planning policy can encourage the repair and re-use of listed and other historic buildings before they deteriorate beyond the point of economic repair.[94]

The timing of the closure of this building was also important as it was after the abolition of county councils but before New Labour's Regional Development Agencies. Therefore the building's future was only ever considered on the micro

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[91] Leicester City Council, Development Control Sub-Committee Report, 18 December 2001, p. 26

[92] Interview with A. Ward, Urban Design Planning Officer, Leicester City Council, December 2005

[93] The two main projects were the Pex factory which is now the Land Registry and the removal from Bede Island of inappropriate inner city uses such as scrap yards.

[94] English Heritage, Memorandum, 12 February 2002, point 4.6

rather than the macro level. A clear, coherent framework with a clear idea of how the building's re-use would benefit the wider region would have secured gap funding as happened with the £4 million needed to restore Merchant's warehouse in Castlefield. Instead the funding policies of both Leicester Regeneration Company and East Midlands Development Agency went against Leicester City Council's decision to accept a planning application for a residential scheme. The lack of coordination between public and private sector agencies both established and newly created ultimately secured the demolition of Liberty.

The successful re-use of Castlefield's historic buildings and Motte-Bossut were, therefore, the product of an integrated planning approach based on a clearly defined national-regional-local framework that evolved over time to adapt to market conditions and survive changes to personnel to secure viable end uses for the historic environment. Liberty was demolished because the wider consequences of its end use were never explored. Historic buildings, as shown by those in Castlefield, Motte-Bossut and Liberty are an asset that can be re-deployed when refurbished to draw resource, both human and capital investment, back to the centre. Lacking a coherent national-regional-local framework, such ambitions are unlikely to be realised.

Chapter 6
Seduction of Place

How the historic environment was ascribed a contemporary value and was thus used to re-make places and to assist in the regeneration of decaying historic industrial urban centres remains the central thrust of the thesis. Previous chapters illustrated how overlooked and hidden areas with negative industrial connotations were revealed, and how actors from the public, private and voluntary sectors worked at the local, regional, national and European level to manage urban change. The historic environment assisted in the process of place-making for three reasons: firstly, it provided another dimension through which contemporary values could be assigned; secondly, it generated opportunities to foster attachments between people and places which prompted action in the voluntary, public or private sector; and, thirdly, because a historic building, or the land it was sited on, was perceived as a resource with development potential capable of arresting and reversing late twentieth-century urban decay and decline. Consequently, the historic environment whether retained or demolished, became a key component of urban regeneration schemes and was, therefore, high on the local, regional and national agendas designed to revitalise fragile and decaying urban centres. However, revealing the historic significance of place and managing change does not secure regeneration; a sustainable urban renaissance was only possible where people and businesses could be attracted into a revitalised area. That in turn was dependent upon the ability of the agents of change to seduce investors and city users and to lure them into the revitalising area.

This manipulation relied heavily on a coherent marketing strategy for a particular location that appealed to targeted groups and had a defined selling point designed to raise the profile and improve the image of a place. One way of achieving this, as illustrated by the case studies, was to use and abuse the historic environment by commodifying it. In depressed areas the historic environment held little if any contemporary value; by definition, depressed urban areas were in desperate need of regeneration, as the demolition of the Liberty Building proved. Rather, contemporary value was invested in the historic urban environment when history could be marketed; that is, when historic place was commodified in ways that offered a local distinctiveness that could be repackaged and sold to interested parties such as apartment dwellers, footloose

companies, the creative industries and the night-time economy. Place making was thus an active process; it mediated past memories of both the city and the person through changes to the historic environment but crucially also regulated the future memories of the city and the individual. In so doing, the process added yet another layer of development as incomers – residents, organisations, businesses - made new memories in a revitalised area. For actors to invest capital in an area, both human and financial, there needs to be another facet to place making.

Whereas the previous chapters were concerned with recognising historic significance and managing change to regulate the extent to which the historic environment could have a contemporary purpose, this chapter analyses the methods employed by planners and policy-makers to ensure their vision was supported by both human and capital investment. This was heavily geared towards attracting the creative classes and the service sector industries as the information revolution gathered pace at the end of the 1980s and into the 1990s in Britain and France. This was achieved by finding a unique selling point (USP) that the dominant actors believed gave place distinctiveness. Ashworth and Voogd believed that 'a place can only be commodified by means of rigorous selection from its many characteristics'[1] and it is this conscious selection that mediates past and future memories of the city since it determines both the extent of retention and demolition and the nature of memories associated with the revitalised urban area. The 'makeover' was no cosmetic layer but a conscious surgical reconstruction. The conscious transformation of history into heritage[2] by the decision makers as revealed through their marketing strategies designed to fuse past, present and future memories forms the next element of this chapter, in conjunction with a discussion turns of how the agents of change implemented the dominant ideal and image of the city.

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[1] G.J. Ashworth, and H. Voogd, *Selling the City: Marketing Approaches in Public Sector Urban Planning*, London, 1990, p. 77

[2] This returns to the original definition of heritage outlined on page 6 of chapter 1 in which heritage was defined as those elements of the past that are perceived to attract people and investment, or rather a marketable commodity.

Strategies

Selling the city, marketing place, civic boosterism and place promotion are all entrenched academic themes of exploration, and even of exploitation. [3] This literature is explored in the case of Castlefield, Motte-Bossut and Liberty by illustrating differences in the way that local, regional and national actors from the public, private, and crucially in the case of Castlefield, from the voluntary sector sold and marketed a place in order to allow the historic environment, be it through retention or demolition to direct the urban future of Manchester, Roubaix and Leicester. The cross cultural analysis attempted in this study considers the interaction of history and heritage insofar as it contributes towards the construction of a marketable image of a place. In undertaking this at a cross-cultural level, the study provides perspectives not normally present in existing research which is conventionally located in a particular place and in a specific cultural milieu.

The misrepresentation of history in order to secure a particular outcome is encapsulated in the demolition of the Liberty building. The case illustrates how history could not be transformed into heritage; the historical legacy was perceived to be a hindrance and an insurmountable obstacle to marketing place. Furthermore, in each case study a clear marketing strategy that related to the contemporary needs of the urban centre was identified thereby highlighting that past, present and future were joined through the conscious transformation of history into heritage by the key agencies. As shown throughout the thesis, a historic building can only be valued and invested with meaning if the key actors perceive it as a social, economic, cultural or political asset. As previous chapters have illustrated this is conditioned by urban needs, working practices, the legislative framework, the availability of funding and the remit of the agencies involved. Context was so crucial in relation to the transformation of history into heritage. The Liberty Building proved that historical significance in the form of listed building status did not automatically ensure the building assumed either a

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[3] S.V. Ward, *Selling Places, the Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities, 1850-2000*, London, 1998; G. Kearns and C. Philo, *Selling Places, The City as Cultural Capital Past and Present,* Oxford, 1993; G.J. Ashworth and H. Voogd, *Selling the City*, 1990; L. Swales in G. Haughton and D. Whitney, *Reinventing a Region, Restructuring in West Yorkshire*, Aldershot, 1994; J.R. Short (et al), Reconstructing the Image of an Industrial City, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol.83, No.2, 1993, pp. 207-24

universal value or contemporary relevance. Consequently marketing place by manipulating history resulted in a better focus in order to provide a unique selling point in terms of the contemporary value of a building or an area. This also served to embed the dominant construction of place.

In the United States, Holcomb noted that the marketing of places was transformed from an activity which was 'essentially amateur, meaning that places were extolled by local enthusiasts, to an increasingly professionalised and costly and competitive process extolling the virtues of a site'.[4] This transition can be clearly seen in the renaissance of Castlefield though not in that of Leicester or Roubaix, where the process was resolutely top-down and conducted only by professionals. Selling and marketing place both amount to a form of place promotion or civic boosterism but Schudson distinguishes between them, noting that 'selling is trying to get the consumer to buy what you have', whereas marketing is 'trying to have what the consumer wants'.[5] Schudson's definition parallels Holcomb's recognition of the change in how places were promoted. The switch to marketing in Schudson's definition reflected the wider social transformations associated with the switch from a de-industrialised economy to a service sector economy. Economic transformation was matched by a large-scale change in society whereby 'personal quaternary services…which satisfy the individual's needs for entertainment, education culture and the like' became an increasingly important component of urban life.[6] These societal and economic transformations were clearly evident in the marketing of Castlefield as a mixed-use area, Motte-Bossut whose new use was both cultural and hi-tech, and Liberty's replacement, which served as university student accommodation. The three case studies thus fulfil the entertainment, education, and cultural uses that Ashworth and Voogd explored.

Applying Holcomb's and Schudson's definitions to Castlefield there were discernible traces of selling place by local topophiles from 1970 to 1983 and marketing place by a government quango charged with reversing Manchester's

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[4] Holcomb in Kearns and Philo, *Selling Places,* 1993, p. 133

[5] Schudson in Ibid, p. 134

[6] Ashworth and Voogd, *Selling the City*, 1990, p. 2

inner city decline between 1988 and 1996.[7] Selling and marketing were not mutually exclusive; in this case they were sequential. The potential of the historic environment was used as the basis from which to sell and then to market the area. During the early period of the area's revitalisation (1970 to 1983) when both Liverpool Road Station as well as the wider Castlefield area were brought to the attention of Greater Manchester Council and Manchester City Council, the area was 'sold', to use Schudson's definition. As revealed in chapter 4, the campaigns of local historians to celebrate the 148th, 149th and 150th birthdays of the foundation of Liverpool Road Station were an integral component of 'trying to get the consumer to buy what you have'.[8] This period witnessed a concerted effort to raise the profile of the area and to allow the general public as well as the official actors on the County and City Council levels to appreciate what the area had to offer. Indeed, as Central Manchester Development Corporation later recognised

> over the last decade and principally in the last five years, the primary promotional objective of Castlefield Urban Heritage Park has been to create awareness of the area, to awaken interest and stimulate support for the considerable amount of physical improvement which has been undertaken.[9]

The work of local historians in saving the Station from demolition was quintessentially that of 'selling place' – to attract people to the existing assets within an area.

As defined by Hall's 'cultural circuit' discussed in chapter 4, meanings change from one culture or period to another.[10] The introduction of an Urban Development Corporation in Central Manchester in 1988 exposed this change of meaning as the marketing strategy expanded the focus on tourism to include residential, working and leisure facilities. This transition was facilitated through the creation of a government quango in 1988 as discussed in the previous chapter. Central Manchester Development Corporation (CMDC) adopted a

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[7] The first set of dates refers to the first organised action by local historians to raise the profile of Castlefield and the opening of the Museum of Science and Industry. The second set of dates (1988 - 96) refers to the Central Manchester Development Corporation era.

[8] Schudson in Kearns and Philo, *Selling Places,* 1993, p. 134

[9] L&R Leisure, *Castlefield Area Management Initiative, Report for Consultation*, August 1990, Manchester, point 402

[10] S. Hall (ed), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London, 1997, p. 61

coherent, holistic approach to physical regeneration based on the framework of national policy goals. Their desire to create a marketable place identity reflected not only the severity of inner city decline associated with reduced opportunity and a degraded identity for the area, but was also a measure of confidence in the power of the market to repair the urban condition. Furthermore, the emphasis placed on creating this marketable identity revealed both the local and national condition of the late 1980s. The concerted marketing of Castlefield based on the 'unique historic fabric'[11] therefore commenced with the creation of CMDC. This was expressed by their development strategy which stated that 'it is now becoming increasingly beneficial to provide the visitor markets with a more direct call to action: providing direct channels of contact and specific sales promotions for individual Castlefield products and services to their target markets'.[12] The re-use of Castlefield's industrial heritage as bars, restaurants, luxury apartments, recording studios, offices and radio stations illustrated both the type of product that CMDC were trying to market and the demographic profile that they wanted to attract into Castlefield. As was to be expected, the ultimate end use of the historic buildings supported the aims of the marketing strategy which were to attract new people and investment into the area. Moreover, the end result also highlighted how the unique selling point was designed to, and indeed did, secure a sanitised and simplified urban image and place based on marketing an urban lifestyle.

Marketing Castlefield in a prolonged, focussed way was also motivated by a local desire to raise the profile and image of the city centre as a whole. The productive working relations established between Manchester City Council and the Development Corporation (see chapter 5) were again in evidence here based on both a conscious desire to elevate Manchester's position amongst British and European cities and to counteract the consequences associated with the contraction of manufacturing industry. CMDC supported these aims and indeed used their financial capability to pump-prime them as part of their desire to raise the international profile of Manchester. It was a further example of the close correlation of local and national goals, and the symbiotic relationship of Manchester City Council and Central Manchester Development Corporation.

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[11] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Castlefield Development Guidelines*, Manchester, August 1989, p. 3

[12] L&R Leisure, *Report for Consultation*, August 1990, point 4.02

Central Manchester Development Corporation used various mediums to promote and market their work to their major target groups of 'developers, investors and in-moving companies'.[13] For example, CMDC hired a public relations and design company and through this used both a blanket and targeted approach. The former saw the Corporation's logo placed on the side of taxis and the Metrolink, the windows of their central offices used as a platform to exhibit their projects and aims, and cooperation with the local media so that news of the Corporation's work was reported. This also ensured that they could advertise their plans in the local and national press. A targeted marketing approach was also adopted whereby property showcases were held and questionnaires were sent out to target groups and this approach yielded 760 enquiries in the first year CMDC was operative.[14] CMDC's marketing strategy based at its core a single selling point: the inextricable nature of past, present and future as illustrated by their statement that 'the area's history is its potential'.[15]

The marketing of the Liberty Building stood in stark contrast to those strategies pursued in Castlefield. There was no evidence of 'selling' either Liberty by local topophiles, to use Holcomb's definition, as both the economic and political climate had radically altered. Market forces superseded public and voluntary sector involvement. The ethos of City Challenge (1993-98) as discussed in chapter 5 implanted a spirit of competitiveness in Leicester, as the very definition of City Challenge required that local authorities to compete against each other to win funds from central government. This spirit mirrored Holcomb's findings in North America where professional competition replaced the work of local enthusiasts. The Liberty saga spanned the Thatcher, Major and Blair governments and the Conservative belief in the free market which was adopted by the incoming New Labour government further supported the position of the private investor. The escalating debate over the building's future reached its critical point during 2001 to 2002, and was thus tied to New Labour's urban regeneration goals, as illustrated by the newly created Leicester Regeneration Company, analysed later in the chapter. Furthermore, whereas there was an explicit and bold marketing strategy in place to propel the regeneration of

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[13] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Annual Report 1989-90*, Manchester, p. 13

[14] Ibid

[15] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *The Waterways Guide,* August 1989, Manchester, p. 58

Castlefield and the re-use of the area's industrial buildings, there was considerable dispute over the existence of any form of marketing strategy for the re-use of the Liberty Building.

Marketing Liberty was shrouded in contention and controversy. The continuing dispute over Liberty's future and thus of ascribing it contemporary value was fuelled by the belief of English Heritage that Cassidy Developers had not marketed the Liberty Building adequately. There was initial disagreement over whether the building even needed to be marketed

> we suggest that the building should be actively and thoroughly marketed for a period, at a realistic price, to assess the likelihood of an alternative user being found. This should be on the basis of a detailed planning brief, to be agreed by Leicester City Council and ourselves (English Heritage), setting out the uses or mix of uses that would maximise value and returns across the site.[16]

Cassidy Developments, incredulous that this action was needed, rebutted this statement

> we still cannot understand how you can believe it is possible to market a building that loses an immense amount of money due to the costs of the concrete repairs required. We have proven through our in-depth cost reports that income compared to expenditure when including the £2.5 million cost for the structural repairs results in a loss of some £2.3 million when creating loft apartments and £3.9 million when included within a student residential scheme. We hope your present stance on marketing is not just a smoke screen to delay the inevitable.[17]

This stern line adopted by Cassidy's in this letter reflected the personal battle waged between the key personalities within each agency involved in the decision-making. Further examples were evident in exchanges between Cassidy and English Heritage: (Developer A) 'believe this to be what can only be viewed as a faint hearted attempt by English Heritage (Officer A) to save face'[18] and also in letters to Leicester City Council where Cassidy's stated that they were 'frustrated with English Heritage's illogical stance'.[19] Liberty's future, therefore, became a pulsating dispute between both personalities and agencies as letters adopting an unrelenting position were frequently exchanged between the key

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[16] Letter from English Heritage to Leicester City Council, 2 July 2001

[17] Letter from Cassidy Developments to English Heritage, 27 July 2001

[18] Letter from Cassidy Developments to Leicester City Council, 25 October 2001

[19] Letter from Cassidy Developments to Leicester City Council, 7 December 2001

personalities working to the wider framework of their agency. There was never, at any time, any common ground shared by the agencies involved marketing of the Liberty Building. This contrasted to Castlefield and Motte-Bossut where there was clear evidence of a common goal and a shared awareness of how the historic environment could be marketed to secure an urban renaissance and thus how its historic significance could be transformed into contemporary relevance.

Forced to market a building that was in Cassidy's opinion economically unviable, the development company employed Strutt & Parker[20] to investigate the potential market for the building. Strutt & Parker focussed on the location and property details as the main selling points but revealingly put location first, emphasising that 'Leicester is a major regional centre well positioned to the M1 and M69 motorways'.[21] In the property section the report stated that the 'building was in a very dilapidated state having remained vacant for more than ten years with the consequent lack of investment and subsequent vandalism'.[22] The negative aspects of Liberty were emphasised rather its potential for re-use. Strutt & Parker also included the development appraisals already carried out by Concept Project Management and Bridgewater & Coulton on behalf of Cassidy Developments which outlined a minimum £3 million loss with an adaptive re-use scheme. These appraisals were used by Strutt & Parker who had never 'internally inspected or measured any of the buildings' but still concluded that 'the loss indicated by the appraisals evidently demonstrate that the existing building is in such an advanced state of dilapidation that it would not be a viable project to undertake as a refurbishment opportunity for any use'.[23] This was a view supported by the

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[20] Estate Agents and Local Developers in Leicester

[21] Outline Proposal sent by Strutt & Parker to Cassidy Developments, 10 October 2001

[22] Ibid

[23] Ibid

Chief Executive of Leicester Regeneration Company (LRC) in 2001[24] who stated that 'the marketing of the Liberty Building as advocated by English Heritage is a complete waste of time and money'.[25] This was yet a further example of the hostile approach taken by agencies and personalities towards each other which was evident at every stage: recognising Liberty, managing its potential re-use and marketing the former factory.

The controversy continued. Strutt & Parker believed that the building was past its useful life, a viewpoint that contrasted with English Heritage's belief that 'the building is nearing the end of its life…but these next couple of years may be crucial for yet another scheme to come forward and for a new use of the building to emerge'.[26] Despite Strutt & Parker's ominous findings, English Heritage still commissioned a marketing campaign at 'substantial costs to ourselves (Cassidy Developments)'[27], a campaign that was the subject of further dispute between English Heritage and Cassidy Developments over the length of time that Liberty should be marketed. Eventually after much discussion a period of two weeks was agreed by all agencies, a marked difference from the nine months initially requested by English Heritage. Compromise was also reached on the type of marketing proposal to be forwarded to the targeted groups as English Heritage requested that the 'details of the site were offered up without the loss-making schemes already designed and costed by Cassidy Developments', and there was an accompanying statement that Leicester City Council were willing to consider any 'applications for planning permission for substantial development as

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[24] The newly created Regeneration Company, a New Labour invention designed to 'provide added impetus and focus for the delivery of a core series of physical development projects, which – allied with other regeneration and community activities – set out to attract inward investment, address deprivation, create economic activity and reverse the process of decline' introduced another player into the marketing debate cited from the Office for the Deputy Prime Minister, *URC's: Guidance and Qualification Criteria*, London, 2004, p. 6. The LRC needed to attract inward investment and consequently put pressure on LCC to resolve the Liberty saga. Their position was summed up in a hostile letter to Leicester City Council: 'in short unless you can mount a meaningful challenge the repair and conversion costs and need for periodic checks/repairs, you will lose. This will not only be a waste of both public time and money, but it will send out all the wrong signals to the market and we shall finish up with a pretty awful building. I am sure my board will not be at all happy' cited from Letter from Leicester Regeneration Company to Leicester City Council, 11 September 2001

[25] Letter from Leicester Regeneration Company to Leicester City Council, 11 September 2001

[26] Letter from English Heritage to Cassidy Developments, 2 July 2001

[27] Letter from Cassidy Developments to Leicester City Council, 25 October 2001

long as the building was not completely demolished'. [28] This compromise revealed the politically and locally sensitive position of Liberty. Leicester City Council was under pressure from both the public and private sector at a local, regional and national scale, and was also aware of the affection for the Liberty Building that many Leicester residents expressed during the wrangle over the building's future. From the correspondence, the City Council appeared to become a mediator rather than a key player in Liberty's future, in direct contrast to Manchester City Council. LCC was unable to demand the upkeep of the building due to the problems surrounding urgent works notices, as discussed in the previous chapter, and indeed there were ideological divisions within the Council between the Conservation and Planning and Urban Design departments. The Conservation department was intent on keeping the building due to their ideological beliefs concerning the importance of history, whereas Planning and Urban Design were forced to adopt a more pragmatic approach to the building's future and to consider the benefits of demolition for Leicester's wider regeneration strategy.

In the context of marketing the Liberty Building, Planning Policy Guidelines 15 (PPG 15) regulations demand that the building is adequately marketed. These PPG 15 requirements introduced another contentious element and further added to the frustrations of the developers and provided yet another example of how history was perceived as a hindrance to private investors. Cassidy Developers quickly satisfied these criteria but English Heritage still retained misgivings as to whether the spirit of PPG 15 had been met. [29] In terms of marketing Cassidy Developments successfully met the criteria by stating that

> the building has been openly marketed over the past ten years, hence the six owners to date and endless list of developers who have enquired and proposed schemes to date, in fact five agents have been dealing with its acquisition and development in the past twelve months alone. [30]

English Heritage noted that despite the fact that 'there was evidence that twenty-five developers had been approached by Lambert Smith Hampton about the building…it is questionable whether Lambert Smith Hampton encouraged a fresh

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[28] Ibid

[29] English Heritage, Memorandum, 12 February 2002, point 3.4

[30] PPG 15 Liberty Building, point 3.19

approach to marketing the property'.[31] English Heritage's reservations over the spirit of PPG 15 were further entrenched when Lambert Smith Hampton [32] revealed that

> Choice Circle Ltd., for example, was initially interested and requested further information. Still appraised of the financial implications of the proposed scheme, Ken Evans of Choice Circle withdrew his interest. This is significant because it was not up to the applicants to offer a proposed scheme to potential purchasers. It therefore seems clear that Lambert Smith Hampton were supplying those who expressed information that may well have reduced, rather than encouraged, their interest on the site.[33]

The dispute between English Heritage, Cassidy Developments, Leicester City Council and the Leicester Regeneration Company encapsulated tensions and disputes between the different agencies and personalities involved in redevelopment, especially where they concerned whether to retain or demolish a Grade II listed building. Each agency had a different motive as revealed by an email from Strutt & Parker to Cassidy Developments which stated that they were

> surprised at the naivety shown by English Heritage and the Local Planning Authority in requesting at what point the development would break even. This alludes to the possibility that you are interested in developing the property for your enjoyment and for the benefit of Leicester and are happy to do so with no profit for the risk being taken![34]

The different angles from which each agency approached the marketing of the Liberty Building saw a complete absence of an agreed goal and an argumentative, belligerent atmosphere and ensured the continuing deterioration of the building whose demolition was assured when it became a health and public safety risk.[35] The contemporary purpose of the historic building was therefore a contentious issue. This of course was closely linked to profit. Certain prerequisites that were essential in order to re-use the site were not forthcoming as the previous chapter revealed. Although there was no fundamental disagreement over the contemporary relevance there was over the costs and risks of refurbishing the Liberty Building and it was these preoccupations that

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[31] Ibid

[32] A second agent appointed by Cassidy Developments to market the building

[33] English Heritage, Memorandum, 12 February 2002, point 3.4

[34] Email from Strutt & Parker to Cassidy Developments and HB Architects, 29 November 2001

[35] Planning Application 20010571 for demolition of the Liberty Building submitted 9 April 2001

affected the desire to market the Liberty Building and clouded the contemporary value of the former factory.

The debate between English Heritage, Cassidy Developments, Leicester City Council and Leicester Regeneration Company therefore raged until the building was finally demolished in 2002. This controversy however revealed how history can be perceived as a barrier to implementing a positive marketing strategy and also how in the absence of an agreed goal historic buildings can deteriorate beyond the past of economic repair. In Castlefield and Roubaix the common acceptance that the fusion of past, present and future through adaptive re-use could secure an urban renaissance was reflected by the unique selling point. By contrast in Leicester the lack of shared goals and a common appreciation[36] of how this historic building could add contemporary value to the surrounding area led to the failure to use this fusion to market the building which in turn secured Liberty's further deterioration to demolition.

The marketing strategy in Roubaix differed significantly from those of both Castlefield and Liberty. In Castlefield the need to attract people into the area and to find new uses for old buildings was paramount; in Leicester the priority was to find an investor willing to gamble on re-using a deteriorating historic building. In Roubaix, by contrast, it was necessary to project the new use of the building to re-present Roubaix's image as pioneering, innovative and successful and this is where the strategy objectives merged. Attracting people and investment were the main goals of Motte-Bossut, Castlefield and Liberty. Roubaix was, however, one step ahead of Castlefield and Leicester in terms of finding a new use for the historic building since Motte-Bossut was given a new use by the State in the form of CAMT in the context of the *Grand Projets* and Eurotéléport, part of Mitterrand's objective to make France the premier European base for telecommunications (see chapter 5). The priority was to ensure the success of the two projects and to attract new investors into the wider Roubaix area. The future of Roubaix's tertiary sector was staked on the success of CAMT and Eurotéléport. These two developments were the catalysts to attract further tertiary sector investment into Roubaix. André Diligent's editorial for the Guide to Eurotéléport expressed this point as he articulated his hope for an

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[36] Arguably a larger site or multi-sites, as at Castlefield would have secured an earlier intervention in the case of the Liberty Building.

Entrepreneurial Club to be attracted to Roubaix as a result of Eurotéléport.[37] To achieve this national and local government as well as SARI circulated material that explained the building's new use. Finally, the strategy also focussed on how CAMT and Eurotéléport would contribute to the commune, the métropole, the région and the nation. Using the analogy of an airport, the promotional material illustrated how Motte-Bossut would coordinate the dissemination of international telecommunications networks and thus influence a wider area than just Roubaix.[38] This again linked to Castlefield and the work of Greater Manchester County Council in converting Liverpool Road Station into a museum that would benefit the wider region (see chapter 4). This issue of wider relevance was integral to the decision-making process of urban actors in both Roubaix and Castlefield.

The evidence of a coherent and wider ranging regeneration strategy, as previously discussed was again evident in Roubaix. The absence of this broader view in Leicester ensured that both the marketing strategy and common goals were unaligned. Although the emphasis in the marketing strategies differed in Castlefield and Motte-Bossut both still used history to raise the profile of an area and to attract people and investment. History became the unique selling point in both places.

The various promotional materials distributed by the public and private sector actors involved in the re-use of Motte-Bossut included guides to the developments, brochures showcasing their work, trips abroad most notably to America and Japan, newspaper articles in national newspapers (*Le Monde, Le Figaro*) and local newspapers (*La Voix du Nord, Les Echos, Nord Matin, Nord Eclair*) and through signposting. However, the degree of promotional work was on a lesser scale than that witnessed in Castlefield since the building was assigned a use by the State in the *Grand Projets* programme. The published

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[37] 'Ainsi le Maire de Roubaix a-t-il des raisons particulières de se réjouir de l'activité du 'Club des Entrepreneurs' qui s'est créée autour de l'Eurotéléport', SARI, *Eurotéléport Roubaix: Le Guide*, Roubaix, no date, p. 1

[38] 'Comme le port de Dunkerque ou l'aéroport Lesquin, l'Eurotéléport de Roubaix reçoit et expédie, distribue et concentre de la marchandise: une émission de télévision est captée via satellite et distribuée chez les clients du câblo-opérateur Région Câble ; des hommes d'affaires dialoguent, par visioconférences entre Roubaix et New York, entre Roubaix et Tokyo. La cargaison est extrêmement légère mais sa valeur peut être inestimable. Avec une station terrienne et l'accès aux satellites, le téléport est un interface multiple qui permet la communication planétaire.' Ibid, p. 2

material revealed this emphasis on fusing past and present that was so explicit in Castlefield.

Unique Selling Points

In each case study there was a unique selling point that offered an insight into the future direction of historic place desired by the agents of change. This differed between the case studies. In Castlefield the emphasis was placed by CMDC and Manchester City Council on the connection between past and future: a dynamic that was inseparable in the eyes of both the quango and local government. As a result of this strategy there was a duality to the role of the historic environment in Castlefield; the buildings were recognised for what they represented both in terms of the human characteristics that ensured Manchester's place as the first industrial city in the nineteenth century as well as their potential new uses for the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. There was also a distinct European outlook in Castlefield's development, not least with the influx of European Regional Development Funds but also with the use of the existing space to both cater for, and align with, a European market. The unique selling point, therefore, became the fusion of past and present and was designed to secure a better position for Manchester both nationally and internationally. The process was similar with Motte-Bossut yet the unique selling point of the connection between past and future was more heavily tied to developing a European focus within the Lille métropole. Indeed, whereas in Castlefield the European outlook was important, it did not drive the policy as it did with the re-use of Motte-Bossut as Eurotéléport. The time and space trajectory was important in the marketing strategies for both Castlefield and Motte-Bossut since the introduction of the European Single Market in 1992, the completion of the Channel Tunnel in 1994, and the formation of an integrated hi-tech tertiary sector within Europe during the late 1980s and early 1990s all influenced the geographical focus of the unique selling point that Motte-Bossut represented. At all stages of the re-use of Castlefield and Motte-Bossut there was a defined and explicit awareness of how the distinctive character of their historic environment could facilitate regeneration on a wider scale than just that of restoration of an individual building. It was something Liberty markedly failed to recognise. Restoring and re-using a historic building assumed a contemporary value because its new use could be moulded to fit with local, regional, national and European agendas.

This narrower and more local focus in Leicester ensured that any perception of potential and therefore value lay with the site rather than the building and indeed it was the land that became the main selling point for the private developers. The expansion of Leicester and DeMontfort Universities, both located less than one mile from Liberty, ensured that the site was perceived to be ripe for redevelopment as student accommodation, a use with returns acknowledged to bring in less profit than luxury apartments and more limited multiplier-effects except at the local level. With Liberty, unlike Castlefield and Motte-Bossut, there was a rejection of the past. There was little need to enhance local distinctiveness in the form of expensively rehabilitating a crumbling historic building in a plan that was not competing for European money or even had a focus beyond the universities. Prestige was a lesser concern to a development that was functional rather than expressive, as was the case with Castlefield and Motte-Bossut. However, despite this there was not an absolute rejection of the past. This revealed the depth of local attachment to Liberty as well as the dissonance between the agencies. The incorporation of the unlisted but symbolically laden replica Statue of Liberty in the marketing strategy was a clear indication of how the dominant actors viewed the historic significance of the site: the statue was used as a bargaining tool to pacify those who were attached to it. Within this there is a need to theoretically examine the role of symbolism in obscuring history – which was the identification point, the Grade II listed building or the unlisted Statue and to what extent did this hinder the restoration of the building? These themes will be discussed later in the chapter. The following analysis will illustrate how history, when transformed into heritage, was used as both a positive marketing tool and how history in the form of a redundant, decayed building was perceived to be a hindrance for marketing strategies.

Promoting Past and Present

From the outset the Development Corporation recognised Castlefield's historic significance, as illustrated in the development guidelines (1989) which acknowledged that

> important chapters in Manchester's history are recorded in Castlefield's architecture and urban development pattern. The historic significance of the Castlefield area, its built environment and artefacts, represent an opportunity which cannot be replicated or recreated. These elements are invaluable in creating a design theme for Castlefield, a recognisable and marketable identity.[39]

There was therefore an explicit desire to capitalise on the uniqueness of the area and use the area's historical significance as a marketing device. This was supported by the Corporation's desire to 'ensure that wherever possible, Manchester's fine Victorian and Edwardian architecture is conserved, yet brought into twentieth-century use'.[40] The Development Corporation viewed these existing assets as potential economic resources to secure grants and loans for 'viable projects that were otherwise difficult to start'.[41] CMDC's area was split into six sub-sections south of Manchester city centre and its varied urban landscape was peppered with vacant land and derelict buildings which thus provided opportunities for both new buildings and restoration. The fusion of old and new was achieved with the focus on the historic buildings but also with Central Manchester Development Corporation's plans to 'encourage exciting new schemes that will make a new architectural statement'.[42] This ensured that a wide variety of developers were brought into Manchester and past, present and future was once again fused. CMDC's emphasis on attracting inward investment was reflected by the £1.1 million that they spent on promotion and publicity in the financial year 1992-93.[43] Between 1988 and 1996, CMDC invested almost £8 million on key projects in Castlefield such as Merchant's Warehouse, Castlefield Hotel and the Castle Quay housing development. This £8 million contributed to

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[39] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Development Guidelines*, August 1989, p.1

[40] This was not always the case as the demolition of Havelock Mills to accommodate the new flagship Bridgewater Hall illustrated. Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Annual Report 1989-90*, p. 2

[41] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Annual Report 1991-92,* Manchester, p. 9

[42] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Annual Report 1989-90*, p. 2

[43] This equated to 6.4 per cent of their entire budget. S.V. Ward, *Selling Places*, 1998, p. 198

the £62.2 million of total investment that was spent on the built environment in Castlefield – thus illustrating the substantial economic resources CMDC were able to both attract and exploit.[44] The economic capability of CMDC to restore and build anew far outweighed anything experienced with Motte-Bossut and Liberty and ensured that CMDC's focus on finding and marketing a local distinctiveness based on the fusion of past and present was realised by the significant public and private sector resources available to CMDC.

Furthermore, the Development Corporation did not just view the historic structures as an economic resource to capitalise on; they also made reference to the character and spirit of the city as represented by the industrial historic environment. CMDC evoked memories of an era of success and innovation and promoted the human qualities that had secured Manchester's wealth

> Manchester was at the forefront of the industrial revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was the first Industrial City. It was a city rich in ideas and with the people possessing the initiative, drive and determination to turn those ideas into reality. The legacy of the invention, prosperity and confidence of this period of bold growth remains: canals, railways, mills, warehouses and offices.[45]

In this sense CMDC fused the urban landscape with desirable human characteristics – the body and the city could not be untangled. This fusion of past, present and future was also expressed through metaphorical relations between the personalities of Manchester in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries: 'Manchester's textile manufacturers stamped their personalities on the great warehouse in the Whitworth 'village' (adjacent to Castlefield) and new Mancunians can do the same'.[46] This attitude was taken one step further with the invasion of Urban Splash[47] into Castlefield at the end of the 1990s. Buyers were able to 'stamp their personalities' on their apartments in the Box Works development which combined a converted warehouse with a new building. Each shell came with water and electricity, and the buyer then created the interior to their own specification in yet another indication of an innovative tradition evident

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[44] All figures calculated from Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Eight Years of Achievement*, 1996, pp. 42-43

[45] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Strategy for Consultation*, 1989, point 1.1

[46] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Eight Years of Achievement*, 1996, p. 14

[47] Property developers who specialise in the conversion of industrial and derelict buildings.

in Manchester. The 'presence of the fine old buildings' provided a 'reminder of the time when the city and the region were creating the majority of the wealth of the country'.[48] These were exactly the type of characteristics that CMDC sought to attract to Manchester to secure its renaissance. The use of a marketing strategy that highlighted both the human spirit and economic potential of historic buildings illustrated the importance placed on the existing capital stock during CMDC's eight years in charge of securing an urban renaissance and embedding Manchester as an emerging international city. CMDC therefore selected certain aspects of Manchester's past in order to improve the urban future.

This fusion of past and present theme which has run throughout the thesis was again apparent in the re-use of the Motte-Bossut factory as both the Centre des Archives de Monde du Travail and Eurotéléport. Indeed a brochure produced by SARI[49] illustrated how the new use would further associate innovation with the commune

> des drapiers du Moyen-âge, les Roubaisiens ont conservé la fibre marchande. Ses industriels, rompus au commerce international, s'approvisionnent aux quatre coins du monde et vendent leurs produits sur les cinq continents. Un tempérament de pionnier et un sens d'innovation, toujours intact.[50]

Furthermore, in another brochure produced by SARI and in conjunction with the Ville de Roubaix there was, as in Castlefield, an overt reference to the potential of the past to promote the prosperous future of a previously depressed urban centre. This brochure stated that Motte-Bossut was a 'grand chateaux de l'industrie' of which there were not many of comparable quality left. Moreover, SARI illustrated the physical dominance of the building, and its advantageous

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[48] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *The Waterways Guide*, 1989, p. 10

[49] France's largest office developers and the private company overseeing the building's transformation Roubaix's historic position

[50] SARI, *Eurotéléport: Cite Internationale des Affaires*, Roubaix, no date, p. 6

location ensured that Motte-Bossut was a 'symbole visible du Roubaix prospère' and as such it represented both the Roubaix of yesterday and of tomorrow.[51]

The use of past successes as a platform to promote the potential of an urban centre was explicit in both Castlefield and Motte-Bossut. The relationship between the two urban centres was expressed by the promotional material which highlighted both Roubaix's and, revealingly, Manchester's historical success. One of the brochures produced by SARI and the Ville de Roubaix revisited the halcyon years of industrial Roubaix when the commune was known as the 'ville aux mille cheminées', each one attesting to the success of the wool and cotton industries. However, the authors went one step further to call Roubaix 'la Manchester du Nord' in respect of Manchester's nineteenth-century achievements and position as the world's first industrial city. From the point of view of the case studies it is revealing that the actors producing the promotional literature for Eurotéléport chose to associate with another declining but previously important industrial city. This conscious alignment may also point at the desire of the proponents of Eurotéléport's to align with Manchester's upturn in fortunes. This time-space trajectory was again important as Eurotéléport and Manchester's Olympic Bid ran parallel to one another; indeed, the formation of the Manchester Olympic Bid Committee in 1985 came during the rehabilitation work for Motte-Bossut's conversion into Eurotéléport. The fact that the traditionally industrial city of Manchester which had also undergone dramatic contraction in the manufacturing sector could mount a credible Olympic Bid was a boon to the Ville de Roubaix who was also gambling on establishing an international reputation to reverse the urban decline experienced in the commune. The power of association, therefore, was perceived by the main actors to be an undeniable boon to securing Roubaix's regeneration.

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[51]'De cette splendeur en grande partie révolue, il ne reste que quelques 'châteaux de l'industrie'. L'exemple type de cas usines aux chenaux crénelés, c'est l'usine Motte-Bossut. L'ancienne usine Motte-Bossut (qui cessa activité en 1981) est devenue le symbole visible du Roubaix prospère. En arrivant dans la cité de la Laine par Lille, la première chose que l'on voit en effet dans la perspective du boulevard Leclerc, ce sont les deux tours et la cheminée crénelée de cette usine château. La silhouette d'origine de celle qu'on nommait à l'époque 'l'usine-monstre' a été admirablement préservée dans le projet architectural. Le monument emblématique du Roubaix d'hier est devenu celui du Roubaix de demain. C'est lui qui abrite l'Eurotéléport.' Cited in SARI, *L'Eurotéléport, Les Outils de la Communication dans un Pôle Régional*, Roubaix, no date, p. 4

Whereas in Castlefield and Roubaix the fusion of past and present was viewed by the 1980s as the area's potential, Cassidy Developments, Leicester Regeneration Company and eventually Leicester City Council perceived the Liberty Building's historic status to be the cause of the problem and a major barrier to its re-use. Liberty's Hennebique method of construction was an early example of a reinforced concrete frame, which over time had deteriorated to the extent that a concrete cancer had spread throughout the building. Expensive Cathodic Protection systems were able to repair this problem but even with this treatment the building was still required to be tested at twelve year intervals. The historic construction of the building was perceived to be a hindrance to regeneration plans since Liberty was expensive and produced a negative impact on the urban landscape due to its deteriorating external and internal condition. Indeed, Strutt & Parker suggested to Cassidy Developments that 'concentrating on the no warranty/unfundable situation'[52] would secure the demolition of the building. In other words focusing on the construction problems of the former factory would seal the building's fate. History in the form of the building stood condemned.

The Motivations of the Unique Selling Point

The primary motivation for marketing place was to improve the urban condition of Manchester and Roubaix and, in Leicester, to extract a profit from a crumbling building. However, outside this local focus the marketing strategies for Castlefield and Motte-Bossut focussed on an international dimension as expressed by Eurotéléport and the Olympics. These events were part of an integrated and conscious policy by local and central government that used the historic environment to create a local distinctiveness that could be combined with architecturally striking new buildings designed to embed the place of both Manchester and Roubaix in the European Union.

From the outset, CMDC's priority was to 'ensure the transformation of Manchester into a 21st century city on a par with the great provincial cities of Europe'.[53] This was followed up with CMDC's proclamation that Manchester was,

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[52] Email between Strut t& Parker and Cassidy Developments and HB Architects, 29 November 2001

[53] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Strategy for Consultation*, 1989, point 1.1

in 1990 a 'Major International City,'[54] a statement that was traced back to the nineteenth century when 'Manchester, through its role as the leading commercial centre of the industrial revolution developed links with many countries throughout the world'.[55] The Corporation were keen to stress this background and placed it into the context of 'the development of a Single European Market in 1992, the opening of the Channel Tunnel in 1993, and Manchester's position as Britain's nomination as host city for the 1996 Olympic Games'.[56] During this period, Manchester aimed to re-invent itself as a 24 hour, European city.

Castlefield's urban space was used to project a cosmopolitan image that was tied to the local history of the city. Associational value was also a marketing tool employed by Central Manchester Development Corporation in order to build hope, attract investment and above all ensure a sustainable renaissance as illustrated by Barca bar housed in Catalan Square – a reference to the thriving post-industrial culture in Barcelona created under the arches of a railway viaduct. This value of association was used in both Roubaix and Manchester during the 1980s and 1990s. CMDC therefore believed that 'the opportunities exist for Manchester to move from its pre-eminent national role as the capital of the North to establish itself as a major international city for business, tourism, sport and culture'.[57] Castlefield's revitalisation did not just save historic buildings from demolition in order to retain a piece of history, rather restoration was linked to a bigger, global picture that used the tradition of the city to re-define a role for Manchester on the international stage.

Two bids by Manchester to host the Olympics reflected this aim to become a global city. An Olympic Bid Committee was created in 1985 and developed two Olympic bids in the late 1980s and early 1990s both of which were unsuccessful. But the fact that the city had the self-belief to strive for a global event so soon after the contraction of its manufacturing industry and main economic base illustrated the importance of international recognition for the regeneration of Manchester. The bid announcement was made in Castlefield's new performance arena, thus highlighting Castlefield's centrality and importance to the image of

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[54] Ibid, point 3.0

[55] Ibid

[56] Ibid, point 3.2

[57] Ibid

Manchester as a whole. CMDC therefore marketed the industrial buildings as the key to securing Manchester's renaissance and facilitating its position as a pre-eminent global city once again. Moreover, the publicity gained by the bid for both Manchester and Castlefield was an undeniable boon in creating awareness of both the area and the regeneration plans.

Figure 21 Announcement of the Olympic Bid – the railway viaducts the obvious sign that this event was held in Castlefield
Source: CMDC Annual Report 1993-94, Manchester, 1994
Image removed pending copyright clarification

As explored in the previous chapter the decision to install Eurotéléport in Roubaix was related to a wider métropole policy that was designed to give the Lille métropole an influential role in the new economic heartland of the European Union. The Mayor of Lille and France's Prime Minister, Pierre Mauroy naturally wanted to improve the socio-economic position of Lille but crucially for Roubaix this was difficult to achieve whilst the neighbouring communes of Roubaix and Tourcoing were still heavily associated with a negative, industrial urban image. Therefore the renaissance of Roubaix cannot be seen without studying the context of the influence of the wider Lille métropole. Lille also mounted a credible bid for the Olympic Games in 1994 which in addition to the Eurostar and Euralille developments reiterated the overt international stance of this polycentric area with its three independent yet connected urban cores. With this in mind it was therefore unsurprising that SARI listed one of their main reasons for converting the Motte-Bossut factory into Eurotéléport in a promotional brochure was to develop Roubaix in order to take advantage of the Single Market in 1992. Eurotéléport had a dual role firstly to stimulate economic development in the region and, secondly, to open the area up towards Europe. [58] This again correlated with Castlefield[59] in the way that the use of the historic environment was part of a wider, broader policy designed to improve the fortunes of the region rather than just to find an arbitrary new use for an old building.

This idea of progression, of reversing Roubaix's industrial image and replacing it with a booming tertiary sector, was something that was evident under the previous Mayor, yet Victor Provo did not believe that the historic environment could facilitate a regenerative and progressive Roubaix. Provo, unlike André Diligent, believed that progress warranted the destruction of any visual sign of industry. However, Diligent whilst following the same progressive policy adopted

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[58] 'La région Nord-Pas-de-Calais située à la frontière Belge, et caractérisée par une forte dominante industrielle et marchande, constitue un pôle prioritaire de développement dans la perspective du Marché Unique de 1992. L'Eurotéléport permettra de faire converger et d'améliorer les possibilités de télécommunications des entreprises, tout en accélérant l'accès à des services de pointe. Il sera ainsi un agent de transformation et de développement de l'économie de cette région, et l'un des atouts principaux de son ouverture vers l'Europe.' Cited from SARI, *Eurotéléport: Cite Internationale des Affaires*, p. 17

[59] Whilst CMDC were intent on making Manchester an international city, they were also focussed on retaining the city's regional position. This was a long-term policy that stemmed from the City-Centre Local Plan, 1984 which stressed Manchester's role as a regional capital. CMDC took this position for granted and used Manchester's regional status to underpin their bid to become a major European city.

the opposite view due to the pressing need to diversify the economic base in ways that could both combine local distinctiveness but also embrace the European market. As such Diligent placed his faith in the newly listed building to force the revival of Roubaix and extended Provo's vision by adding a clear European dimension to his plans. This dimension incorporated an explicit acknowledgement of the wider context for regeneration. The adoption of a policy of seducing investors and city users demanded that risks be taken but also that the required steps were put in place to ensure that this risk was minimised. This was achieved in various ways in Castlefield and Motte-Bossut as the marketing policy was based on stability through the promotion of a completed and successful past. Moreover, spreading the net of seduction across Europe gave both Manchester and Roubaix the opportunity to secure a much larger portfolio of users and investors with access to greater funds than those drawn from a single country.

Whereas in Castlefield and Roubaix the historic built environment was utilised to fuse past and present, in Leicester the Liberty Building was surpassed by the statue in the affections of local residents and was also used by Cassidy Developments as the design and promotional theme around which their new building was based. The statue became the tool that was used to seduce and pacify local groups as it was a powerful component of Leicester's urban landscape – a symbol whose status was unmatched throughout the city and as such was held in high regard by the citizens of Leicester. Indeed 'everyone in Leicester knows where they are when they see the Liberty Building'[60] and this was because of the statue that adorned the rooftop. There were also more personal recollections of the power of the statue on the citizens of Leicester

> I remember the statue from before the Second World War. I served overseas in the Leicestershire Regiment during the war and the statue has always reminded me of when I came back to Leicester from the Army. We always looked up to the statue and it reminded us of what Leicester was like and what we were fighting for. We've known it as a landmark for many years.[61]

Another local resident further supported this comment, stating 'my relatives from Matlock know they've nearly reached me when they see the statue'.[62] The statue was a source of pride for Leicester and 'adorned the building as a monument to

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[60] *Leicester Mercury*, 2 May 2001, p. 4

[61] *Leicester Mercury*, 28 October 2003, p. 17

[62] *Leicester Mercury,* 21 April 2001, p. 7

Leicester's once-thriving shoe industry'.[63] This view of local residents was matched by the official actors involved in Liberty's fate. Leicester City Council considered the statue to be 'a significant feature and some local people have more regard for it than the rest of the building'.[64] This was reflected with *Leicester Mercury* headlines which implored: 'Preserve our Liberty say Statue Admirers'.[65] English Heritage commented that there was 'considerable local attachment to the iconic Statue of Liberty'[66] and Cassidy Developments also realised 'how important the statue is'.[67]

The significance of the statue as a local landmark was widely acknowledged therefore by both local citizens, and by the public and private sector agencies involved. Whilst there was conflict concerning the contemporary value of the Liberty building, there was initially a shared appreciation of the potential of the historic and symbolic statue.

The statue became both the focal point of Cassidy's new development and also the vocal point in the debate over the Liberty Building's future. Rather than the building being used to fuse past and present it was the symbolic replica Statue of Liberty that was seized by both the official and unofficial actors involved in the dispute over Liberty's fate. The statue rather than the building was used to legitimise the present. This warrants an exploration of how people form attachments to the built environment, how the fear of losing a part of their heritage secured the transition of implicit to explicit attachment as expressed by local protests, and also how these attachments were moulded and manipulated by dominant social actors working to implement their own desired course of action.

For the Liberty Building, expensive restoration estimates ensured that refurbishment was 'not a commercially viable option for Cassidy Developments and that their continued involvement appears to be subject to demolition of the

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[63] *Leicester Mercury*, 26 April 2002, p. 4

[64] Leicester City Council, Development Control Sub-Committee Report, 18 December 2001, p. 29

[65] *Leicester Mercury,* 19 April 2001, p. 3

[66] English Heritage, Memorandum, 12 February 2002, point 1.1

[67] *Leicester Mercury,* 9 October 2002, p. 15

building'.[68] Cassidy Developments used the local attachment to the statue documented by English Heritage firstly to pacify the residents who were against the demolition of the listed building and, secondly, as a basis for their promotional campaign for a new building. The iconic status of the statue allied to the impending demolition of the Grade II listed Liberty Building ensured that there were repeated calls, expressed through the *Leicester Mercury*, to at least save part of this historic landmark. Cassidy Developments decision to apply for permission to demolish the Liberty Building in February 2001 sparked outrage from local residents who 'wanted to see the building – or, at the very least, its Statue of Liberty preserved'.[69] Indeed the *Leicester Mercury* reported that 'Leicester's West End residents today urged developers to spare the statue if the Grade II listed Liberty Building is bulldozed'.[70] 'Many readers stated that they would like to see the statue saved' and indeed a public meeting was held at the nearby football stadium to discuss both the saving of the statue and the residents' objections to the new use for building as student accommodation.[71] Other readers called for the building to be saved and, if it cannot be saved, the existing statue should be put on top of a pillar in Bede Island.[72]

The attachment to the replica Statue of Liberty shown by local residents illustrated the feelings provoked when part of the familiar landscape is threatened with destruction. It was only when 'groups find their local environment under threat of change that they give voice to their beliefs and make explicit that which had, until then, been only implicit'.[73] The revealing facet of this crisis moment is the conciliatory use of the statue proposed by the developers as well as the readiness of the local residents to accept the demolition of the building as long as the statue was retained. Intriguingly it was 'amazing how many people know the building by the statue'[74] yet it was the actual building and its construction technique that was listed, not the iconic replica Statue of Liberty. This calls into

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[68] English Heritage Internal Memo, 28 June 2001

[69] *Leicester Mercury,* 21 April 2001, p. 7

[70] *Leicester Mercury*, 19 April 2001, p. 3

[71] *Leicester Mercury,* 2 May 2001, p. 4

[72] *Leicester Mercury,* 28 April 2001, p. 16

[73] M.J. Miller using Halbwachs' findings *The Representation of Place, Urban Planning and Protest in France and Great Britain, 1950-1980,* Aldershot, 2003, p. 29

[74] Interview with J. Skinner, January 2006

question the power of symbolic additions to seduce and pacify urbanites and whether these symbols assume more value than the building that they are sited on.

Images needed to be communicable and adaptable to changing practical needs so that new meanings can be formed and new memories invested.[75] In the case of the Liberty Building the symbolism associated with the statue, the name of the building, and the name of the company ensured that this was not possible. This product, the site, the company, and the statue were simultaneously known by the name Liberty. How, then do you re-package the concept of liberty to make it communicable in a changing urban world? It was such an ingrained and entrenched definition that the image of the building could not adapt without the statue – the visual evocation of decades of industrial production and a mental compass point. However, unlike the building, the statue could adapt to a changing urban agenda, as it was the statue, not the building that encapsulated the history, tradition and symbolism of the former factory's visual prowess and industrial production and it was the statue that became ingrained in the psyche of those who moved through the area as proved by the readers who felt motivated to write to the *Mercury* to express their disappointment at the threat to the Statue. Retaining the building was expensive and impractical whereas retaining the statue, the overt symbol of the building's history, provided that fusion of past and present that proved so effective in the regeneration of Castlefield and the re-use of the Motte-Bossut factory without the expense incurred in restoring a dilapidated former factory. Tensions between personalised places in which collective memories are embedded and institutional spaces where visions and new conceptions are envisaged were apparent with the different viewpoints concerning the Liberty Building and statue.

The situation in Castlefield and Motte-Bossut was far less complex. The decision was stark: retain the building or lose all traces and links to the area's past. Neither place suffered from the legacy of an overt symbol of history and none of the buildings carried any symbolic burden in terms of the connotations and associations of the names of the buildings. Motte-Bossut was linked to the family dynasty in industrial Roubaix and Middle, Grocer's and Merchant's warehouse are all literal names relating to the building's location or function during the

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[75] K. Lynch, *Image of the City*, Massachusetts, 1960

industrial era. There was no element of any building in Castlefield or the Motte-Bossut factory that could retain a tangible link to the past without keeping the actual physical structure. Therefore the expense incurred in restoring and re-using was met through the creation of working partnerships, local and central government cooperation which secured innovative and creative financial packages. This was not needed for Liberty as the statue superseded the building in the affections of both the official and unofficial actors due to reasons of profit and place identification.

The use of the statue in the saga over the future of the Liberty Building was again influenced by time and space. The importance of the statue whilst the demolition application was under consideration was expressed by Leicester City Council who requested that

> prior to any demolition works commencing, the Liberty statue shall be removed from the building and then repaired, restored, stored whilst redevelopment on the site is in progress, and replaced on the site or some other location in accordance with details previously agreed in writing with the City Council as the local planning authority. The restored statue shall be placed in its agreed new location within one month of the first occupation of any part of an approved redevelopment scheme, retained and maintained to the satisfaction of the City Council as local planning authority.[76]

This illustrated the importance of retaining 'a part of the Liberty Building which had significant local value in terms of its historical association with the site and its former use'[77] thus underlining both the attachment of people to this symbolic addition to a historic building and the manipulation of this symbol by the dominant social actors. Cassidy's accepted this planning condition and as figures 22 and 23 they also actively encouraged the link with the replica Statue.

Cassidy's went one stage further and repeatedly incorporated the Liberty theme into their design proposals. Leicester City Council were informed that 'the developer has also indicated willingness for a competition to be held for new art on the two Eastern Boulevard corners, based on the Liberty theme'.[78] This was supported by the email correspondence between Strutt & Parker and Cassidy Developments in November 2001 where it was hoped that demolition and

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[76] Listed Building Consent, Application Number 20010590, 14 February 2002, p. 2

[77] Ibid

[78] Leicester City Council, Development Control Sub-Committee Report, 18 December 2001, p. 39

replacement would witness 'a smart landmark building on this site incorporating the Statue of Liberty on top'.[79] There was a clear acknowledgement by the developers and Leicester City Council as to the importance of retaining and using the statue to promote their plans.

After demolition the perspectives of the agencies changed. Leicester City Council was asked by the architects to confirm in writing that 'you would not insist on the Statue of Liberty being installed at the site'[80] yet up to 2007, the planning condition, some five years after demolition has not been met and the statue rots away in a car park skip adjacent to the former Liberty Building. This witnessed another explosion of outrage. Councillor Debbie Almey, who represented the area, said

> displaying the statue was a condition of the original planning agreement. Quite a few people have contacted me to say they want it putting back up, because it's part of Leicester's history and a real landmark. I don't think it is safe, having the statue in a crate.[81]

Figure 22 Illustrating the promotional material
Source: Liberty Planning File, UPRN LPG 5868 at Leicester City Council
Image removed pending copyright clarification

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[79] Email Strutt and Parker to Cassidy Developments, 29 November 2001

[80] Letter from OEA Architects to Leicester City Council, 12 May 2003

[81] *Leicester Mercury*, 3 June 2004, p .18

Figure 23 The architectural plans for the new Liberty building showed a replica Statue of Liberty on the Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western elevations. Source: Ibid

Image removed pending copyright clarification

Figure 24 The replacement Liberty Building in 2007
Source R.M. Madgin

This was further supported by a local resident who drew and submitted plans to Leicester City Council to re-site the statue on a plinth at the side of the bridge which is on the approach to the building. Just as before the statue became a contentious issue concerning its contemporary relevance and value in Leicester's regeneration.

Whereas in Castlefield and with the Motte-Bossut factory there was a clearly defined marketing strategy based on a unique selling point that related to the broader aims of regeneration, the inaction caused by the complete absence of a coherent marketing strategy to re-use the former factory agreed by all agencies in Liberty's case secured the building's continued deterioration.

Selective Seduction

Each case study selected elements of the past to market the building. In Castlefield and Motte-Bossut the urban actors used the successes of the past and the promise of Europe to fuse past with present. In Liberty the past was further selected as the symbolic statue was utilised to seduce urbanites and pacify them into accepting the demolition of the Liberty Building. In all three case studies the conscious selection of distinctive and marketable urban characteristics projected an image that was stripped of complexity, as each place became a simplified version of the urban past that was bound up with the socio-economic, political and environmental intricacies of urban life. Moreover, whilst this unique selling point may be effective at a place-marketing level it does not offer a true reflection of the city and crucially neither was this desired by those planners, policy-makers, architects and politicians involved in the process. Their job is to administer 'short, sharp shocks'[82] to a declining area in order to raise its profile, diversify its demographic and economic base, and improve the visual urban landscape. Urban complexity, due to financial and time constraints, was therefore reduced to a simplified, sanitised and purified version in which society was polarised to create two parallel societies – the new urbanites and the lower-income class whose position was never acknowledged, yet alone included in the marketing material. Moreover, those actors who ascribed the unique selling point became contentious manipulators of the urban condition as they were able, through this selling point to regulate both the local and the external perception of

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[82] Interview with G. Hood, Director of Development for Central Manchester Development Corporation, December 2005

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the city. It was an inherently divisive process. The final product resembled a jigsaw with some of the pieces missing or edges broken off. This was evident with the boundaries of the Central Manchester Development Corporation which were drawn to exclude

> a string of impoverished areas… in a conscious effort to ensure that the UDC remained focussed and single-minded in its efforts to secure property-led redevelopment and, at the same time, avoiding the supposed distractions of dealing directly with the residents of impoverished communities.[83]

There was a similar story with Motte-Bossut as the skills needed to work in the new hi-tech tertiary industries in the former factory did not match the skills base of the former factory workers who lost their jobs when the factory closed in 1981. This picture of disenchantment and disenfranchisement was mirrored in Leicester where the views of the local residents were disregarded by the decision to replace the Liberty Building with student accommodation as their attachment to place was broken down by the legal loophole that allowed listed buildings to fall into an economically irretrievable state of disrepair.

In drawing up exclusive boundaries and marketing their product to targeted groups all the actors in the three places regulated the layered memories of the city – past, present and future. Attachments between people and place were forced, ordered and imposed. This approach was far from the post-modern ideals of the post-industrial society, yet the subtlety of the process obscured the authoritarian domination of historic place by a select group of agencies. This was in Ward's view something to be applauded as although the meanings of places were 'denied and trivialised' this was achieved with 'such skills, originality and integrity, that they (marketing campaigns) actually add a layer of particularly vivid meaning to place'.[84] To follow up Ward's definitions in Castlefield and Motte-Bossut the meanings of place were 'trivialised' to the history of place and its transformation into heritage, whereas in Liberty history in its official listed status was 'denied'.

Using the historic environment to market place was a further example of the divisive and dissonant nature of heritage. The use of history as the selling point for Castlefield and Motte-Bossut and the symbolic, historic statue adorning

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[83] R. Imrie and H. Thomas, *British Urban Policy,* 2nd edition, London, 1999, pp. 208-9

[84] Ward, *Selling Places*, 1998, p. 239

Liberty illustrated how history both helped and hindered marketing strategies. Furthermore, the transformation of history into heritage to market place served to disenfranchise certain individuals that did not fall within the targeted groups. However, to question whether this is morally right or not would serve little purpose, as this is an exploration of how places are made rather than the consequences of re-created places. What this emphasis on history and marketing does reveal, though, is the malleability of history – it can be anything and everything that a key decision-maker requires it to be – when history is transformed into heritage by the agents of change it becomes a contemporary interpretation of the past that can be manipulated to meet the desires of hegemonic power.

The nineteenth and early twentieth century virtues of drive, determination and prosperity as extolled by the material culture masked the poverty, pollution and toil of the industrial city. Similarly the image projected by the marketing material for Castlefield, Motte-Bossut and Liberty ignored those displaced and disenfranchised by the late twentieth century appropriation of place. In this context it is, therefore, unsurprising that history as heritage has been adopted by numerous cities to rescue them from an urban abyss or, as Ashworth found, 'historical attributes are being widely used to shape distinctive urban images targeted to potential exogenous commercial investors.'[85] Indeed, in a study of Dutch cities, 56 per cent of those surveyed incorporated a description of historic buildings in their promotional material and 44 per cent gave an 'account of history' mirroring Castlefield and Motte-Bossut's promotional campaigns. This subjective, selective, intangible and unquantifiable interpretation of the past served as a stage upon which to construct the twenty-first century urban idyll.[86] The layers of the city remained the same but those who can access them lessened as future memories of a historic place were mediated as a result of its commodification as heritage.

These are further examples of the ordering of space from above, despite the initial involvement of grass roots organisations in two of the case studies. However, whilst marketing a place by using unique selling points may *attract* a

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[85] Ashworth and Voogd, *Selling the City*, 1990, p. 118

[86] See Ibid, p. 116

specific type of human and investment capital there also needs to be a further facet of place-making that *retains* people through re-creating those elements historically shown to develop strong and sustainable attachments between new people and places.

Chapter 7

Manipulating the Historic Environment to Capture Urban Users

This chapter considers the process of place-making in an effort to analyse how the agents of change manipulated the historic environment and its surrounding spaces so as to revive activity and introduce new functions to the area. In each case studied, buildings were considered to be redundant with their appeal limited to a few urban users who were unable to make a significant contribution to economic development. Prior to regeneration, the only signs of visible life within Castlefield were the vagrants who made their home amongst the ubiquitous weeds that sprouted up from between the cobbles beneath the railway arches. Similarly, Motte-Bossut was closed for business and failure to secure a use for the Liberty Building saw vandals add their words to the stories of an industrial past. In this context the planners, policy-makers and architects needed to capture potential users and investors who were seduced by the marketing strategies outlined in the previous chapter. To capture new users these actors manipulated places, spaces and ideas to revive activity and to provide a number of new functions that were designed to appeal to a spectrum of urban users who in turn would reinvigorate the local economy by living, working and playing in, and around, the restored historic environment.

To capture new users required connections to be established between people and also between urban users and their urban locale. The concept of a 'sense of place' is used in this chapter to describe the process by which attachments between people and place are constructed.[1] The sense of place involves both 'an interpretive perspective on the environment' which is facilitated by improved physical access so that users can move around the urban landscape to use the restored historic buildings, and an 'emotional reaction to the environment'.[2] This is a crucial element and is related to the psychological accessibility of place and is achieved by evoking urban memories and using symbolism to artificially construct attachments. On both the interpretative and emotional levels dominant urban actors dictated the creation of a sense of

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[1] Chapter 1 outlined the different terms that have been used interchangeably with sense of place

[2] D. Hummon, *Community Attachment: Local Sentiment and Sense of Place* in I. Altman and S. Low, *Place Attachment,* New York 1992, p. 262

place by moderating the physical and psychological access to place. For example, the creation of gated communities was designed to control and limit the physical access to place which in turn impacts on the perception and memory of place as only certain people create memories and interact with one another. By using the term 'sense of place' as opposed to 'place attachment' or 'place identity' the research filters the ways in which people are able to sense a revitalized historic place in order to carry out their daily life patterns in the area.

Furthermore, re-designed areas sought to encourage stability by providing users with amenities and spaces designed to appeal to them. By offering a set of carefully selected facilities and infrastructures that fitted users' choices and conveniences spaces were revitalised. The development of connections between people and place is intrinsically related to purpose and reason; people have to want and need to enter a particular area, to use a particular building, and to frequent the surrounding spaces to facilitate their movement from home to work, work to play, and play to home. The focus of the thesis now turns to investigate how dominant actors manipulated the physical historic environment and its surrounding spaces to heighten the sense of place to design an environment in which activities conducive to the economic development of the city could be established.

Activity

Increasing activity levels in the diurnal economy has a dual benefit. Firstly, creating an environment that catered for a spectrum of users and investors was designed to minimise the risks associated with gambling on the historic environment to facilitate urban regeneration by increasing the number of ways to keep money circulating within the urban economy. Secondly, this risk was intended to be further minimised if these users built up connections to the area through conducting their daily life patterns within the area. This in turn gave people a reason to interact with others within both a temporal and spatial framework which feeds the urban economy as a spectrum of urban users contribute to a variety of work, residential and leisure sectors in a move designed to garner revenue from them either through taxes or through the redistribution of their salaries to the leisure and residential markets, which in turn minimises risks associated with regeneration. In an urban utopia it is beneficial to design an environment in which urban users can satisfy their

needs whilst supporting the local urban economy. The growth in concepts such as Garden Cities, Urban Villages and Millennium Communities are examples of the desire to capture urban users by aiming to provide well designed environments in which their work, play and residential needs can be satisfied.

This correlation between activity and place attachment has been the subject of academic work in different disciplines. Lynch, in his seminal study of three American cities placed emphasis on the lived and visual experience of the city to find that the development of mental maps created through using the city were vital to a user's ability to move around the city, know and understand it.[3] The mental maps acted as a guidebook to the city to provide the sub-conscious yet crucial connections between people and their environment that determines the extent to which a place will retain both its vibrancy as well as the longevity of an area's renaissance. Jacobs also stressed the need for activity on the street level in order to attach people to place.[4] The need for activity and vitality was further noted by Montgomery who found that a city must 'generate enough diversity to be self-sustaining' and this diversity must be 'sufficiently complex to stimulate public contact, transactions and street life'.[5] As Amin and Thrift found, drawing on the work of Lefebvre the 'rhythms of the city are the coordinates through which inhabitants and visitors frame and order the urban experience'.[6] Activity and connection are, therefore, closely linked.

The marriage of activity and diversity to the retention of urban users is vital to understanding the reasons why the historic environment was re-used. As was common with industrial environments such as London's Docklands and Birmingham's Jewellery Quarter, Castlefield was noted by CMDC as having an advantageous location 'adjacent to the city centre and a unique historic fabric, but it lacks a critical mass of activity'.[7] Returning this critical mass of

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[3] K. Lynch, *The Image of the City*, Massachusetts, 1960

[4] J. Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities,* Middlesex, 1961

[5] J. Montgomery, Making a City: Urbanity, Vitality and Urban Design, *Journal of Urban Design,* Vol.3, No.1, 1998, p.103

[6] Amin, and Thrift, *Reimagining the Urban*, 2002, p. 17

[7] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Development Guidelines*, Manchester, 1989, p. 3

activity to allow the rhythms of the city to be coordinated around the restored historic buildings was vital for the regeneration of Castlefield. In order to return vitality, vibrancy and activity to previously dead, degenerated and dull spaces the planner, urban designer and architect's task was to create an environment that revived activity and allowed daily life patterns to be carried out. Central Manchester Development Corporation recognised the importance of creating an environment in which 'a variety of functions can be concentrated in a compact, walkable area' that would help to 'create a positive social environment and a profitable business setting'[8] thus reinforcing the spatial, temporal and social framework point previously discussed. The decision to switch the focus on the revitalisation of the area from a tourist destination to a fully-fledged mixed-use area containing eleven bars and restaurants, a health club, radio station, recording studio, television studio as well as numerous offices and apartments, two museums, two hotels, numerous barge companies and a Metrolink stop underlined the importance for both official actors and for city-centre residents of reviving activity in the area. Similarly the re-use of Motte-Bossut was designed to fuel the return of activity, function and vibrancy to the centre-ville.

Figure 25 Land Use Map of Castlefield showing some of the new uses
Source: www.manchester2002-uk.com
Image removed pending copyright clarification

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[8] Ibid

Like Castlefield the Motte-Bossut factory was an underused element of the inner city and as such was seen as providing an opportunity to increase urban activity levels. The restored factory facilitated diversification of the employment sector through its re-use as Eurotéléport and an archives repository. Yet the planned revitalisation of the centre-ville took a more holistic approach than the regeneration framework in Castlefield. Retail, leisure, public transport, employment and housing were all provided through the various projects designed for the area surrounding and including the Motte-Bossut factory.[9] Again this was intended to reduce the risk of failure by spreading the risk to investors. These two examples signalled the end of the modernist, zonal planning emphasis witnessed in the post-war era to embrace the mixed-use development that was targeted at a greater number of people. Bringing people back into the centre, increasing the tax base,[10] and attracting new users were the priorities for Castlefield and Roubaix's regeneration. By definition, mixed-use development offered a greater diversity which would attract larger numbers of different people, attracted to the area for various reasons. The switch to mixed-use from zonal usage illustrated the public and private sectors need to create, and cater for a portfolio of users that spread the risk of investment in a decayed inner-city.

The temporal dimension of regeneration cannot be underestimated. Successful urban places are also ones that allow for a significant and diverse number of both economic and human transactions to be traded diurnally. The time-space dimension remains central to successful place-making processes since historic buildings and their surrounding areas have to facilitate activity throughout the day, night, week, month and season in order to maximise the number of people who use the revitalised place.[11] Castlefield developed a 24-hour economy that catered for residents, workers, visitors and tourists. During the nineteenth century working days in Castlefield consisted of loading and unloading barges on the wharves whereas a century later, working patterns shifted to ensure that the

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[9] See chapter 4 for more detail on Roubaix 2000, the Public Transport interchange and Eduard Anseele developments

[10] Through the tax professionnelle and the tax d'habitation

[11] This is not restricted to this context but in the post-modern world the clock does not have the same resonance it once had. Whereas during the nineteenth-century the clock ruled the working lives of industrial society from the late twentieth century there is little respect of the 9-5 working day with the introduction of flexi-time complemented by longer opening hours in the retail and leisure sectors.

wharves now served as car parks to allow Castlefield's new workers to create TV programmes, develop computer software programs, deliver radio shows and cater for the lunchtime and after work rush in the many bars and restaurants. The night-time economy, once non-existent in a nineteenth-century era run by the sound of the bell to signal the start and end of work, developed in the late twentieth century to allow the predominantly young and affluent service sector workers to sit in the canal side bars and sip cocktails in the moonlight and then return to their city-centre apartments.

Unlike Castlefield, the re-use of Motte-Bossut and the surrounding area was less concerned with the evening economy and was primarily directed towards attracting daytime workers and providing retail and housing for Roubaisiens. The night-time economy was subordinated to the overriding need to diversify the economic base and establish the centre-ville as Roubaix's functional heart. The factory was, therefore, primarily designed for daytime use with the exception of evening functions held in the archives. Nearby, reinvigorated by Motte-Bossut's re-use, defined, regulated rhythms of shops, archives and offices all had definite closing times. This situation differed to Castlefield where the rhythms of the city were elongated to embrace the evening economy. This illustrated the ambitions of the urban centres with Manchester positioning itself as both a regional centre and a cosmopolitan European city whereas Roubaix competed with neighbouring Lille for evening entertainment. The experience economy in which cultural events were enjoyed was predominantly located in Lille, although as Roubaix's regeneration gathered momentum historic buildings were converted into theatres and dance studios thus providing one outlet for the night-time economy. This spectre of competition was an important aspect of the late twentieth century city (see also chapter 6). This was seen with the competition to win funds, market distinctiveness and attract footloose tertiary sector industries but also with the ambition of urban centres and the scope of their regeneration. However with competition comes risk of failure and the desire to spread risk by intensively using invested capital maximised the long-term prospects of the regenerated area and countered the competition from local, regional and European challengers.

Urban Design

Diversifying activity in an area needed to be balanced by improved access to place, both psychologically and physically in order to allow people to carry out

their daily life patterns. The design of an environment which allowed people to move through an area, to perceive the historic environment, to discover different parts of the area and to access their place of work, their residence or their chosen leisure pursuit was vital to the sustainability of regenerated areas. Key actors in Manchester and Roubaix therefore manipulated the historic environment of Castlefield and Motte-Bossut in order to produce a coherent landscape in which urban users could find their way from their house, to the office, to the restaurant.[12] This links to Lynch's findings, which found that an environment needed to be visibly organised, coherent and legible in order for citizens to invest meaning in, and draw connections, with the urban landscape.[13] This applies in equal measure to the Brazilian favelas or Le Corbusier's ordered space, as it is the way in which individuals relate to their environment that shapes understanding and knowledge of an area. This process can be both structured from above, as with Le Corbusier, Haussmann and the various Garden City developments, but can also result from the innate survival instincts of human beings in shanty towns and jungle settlements which are unplanned and illegible to all but those who live there. The task of those charged with regenerating an urban centre is to encourage the individual to walk through the city, to engage with the city and to create an environment in which the city user can read, understand and so want to return. Attachment results from such interactions with place. The analogy of a city as a text can be used here. The individual needs to be able to read the urban landscape, to turn over the pages of the book, to walk through the layers of history in the area and to engage with the book so that they will want to read it over and over again.

One of the first tasks of the Central Manchester Development Corporation was to open up an area that they felt was 'complex' because it was 'cut into many discrete, exciting and surprising areas by two canals, many canal basins, four railway viaducts and two rivers'.[14] Moreover, the area was divided both spatially

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[12] Lynch believes that planners are manipulators of the physical environment and their primary interest is in producing an environmental image, Lynch, *The Image,* 1960, p. 7

[13] Lynch, *The Image,* 1960. Although Lynch's findings reflected the modernist planning paradigm and they are not without criticism they did demonstrate that visual experience, perception and the investment of meaning is integral to the formation of a sense of place, see Jacobs, *The Life and Death*, 1961 for a critique of the planned, modernist city.

[14] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Strategy for Consultation*, Manchester, 1989, p. 23

and temporally, as it was impossible to draw cognitive or physical connections between the canal and railway heritage areas and eras. There were numerous physical barriers in Castlefield, such as viaducts, which acted as 'a barrier to movement and views' and also 'separated Liverpool Road and the canal basin'.[15] To the casual observer there was no way of understanding the area let alone its historical significance. Britain's first modern canal, the Bridgewater, was filled in, the spaces between the historic warehouses were overgrown and there were few roads or bridges that facilitated ease of movement into and around the area. Castlefield's landscape was thus chaotic; it was characterised by complexity. Indeed, it was not until the early 1980s that the area as it became was known as Castlefield; previously it was split into Knott Mill, Liverpool Road and the St John's areas.[16] The Development Corporation's priority, therefore, was to give Castlefield 'an identity that can be readily perceived and understood'.[17] It was a priority resonating with Lynch's emphasis on creating an ordered environment from which connections between people and place developed. Improving the individual and collective perception of Castlefield was the key task of both the Development Corporation and Manchester City Council in the 1990s.

Creating a legible and walkable urban landscape in which users could physically access the area and buildings held the key to unlocking Castlefield's potential. This was a conscious policy devised by the Development Corporation who needed to find ways of 'bringing life back to the city'[18] but they were constrained in this aim by the complexity of Castlefield's environment. To rectify the illegible and incoherent layout of Castlefield, urban designers and planners from both Central Manchester Development Corporation and Manchester City Council emphasised the importance of an improved setting for the historic buildings combined with both improved access to the area and a greater degree of movement through it. Although this was primarily designed to increase the number of users in the area and thus potential revenue, a more elusive benefit

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[15] Interview with G. Hood, December 2005

[16] Although the area was marked Castlefield in Greens Map of 1701 the area was known locally as an agglomeration of smaller districts until 1974 when David Rhodes brought out an official planning document called Castlefield for Manchester City Council, Interview with D. Rhodes, Former Conservation Architect in Manchester City Council, December 2005

[17] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Development Guidelines*, 1989, p. 23

[18] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Annual Report 1993/94,* Manchester, 1994, p. 19

was the capability of urban users to build up knowledge, understanding and connection to the revitalised place so the rhythms of their lives could be played out in the area. Strategically sited steps were located at the edge of the canal basin and half way down Liverpool Road. These steps opened up the canal basin area rendering visible two centuries of industrial development. This subtle design feature ensured that the two landmark areas were easily explored by tourists and also facilitated access from the offices, car parks, pubs and restaurants on Liverpool Road to and from the canal side apartments and bars.

Figure 26 Steps from Liverpool Road into Canal Basin
Source: R.M. Madgin

The capability of the waterways to facilitate both movement and recognition was a strategic part of the Development Corporation's plans as they were considered to be 'important in giving a structure to an area and in linking together places of different activity and character'.[19] Canals were dredged and canal paths were cleared and replaced by new floodlit canalside walkways. This not only facilitated

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[19] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *The Waterways Guide*, Manchester, August, 1989, p. 9

movement through the area but also connected Castlefield with other parts of central Manchester. The aims of improved movement through an area were to allow people to access services but also to 'induce or generate a deepened or enriched sense of loyalty and identification of the individual with the city'[20] thus illustrating the planners conscious awareness that connections needed to be made between people and place. Paths, roads and walkways were vital to perception as 'most of our environmental observations are made from positions on such routes'.[21] Improving accessibility determined the extent to which urban users perceived and understood an urban area. Moreover, directing movement through areas by creating walkways, clearing paths, and providing lit footpaths connects 'existing landmarks, symbols or institutional buildings that were previously unrelated'.[22] This was an embedded part of urban planning as shown by the layout of Washington DC which was designed to link buildings together to forcibly demonstrate the structures of power. Re-designing the urban landscape to allow people to draw mental maps between those buildings and landmarks that the policy-makers believe to be significant was therefore a key component of urban planning.[23]

Revealing historically significant buildings so that they can assume a contemporary relevance was explicit in CMDC's policies. This was illustrated by their provision of funding to restore and re-use the canal warehouses and also improved access in the area so that urban users could use the building and enjoy the spaces around the updated warehouses. The dredged canals increased perception of the historic buildings at both eye level and below as the buildings could be glimpsed in the shimmering light of the water – the buildings penetrated the senses at every opportunity reinforcing the absorption and perception of the historic environment.

Water started to be a valued component of worldwide urban revitalisation schemes since the successful regeneration of Baltimore and Boston during the

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[20] E.N. Bacon, Language of Cities, *Town Planning Review,* Vol. 56, No. 2, 1985, p. 178

[21] B. Goodey, Perception of the Historic Environment, *Occasional Paper Number 17*, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, 1973, p. 33

[22] Bacon, *Town Planning Review,* Vol.56, No.2, 1985, p.178

[23] This was also witnessed in Leicester as a 12 mile linear park through Leicester passing the Liberty Building was developed in the late 1980s showing the importance placed on setting and improving movement through the city during the late twentieth century.

1980s. The power of the waterside setting originated from its distinctiveness and the pleasant surroundings of water in the urban environment – an oasis of calm in a continually mobile society. Water pervades the senses through offering reflections of buildings in the canals and rivers, the clearness of the water contrasts to the dirty, polluted waters of the industrial revolution thus the senses are aware that a place is clean, fresh and re-created. In this way there was a move away from the negative connotations of industrial to embrace the positive imagery of the post-industrial. This was witnessed in Syracuse, New York State where 'purifying polluted land and water', specifically the Onondaga Lake became a 'symbol for the new post-industrial city'.[24] Sight and smell indicate the revitalisation of place as urban users can sense regeneration as it improves both the sensescape and landscape.

Movement through Castlefield was also aided by additions to the historic environment, the most spectacular being Merchant's Bridge that from 1995 linked the historic canal basin to the new housing development on Slate Wharf. This bridge kept the tradition of innovation in Castlefield but also allowed urban users to access both sides of the canals. These alterations to the existing landscape were carried out to ensure that both the visual and lived experience of place was uncomplicated which in turn allowed for spectators, as Boyer found, to 'travel through the city observing its architecture and constructed spaces, shifting contemporary scenes and reflections from the past until they thicken into a personalised image'.[25] Only by being able to move through an area, perceive the urban landscape, and access the different parts of the area is a person able to build up an individual experience, memory and appreciation of place thereby connecting with the personality of place. The importance of this design tool has been used throughout history to try to create a sustainable, utopian urban environment. The key to regenerating London Docklands was to install the Docklands Light Railway, the roundabouts of the New Towns were designed to allow people to seamlessly move through place and subconsciously build up

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[24] J.R. Short (et al), Reconstructing the Image of an Industrial City, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol.83, No.2, 1993, p. 222. In this article Short (et al) analyse how the attempt to rewrite the meaning of the city through changing the image of the lake to embrace the clean post-industrial city. See also L. Sandercock and K. Dovey, Pleasure, Politics and the "Public Interest", *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Vol.68, No.2, 2002, pp. 151–64 for an examination of Melbourne's Riverscape Revitalisation and its change into a landscape of desire.

[25] M.C. Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory, Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*, Massachusetts, 1996, p. 32

attachments, as was also the case with the Haussmanisation of Paris in the nineteenth century.

The importance of improving the physical access to Motte-Bossut was illustrated by the report into the former factory's role in Roubaix's regeneration. The authors wanted to create a homogeneous environment, appreciated by residents and visitors alike. [26] This was achieved by improving the environment in two connected ways, firstly by adapting the original building and, secondly, by reorganising the spaces around the building. Motte-Bossut was adapted as more entrances were placed around the building for workers, for the general public, and to move the archival material from storage to the reading rooms. A garden was also created in the middle of the East and West wings of the building to give a public space in an area that was predominantly private. Spaces surrounding the Motte-Bossut factory were reconfigured so as to be visible to residents and visitors, an approach similar to that taken in Castlefield. New methods of transportation and access routes, as in Castlefield, ensured that the historic environment became the focal point of the urban centres. A public transport interchange consisting of bus, tram and metro was built adjacent to the restored factory. Indeed the metro stop is named Eurotéléport and stops outside the Motte-Bossut building, buses stop fifty metres further down the road, and the tramline runs alongside the factory curving into the building so that the visitor's first image of Roubaix is of the newly added drawbridge reaching out into the urban space– an overt symbol that connects past and present.

Improving the setting of historic buildings so that modern structures do not intrude on their appearance has been a constant feature of French conservation policy. Indeed the 1943 law[27] dealt with the area immediately surrounding the historic monument and from 1979 an avis conformé was required for any new building within a 500m radius of a listed building. This was updated by the Zones Protection du Patrimoine (ZPPAU) in 1983 to signal the emphasis placed on improving the setting of the historic building. The ability to access the historic

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[26] 'A partir d'un contexte urbain existant, il convient de fixer les objectifs prioritaires qui serviront de cadre à la définition d'un parti d'aménagement du Centre Ville dont il est possible dès maintenant de dégager des orientations, la perception du Centre devant passer d'une vision diffuse à une image homogène du Centre des Archives du Monde du Travail' cited from Insertion Urbaine du Projet, Roubaix, May 1985

[27] S. Loew, *Modern Architecture in Historic Cities: Policy, Planning, and Building in Contemporary France,* London, 1998, p. 32

environment remained paramount during the processes of restoration and regeneration.

Improving the setting and perception of place has been used worldwide to foster connections between people and place. The re-design of Melbourne's riverside complete with flagship buildings, food courts, entertainment complexes and waterside walkways allowed the river to become 'a part of a new urban spectacle with the water as the stage and the city skyline as backdrop'.[28] Changing the relationship between the natural and manmade environment through improving the setting of the new, iconic built environment helped the perception of place. The difference between Melbourne and the Castlefield and Motte-Bossut examples is that the environment had to be reconfigured and updated – it is more complex to break down and then re-create attachments and images to existing places than to create anew with a purpose built environment. How these attachments to existing place were altered and created revisits a deeper issue of how the man-made environment is manipulated to meet the contemporary agenda.

Urban Memory

Physical alterations to the existing urban landscape were designed to encourage a connection between people and place primarily through the mediums of perception and permeability. This next section, using the addition of the drawbridge to the Motte-Bossut factory will analyse how Alain Sarfati, the architect, used symbolism to establish psychological connections between people and place. If the city is a state of mind and a fusion of personal and collective memories, then by implication people must 'psychologically respond to their environment'.[29] For example, a war memorial encourages quiet reflection, the town hall symbolises power, whereas the public house promises sociability. The built environment is an integral component of this psychological relationship between people and place as it has the ability to transmit powerful yet sub-conscious messages and provoke feelings. The manipulation of the Motte-Bossut factory was designed to project a unified urban memory and a unifying image for the residents, workers and visitors to Roubaix - it was designed to be a symbol of

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[28] Sandercock and Dovey, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Vol.68, No.2, 2002, p.156

[29] R.R. Wohl and A.L. Strauss, Symbolic Representations and the Urban Milieu, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.63, No.5, 1958, p. 523

revival and prosperity. However, in each individual's temporal and spatial framework there is a building that symbolises an individual and collective memory yet in each of these innate memories there is also an opposing viewpoint. Berlin's Olympic stadium may have been a site of joy and hope but it was also one of oppression and fear; a tribal settlement is both home and an alien environment dependent on the individual, and a factory was the locus of both economic profit and human suffering. Throughout history the landmark buildings, like more modest ones, have been subjected to individual and collective interpretations; the urban landscape was invested with multiple meanings. Sarfati and Diligent's imperative that the building should project a unified image reflected their strong desire for the building to convey the unambiguous message that Roubaix was both recovering and anticipating a prosperous future. The simplified image expressed by the restoration of the Motte-Bossut factory announced Roubaix's revival as a pioneering tertiary sector urban centre that held a pivotal position in the European Union. The drawbridge consisting of modern materials juxtaposed with industrial brickwork, added to the new functions of Motte-Bossut and pointed to a change of direction for the city.

The physical alterations to the buildings facilitated a change in the meaning of the building. To secure this change Sarfati sought a transparent link between history and modernity. It was a design feature located in a 'situation dure, dans un quartier agressif, il fallait marquer une conviction: celle de ce que la ville devait rester le lieu d'une sociabilité indispensable et le symbole devait être lisible'.[30] The addition of a drawbridge (see figure 28), historically a moveable bridge that allowed or prevented access to a building or area, provided transparency and also expressed the wish to regulate and unify the memory of the city. Both André Diligent and Alain Sarfati, the two key actors in Motte-Bossut's restoration and re-use, believed that the centre of Roubaix was a place of collective memory.[31] Changing the factory in any way would, in their view, also alter the collective and individual memory of the person as well as the memory of the city. Sarfati was clearly aware of the psychological implications that changing the visually dominant Motte-Bossut building in the centre-ville would have for the memory of the city.

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[30] Colloque avec Alain Sarfati, 3-7 March 2003

[31] '*Centre d'une ville fonctionne dans l'imaginaire collectif*', Note du Présentation du Projet, point 1.0

This belief was confirmed by Halbwachs findings on collective memory which stated that a person's memories only became explicit through their relationship with the built environment. For Halbwachs every recollection had a spatial and temporal framework, 'collective memory draws upon spatial images…. a group's thoughts and movements are ordered by the succession of images from external objects'.[32] In his view memory always unfolded in 'space' and the activity of recollection was based on spatial reconstruction. Malpas supported these findings to state that the 'very structure of the mind is intrinsically tied to locality and spatiality'[33] whereas Tyler Burge extended this belief by recognising that a person's 'beliefs, desire and attitudes are determined, in large part, by the physical and social surroundings in which the individual person is located'.[34] Sarfati and Diligent believed that by walking around the historic environment and absorbing the succession of spatial images both of the building and setting the layers of Roubaix's development and its halcyon industrial days would be evoked.[35] Both Sarfati's plans and the regeneration plans formulated by the Ministère de la Culture, Région Nord-Pas de Calais and the Ville de Roubaix all stated the importance of safeguarding the historical memory of the city whilst at the same time creating a new urban future.[36] The drawbridge was therefore designed to offer an explicit and readable evocation of the progression of Roubaix; it represented the evolution of the city[37], the addition of a new symbol on an old building, the use of the industrial building to drive the tertiary revolution in Roubaix and the denial of poverty and unemployment in the urban memory.

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[32] M.J. Miller, *The Representation of Place, Urban Planning and Protest in France and Great Britain, 1950 -1980,* Aldershot, 2003, p. 17

[33] J. E. Malpas, *Place and Experience, A Philosophical Topography*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 10

[34] Malpas, *Place and Experience,* 1999, p. 11

[35] Note du Présentation du Projet, point 1

[36] 'Cette centralité tout en sauvegardant la mémoire historique doit être élaborée dans le contexte du passage progressif à une urbanité nouvelle s'abstenant de reproduire des modes les passés' in Ministère de la Culture, Région Nord-Pas de Calais and the Ville de Roubaix, CAMT, *Insertion Urbaine du Projet*, May 1985

[37] This also evoked hope. Other bridges throughout history, whilst primarily constructed to facilitate movement and connect people and areas have a by product of hope, aspiration and escape. The Oresund Bridge connecting Copenhagen with Sweden is one such example of this where the confidence given by the technological superiority and in opening up new horizons was a further benefit of reducing the time to cross the border. Furthermore, in war zones crossing or taking out a bridge was a key strategic position which affects the psyche by providing feels of escape, hope and reduced fear, not to mention jubilation, see for example the famous example of the Bridge Over the River Kwai.

Figure 27 The historic and the modern: An nineteenth-century railway viaduct juxtaposed with Merchant's Bridge. The new housing development at Slate Wharf is in the right hand corner of the photograph.
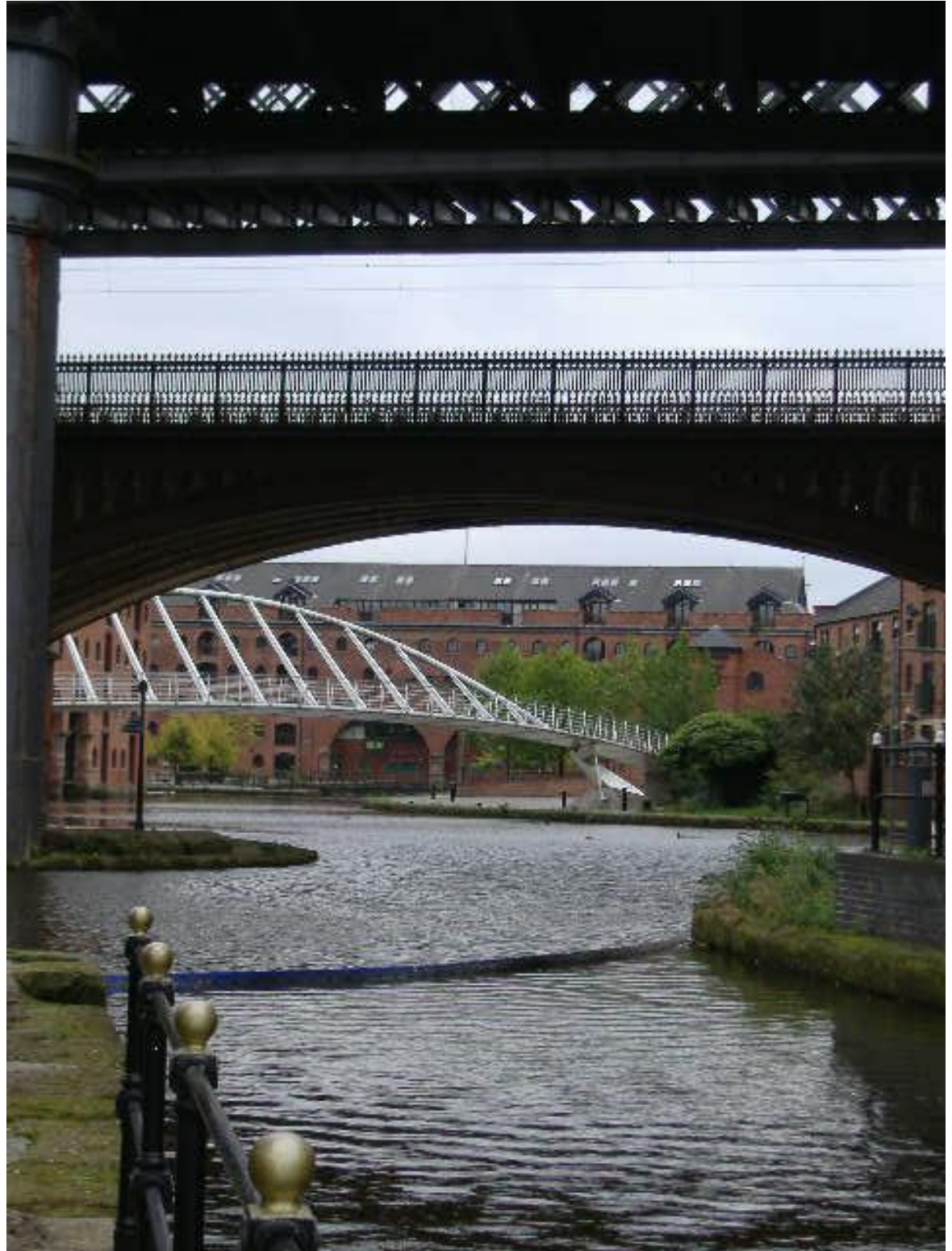Source: R.M. Madgin

Figure 28 Motte-Bossut complete with the symbolic drawbridge
Source: R.M. Madgin

Sarfati's emphasis on transparency was mirrored in Castlefield. However, the past was subverted in Liberty through a series of moves that recalled the past through the style and name of the replacement building yet demolished the strongest link to the past. Although the historic building was demolished there was an allusion to historic memory as represented by the new design and new name of the building. The new design was not designed to be a replica of Liberty, a point Leicester City Council felt strongly about although Cassidy wanted to alter 'the design of all the proposed elevations' in order to create a 'building which would resemble the existing Liberty'.[38] The end result was a colourful building that was similar to the previous factory. The decision to rename the new building Liberty Park ensured that despite the demolition of the building a tangible link was retained with the history of the site. Symbolically, the naming of the building Liberty Park allied to the ongoing debate over the future of the statue raised the question over the degree to which symbols help or hinder the transition from past to present.

The use of symbols to change people's view of place and the meaning invested in a place is commonly seen with statues, memorials and monuments. The Statue of Liberty in New York was designed to represent the freedom of America, a war memorial commemorates those who sacrificed their lives and monuments to mine workers in former coal mining areas in Canada reveal the attachments of people to place evoked by additions to the built environment. Sarfati's overt desire to connect people to the restored factory indicated this potential for discord. These symbols of change were not just apparent with additions to buildings but also with logos and slogans for the reinvented industrial city as symbolism played a vital role in changing people's psychological approach to place. The symbolic significance of the Onondaga Lake in Syracuse changed through the years to signify the pollution produced by industrialisation and then the clean, progressive, unpolluted post-industrial city. The Lake therefore became the central element of the city's logo to illustrate the power of symbolism in changing psychological connections and meanings of place.

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[38] Letter from Cassidy Developments to Leicester Regeneration Company, 29 July 2001

Figure 29 a) Old Logo of Syracuse featuring an industrial landscape dominated by factories and chimneys and b) which shows the reflection of the city in a clean lake unpolluted from industrialisation
Source: J.R. Short et al, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 83, No. 2, 1993, p. 215
Image removed pending copyright clarification

This manipulation of the psychological attachment to place was also evident with the plans concerning the Liberty building and the statue. The demolition of a building is a 'traumatic experience for the residents of a district whose daily life is framed by a built environment to which they are unconsciously attached'[39] so the idea to retain part of the Liberty building was yet another tool to mediate the transition from past into present. Even partial retention was rejected however, since it was considered economically unviable by Cassidy Developments after a battle between them and English Heritage.

The Liberty, Motte-Bossut and Castlefield case studies all revealed the need to improve both the physical and psychological accessibility to place so that sustainable urban rhythms could develop to revitalise place. Each example was predicated on how the plans to improve the physical and psychological access to place resulted in a desirable update of both the urban sensescape and landscape.

Sensing and Regulating Regeneration

Manipulating the historic environment in Castlefield, Motte-Bossut and Liberty was designed to improve the urban condition by attracting and retaining urban users. The layers of the city were used and abused with the intention of allowing people to develop connections to place thereby contributing to the ongoing diversification of the urban socio-economic profile. This chapter has illustrated how the historic environment was altered to create a sustainable environment that was designed to facilitate ease of movement, and the creation of new memories within the revitalised place. The main themes of the chapter: activity, design and memory are inexorably linked to the urban sensescape. The sensory experience was considered to be a vital component of secure a successful urban place.[40] To be able to sense a place, to sense regeneration and to use this sensory experience to guide a person through, round, and within an urban area was vital to securing a sustainable renaissance. This resonates with the concept of flânerie whereby the reflexive walker allows their senses to be penetrated by the succession of images, smells, sounds and tastes of the city. Here the flâneur engages in a 'two-way encounter between mind and the city', resulting in a

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[39] Council of Europe, *The Industrial Heritage: What Heritage?* Architectural Heritage Reports and Studies, No. 6, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1987, p. 44

[40] See Montgomery, *Journal of Urban Design,* Vol.3, No.1, 1998

'knowledge that cannot be separated from this interactive process'[41] and an attachment to place that was facilitated by the design of the urban landscape and the uses of the individual's sensory receptacles to negotiate the urban environment.

There was a dual process that occurred throughout the process of sensing regeneration. Firstly, it was the relationship of the key actors to urban space and, secondly, it was the creation of connections between new urban users and a revitalised place. In the first instance the beliefs of the dominant actors concerning the transformation of degenerated spaces into centres of meaning and values were driven both by their initial and considered reflections of the area which were based heavily on how the actors sensed place. In Castlefield all the actors interviewed agreed that the area poisoned the senses. There was little possibility of evoking a positive connection to an area where the sight of canal tramlines and basins filled with rubbish sank the heart; the sight of burnt out warehouses resulted in a sense of despondency; the stench of the animal gland factory poisoned your mind; and the sound of crunching scrap metal rang in your ears. This was an environment that strangled the senses – a no-go area which was the object of little affection. The emphasis was, therefore, placed on improving the physical condition of the area that in turn offered an improved sensescape designed to attract and retain new urban users who would in turn furnish the urban economy. The second dimension to the duality between people and place held the key to unlocking the potential of the area's regeneration and was designed to heighten the sensory awareness of place to ultimately encourage both the subconscious and reflexive walker to connect to place and use the services provided by the restorations and re-uses of the historic buildings.

A sensory awareness of regeneration was pervasive. The visual change from Castlefield's overgrown wharves to the young and affluent sipping cocktails on the same cleared and cleaned wharves, the lack of pollution reduced the harmful smell of the former industrial buildings, the sound of chattering voices buzzing around the exterior of the restored Motte-Bossut factory, the smooth touch of the

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[41] M. Sheringham, City Space, Mental Space, Poetic Space: Paris in Breton, Benjamin and Réda, in M. Sheringham (ed), Parisian Fields, Reaktion, London, 1996, pp. 104 and 111 cited in Amin, and Thrift, *Reimagining the Urban*, 2002, pp. 10-11

glass exterior as opposed to the coarse brickwork, and the taste of the cosmopolitan Spanish and Japanese food served in the restaurants in Castlefield all pointed to the regeneration of both the urban sensescape and landscape.[42] The senses could not fail to notice the unpolluted, clean post-industrial regeneration urban world. Manipulating the existing environment also had negative effects on the senses. The plans for the replacement Liberty building were met with disgust from certain local residents. They believed that it 'will tower above any property in the surrounding area, blocking light and affecting the outline to the area',[43] and, 'towering over the skyline to create a claustrophobic feeling, encroaching in day-to-day lives'.[44] In addition English Heritage believed that the new building

> would be an overdevelopment of the site, out of scale with the surrounding streets, devoid of any local reference, and that it would fail to create a sense of place, being of the bland, corporate type of architecture that could be found anywhere. This would, we believe, provide a significant visual disbenefit to the community.[45]

These alterations to the physical environment illustrate that the key agents of change, in this case CMDC, Sarfati, Diligent and Cassidy Developments, were unable to intervene 'without affecting the sequence of sensations of the thousands of people who move toward, through and away from the area he has affected'.[46]

Intervention in the urban landscape both pervaded the senses and also regulated the future memories of the historic place, thereby conditioning the next layer of the city's development. The type of reflexive or sub-conscious city user attracted by Castlefield's regeneration strategy was illustrated by data from the 1991 census which revealed that 43.5 per cent of the Central Manchester Development Corporation area[47] consisted of 25-39 year olds, more than double

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[42] Return to the demand factors illustrated in chapter 3

[43] Objection Letter from Resident (b) sent to Leicester City Council, 3 May 2001

[44] Objection Letter from Resident (c) sent to Leicester City Council, 3 May 2001

[45] Letter from English Heritage to Leicester City Council, 2 July 2001

[46] Bacon, *Town Planning Review,* Vol.56, No.2, 1985, p. 177

[47] Castlefield was one of six sub areas of the corporation's area. Therefore the data is also collected from outside of Castlefield. However, the large number of luxury and one bedroom apartments built in Castlefield, the type of services found in the area, in addition to ethnographic studies and interviews with residents, workers, city council members and development corporation members support the findings of this special census report.

the rate for the rest of Manchester. Privately owned or rented apartments accounted for 76.3 per cent of this area's residents and 61 per cent of households consisted of one person as opposed to 17 per cent for the rest of Manchester. In 1998 a report found 44 per cent of residents in the Central Manchester Development Corporation area worked in the city centre. [48] The picture had not changed by the time of the last census in 2001. Indeed 40 per cent of central Manchester residents worked within 2km of their home as opposed to 18 per cent for the rest of Manchester and over 50 per cent were between the age of 20 and 44.[49] Luxury apartment prices even nudged the £1m mark in the Castlefield area. Therefore, a clear demographic picture emerged. The dominant profile is of a young, affluent, single person enjoying the residential, working and leisure facilities that the city centre now offers. This is also reflected by the type of social infrastructure in the area which sees bars, restaurants and health clubs but no schools, libraries or health centres.[50] The selection of the past has, in turn, conditioned and selected the present as well as continuing to shape the urban future.

The picture was similar in Roubaix as exclusion was evident in both the process of managing change as well as the outcome of restoration. The idea was not for Roubaisiens to recall the negatives of their industrial past but rather to create new memories of a revived Roubaix based on the physical legacy of the past. In

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[48] B. Robson, M. Bradford, I. Deas, A. Fielder, and S. Franklin, *The Impact of Urban Development Corporations in Leeds, Bristol and Central Manchester*, DETR, London, 1998

[49] Census 2001 data

[50] What is missing within the social infrastructure is as revealing as what exists. In the case studies the desired demographic, i.e. that with disposable income that is likely to spent in the immediate area is exposed by the lack of health centres, child care facilities or schools which pointed at young, affluent professionals with no families and enough leisure time in which to redistribute their income within the urban economy. The welfare conscience does not have to be satisfied in the urban locale. Furthermore, the investment cycle is also reduced in this area as schools, health centres etc do not have to be constantly updated and improved as this demographic move elsewhere at that stage in their life where they need these facilities which in turn places stress on suburban services. This makes the development fragile as once this demographic move away only the same type of person can replace them as the facilities in the area do not appeal to a representative proportion of society. Ironically, the risk is thus higher than that envisaged by the planners and policy-makers who stake their reputations on bringing in a certain demographic. Into the twenty first century mixed housing developments with necessary social infrastructure are therefore increasingly common (see the New Islington Millennium Community in East Manchester for an example).

this way the memory of the city was reduced to a simplified, glorified parody of itself. This is however, inherent in all heritage schemes – the question of whose heritage, what heritage, and what is included or excluded was apparent in all selections of the past. Industrial memories were neglected in favour of producing a positive, sanitised memory of the city, which in turn would allow new memories to be created in the spectre of the restored building. Just as the past had been purified and reduced to heritage there was a conscious desire to select, simplify and regulate future memories of the city. Exclusion was also evident with the outcome of regeneration. The factory is now home to Centre des Archives de Monde du Travail. The Archives for the World of Work is a place to supposedly chart the history of the working class upon which Roubaix's industrial economy was built. However, the archives, rather than housing documents of worker's history, instead hold company records – the records of those who held the means of production. In addition to this, Eurotéléport has done little to alleviate high unemployment in Roubaix. Over the last twenty years Roubaix's unemployment level has hovered between the 27 per cent and 35 per cent mark, considerably higher than the 12.7 per cent national average.[51] The type of jobs created did not match the profile of those who are unemployed. Indeed Michel David from the municipality of Roubaix stated that out of the 45,000 new jobs available 33,000 went to those who lived outside Roubaix.[52] Restoring and re-using the factory as archives and Eurotéléport may have improved Roubaix's economic outlook but heritage as a form of exclusion is still very much apparent. The memory of the city was selected and simplified and so were the future memories to produce a place whose direction was heavily influenced using heritage as a mechanism of control. The conditioning of future memory was also apparent in Liberty where a transient student population was catered for at the expense of the wishes of established residents. The ability to sense place was restrictive and thus revealed the exclusionary facet of heritage.[53] Good city form in this context of heritage-led regeneration therefore relied on the ability of the key agents to manipulate the historic environment in a way that pervaded the senses, simplified the urban

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[51] www.migpolgroup.com, Brussels Conference, *Strategies of Engagement; Cross-sectoral Partnerships for Enhancing the Economic Foundations of Minority Communities*, November 1999, Brussels - accessed 15/01/06

[52] Ibid

[53] See J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage, The Management of the Past as a Resource of Conflict*, Chichester, 1996

complexity, and regulated urban memory to make the area understandable and attractive to a spectrum of urban users and to meet a defined urban agenda.

Chapter 8

Urban Reinvention: Valuing, Managing, Moulding

The process of place-making identified in this thesis has revealed that urban change is managed by a select group of agencies who manipulated the meanings of existing urban spaces and reconceptulised them to fit with their urban agendas. This was evident in three connected ways. Firstly, historic *places* were either retained or demolished. Secondly, the *ideas* of industrial history were sanitised to meet the contemporary urban agenda and, thirdly, the urban *spaces* which surrounded the historic buildings were reconfigured. In the process of place-making, decisions and actions were based on values that were imposed on the city by those urban actors who managed to assert dominance within the existing and evolving structures of governance. Values are not 'inherent in any cultural items or properties received from the past' rather value 'depends on the particular cultural, intellectual, historical and psychological frames of reference held by the particular individuals of groups involved'.[1] These frames of reference rest with the urban context, the remit of the agencies involved and broader cultural trends.

Within this thesis a number of terms such as relevance, perception, perspective, view and assessment have alluded to ascribing contemporary values to the historic environment. To determine whether a historic building has a contemporary relevance rests on the valorisation of the past and how it can be conceived or conceptualised as a contemporary asset. Whilst the historic significance of each case study may have been illustrated by their statutory protection, their future relevance was conditioned by a kaleidoscope of agency, agenda and available finance. Historic significance, as shown by Liberty, was not sufficient to warrant a transition to contemporary relevance. This was not due to the inherent weakness of the building but rather the way in which the value judgements of the actors were conditioned by their remit, the urban agenda, and how the cityscape is mediated by the legislative and urban frameworks.

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[1] W.D. Lipe, Value and Meaning in Cultural Resources in H.F. Cleere. (ed) *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritages*, Cambridge, 1984, p. 2

The aims of this chapter are threefold, first to examine a series of culturally shaped values that helped to locate the practice of restoration and re-use in the process of urban regeneration during the transition from the de-industrial to post-industrial city; second, to ascertain how these values were expressed by contextualising the intricacies of the organisational structure and institutional framework; and third, to probe the concept of malleability in order to explore how urban actors once they had navigated the system of governance were then able to mould places, ideas and spaces to fit their urban visions.

Valorising the Industrial Past

The decision to retain or demolish the industrial past from the 1970s onwards was a modern example of the capability of the built industrial environment to polarise opinion. This stretched back to the nineteenth century as urban commentators criticised the industrial city. The belching chimneys of textile mills that reared up into the smog filled sky caused industrial cities to, as Priestley put it, 'resemble an Amazonian jungle of blackened bricks'[2] and it was the crude forces of industrialisation that contributed to the British preservation movement. However, as Alexis de Tocqueville commented 'from this filthy sewer pure gold flows'[3] and so polarised opinion over the industrial urban landscape. Into the twentieth century this theme continued as the post World War II planning framework was based on eradicating the unplanned, unhygienic industrial city in favour of a planned, rational and zoned city. This was a chance as Simon believed to 'revolt against the dreariness of the Victorian town' and to hope that 'smoke need no longer befog us nor noise deafen us, nor disorder assault our eyes.'[4] However, by the 1970s a number of factors including economic uncertainty, land and demographic pressures and the rise of the heritage movement brought the historic industrial environment back onto the urban agenda.[5] This transformation in the valuation of the industrial past exposed how and why the built legacy was reassessed, re-valued, and thus incorporated into the urban vision. This turn to embrace the past also conjured up a new set of

[2] J.B. Priestley in G. Messinger, *Manchester in the Victorian Age; The Half-Known City,* Manchester, 1985, p. 195

[3] De Tocqueville in A. Kidd, *Manchester: Town and City Histories,* Lancaster, 2006, p. 31

[4] E.D. Simon, *Rebuilding Britain, Twenty-Year Plan,* London, 1945, p. 76

[5] See chapter 3 for a breakdown of the social, cultural, economic and political changes from the 1970s onwards

urban problems in the domains of selectivity and subjectivity. As Lipe found 'not all cultural resources from the past can be preserved,'[6] a situation which heightened the need for value judgements based on robust criteria. Indeed, it was (and is still) not desirable to create a single layered urban centre in which the city cannot 'escape the tyranny of a single present, and the monotony of a future that consists in repeating only a single beat heard in the past'.[7] Making value judgements on the degree of continuity within urban change was thus crucial to the urban landscape.

Three main values will be outlined in this chapter to illustrate the ways in which the historic environment was ascribed with a contemporary value and how the historic environment was manipulated to furnish the present, instil confidence, legitimise positions and secure urban visions of the future.

The Value of Continuity within Urban Change

The process of urban reinvention alludes to comprehensive changes as the urban landscape is transformed to meet the next phase of urban life. For example, the transformation of the walled city into the free city, the fledgling industrial city into the fully developed capitalist city and the Communist city into the democratic city reflected this organic mutable aspect of cities. Similarly, the scale and velocity of urban change required after World War II across Europe demanded that this process was comprehensive. However, within sweeping urban change as buildings were constructed and demolished and old spaces covered and new spaces created there was a degree of continuity. Urban spaces and places continue to transmit subliminal messages. Just as the market place, the piazza, the factory and the public houses were valued for different reasons by different urban users during different time periods, the decision to retain or demolish a historic building expressed a desire to embrace or deny the cumulative memories of the city and as such provided a window into prevailing cultural, economic and political attitudes during the latter half of the twentieth century.

An anxious attitude towards change was identified throughout the thesis. This was witnessed with the preservation movements in Britain and France during the

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[6] Lipe, *Value and Meaning in Cultural Resources*, 1984, p. 2

[7] L. Mumford, *The Culture of Cities,* London, 1938, p. 4

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which were both created as a reaction to rapid change. The British preservation movement was a backlash against rapid industrialisation and urbanisation and their impact on the 'rustic idyll.'[8] Similarly French preservation, whilst being founded on nationalism, was also a reaction to the destructive consequences of the Napoleonic Wars.[9] The anxiety concerning sweeping change was apparent throughout the nineteenth century as the advent of the railways wiped out existing elements of the urban landscape, the unplanned and unhygienic city led to fears over epidemics and a rise in adverts for preventative health care and an increased fear of urban crime led to the creation of urban police forces [10] and the construction of urban jails. Not surprisingly this fear regarding the consequences of rapid urban change carried or into the twentieth century as numerous inter-war polemics concerning health, unemployment, poverty and the marginalisation of women were produced.[11]

Furthermore, an awareness that the destructive powers of the twentieth century were 'not necessarily confined to inter-continental ballistic missiles'[12] permeated the urban consciousness during the post World War II era. In British and French cities slum clearance and comprehensive redevelopment made space for modernity. However, what was different in the late twentieth century was that some of the methods employed to address anxiety were derived from historical memory. Whereas new health and housing acts were made law across European cities and new buildings such as workhouses and police stations were constructed in European urban centres, the 1970s started to use the materials of the past to cure the fears of the present.

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[8] G. Ashworth, *Heritage Planning, Conservation as the Management of Urban Change*, Groningen, 1991, p. 16

[9] There was a view, especially amongst the elite that historic monuments needed to be preserved, in the face of such destruction. See S. Loew, *Modern Architecture in Historic Cities: Policy, Planning, and Building in Contemporary France,* London, 1998, p. 28

[10] The Metropolitan Police Force was created in 1829

[11] See W. Hannington, *The Problem of the Distressed Areas,* London, 1937; G.C.M. M'Gonigle, *Poverty and Public Health*, London, 1936; Pilgrim Trust, *Men Without Work* Cambridge, 1938; S. Rowntree, *Poverty and Progress*, London, 1941; M. Spring Rice, *Working Class Wives*, Harmondsworth, 1939

[12] E.R. Chamberlain, *Preserving the Past,* London, 1979, p. xiii

A fear over the pace of urban change motivated the initial action in the case studies. Indeed, this fear over the pace of urban change, and more specifically the threat of demolition resulting from urban change saw the voluntary sector in Manchester and Leicester campaign to prevent the demolition of the historic environment. In Roubaix this threat was negated through the involvement of national government who halted the municipality's plans to demolish Motte-Bossut by giving it statutory protection.

In Castlefield, Bernstein's planned expansion of his Granada TV empire, the proposed involvement of Wimpey Homes, the continued decay of Liverpool Road Station and a fear over the increased pace of comprehensive redevelopment in Manchester forced both the Manchester Region Industrial Archaeology Society to record industrial structures across Manchester, and the Civic Trust to research the historic significance of Castlefield. From these origins Liverpool Road Station Society campaigned to find new uses for the Station, Greater Manchester County Council assumed a role and Manchester City Council designated the Castlefield a Conservation Area in 1979. Similarly, Liberty was extensively researched and listed in 1994 in response to the planning application submitted in 1991 to demolish the building. This application fuelled fears that City Challenge would fail to see the building's historic importance and that the comprehensive redevelopment of Leicester city centre would be at the expense of the decayed and unlisted Liberty building. The threat of demolition in Castlefield and Liberty was explicit and ensured that both the community and public sectors *reacted* to their fears of the proposed pace of urban change to ensure that strands of continuity were weaved into the regeneration plans.

The inscription of Motte-Bossut on to the *inventaire supplémentaire* resulted from a national government directorate to re-evaluate nineteenth-century architecture, rather than as a reaction to proposed plans to demolish the building. However, the factory was threatened with demolition as the Ville de Roubaix disputed national government's reasons for providing the building with statutory protection. This threat again forced a community group to take action in the form of a

clandestine recording of the interior of the building.[13] The fear of change and of loss therefore motivated reaction by interested groups in each case study.

This fear of losing part of a familiar urban landscape illustrated the impact of urban change on the mental landscape. Both Miller and Halbwachs explored this under the guise of 'crisis moments' and 'threat'.[14] Miller, working in the context of neighbourhood protests, believed that 'so long as there is no suggestion of change, no perception of threat' then the meanings invested in a place 'tend to remain implicit and unexpressed'.[15] However, in times of rapid change the past is ascribed with a contemporary value as the 'continued existence of familiar surroundings may satisfy a psychological need, which even if irrational, is very real. Nothing gives more tangible assurance of stability than bricks and mortar'.[16] Lynch in his study of American cities supported this assertion as he found that widespread upheaval ensured there was an almost 'pathological attachment' to anything historic that was not demolished.[17] This was supported by Grenville's findings that 'in societies that have been subject to rapid or violent change, a return to 'routine', such as in Warsaw or Seoul, may provide a mechanism for social cohesion'.[18] This threat of change was therefore the catalyst for *reaction* and the expression of attachments to places in the case studies.

This assertion was complemented by Giddens who believed that 'ontological security is the confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and the constancy of the surrounding social and material

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[13] This group was the Atelier Populaire d'Urbanisme (APU), who for reasons documented in chapter 4, were unable or unwilling to divert resources away from the battle to save their homes in the Alma-Gare district of Roubaix. See M.J. Miller, *The Representation of Place, Urban Planning and Protest in France and Great Britain, 1950-1980,* Aldershot, 2003

[14] Ibid, pp. 24 and 29

[15] Ibid, p. 29

[16] P, Hubbard, The Value of Conservation: A Critical Review of Behavioural Research, *Town Planning Review,* Vol.64, No.4, 1993, p. 363

[17] K. Lynch, *The Image of the City,* Massachusetts, 1960, p. 42

[18] J. Grenville, Conservation as Psychology: Ontological Security and the Built Environment, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol.13. No.6, 2007, p. 458 Although social cohesion *per se* was not uppermost in the minds of policy-makers whose remit was to economically and physically regenerate urban centres, the attraction and retention of new urban users was.

environments of action.' [19] This familiarity in surrounding social and material environments was furnished by the retention of the existing landscape and was heightened in periods of perceived rapid change. The historic environment remained a constant in times of rapid urban change and as such was valued because it was familiar and could therefore anchor the changes in society. [20] The historic environment served a dual purpose from the 1970s onwards – firstly, as an island of continuity in a sea of urban change and secondly, through the re-use of the buildings as a solution to repopulating and reviving urban centres and thus diversifying the socio-economic base of the city. The historic environment was thus perceived as a flexible solution to urban problems.

The Value of Reconceptualising Historic Urban Spaces

Improving the economic condition of the city was foremost in the intentions of policy-makers involved in urban regeneration during the 1980s and 1990s. The proposed and actual changes made to the historic environment exposed the different conceptualisations of urban space and the capability of the agents of change to mould the historic environment to fit their different urban priorities. Just as the nineteenth-century railways and inner city ring roads during the 1960s reconfigured urban space in response to changing business needs and the urban visions of town leaders and town planners, the re-use of historic buildings once again exposed the different ways in which the city spaces and buildings after 1970 are both perceived and reconceived. These conceptualisations were regulated by the remits of the agencies involved and thus showed how the urban environment became a pawn in a political game of meeting urban targets.

During the course of Castlefield's regeneration the area was perceived as a tourist destination, a residential enclave, a commercial location, and as a vibrant example of a night time economy. These different conceptualisations of the historic environment brought museums, apartments, recording studios, offices, bars, restaurants and hotels into Castlefield. The new uses all reflected the agendas of the different agencies involved. Greater Manchester County Council worked to a wider remit that embraced the region and as such funded and co-ordinated the restoration and re-use of Liverpool Road Station as the Manchester

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[19] A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity,* Cambridge, 1990, p. 448

[20] This aligns with Lowenthal's six reasons why history is valued which was explored in chapter 1

Museum of Science and Industry. This focus was narrowed by Manchester City Council, who after the abolition of County Councils under local government reorganisations in the mid 1980s, promoted Castlefield as a residential area in order to increase their tax base. This reflected both the local remit of City Councils but also illustrated their redefined role in which budget cuts seriously undermined their ability to govern the city and thus increasing tax revenues was a feasible way of improving the urban condition but also as a way of increasing their financial ability. However, the introduction of Central Manchester Development Corporation, an agency with both a local and national remit, once again saw Castlefield's urban space reconceptualised as a mixed-use, 24 hour area cosmopolitan European city.

Further examples of the conceptualisations of the historic environment were illustrated by the restoration and re-use of the Motte-Bossut factory. Rather than be re-used for apartments, the former factory housed two new uses that aligned with two national policies. The East wing of the factory became the Centre des Archives du Monde du Travail, France's first interregional archives and the West wing became Eurotéléport, France's first international telecommunications centre. The Liberty building was also proposed as the site for a casino, restaurant, snooker hall, offices, apartments and student accommodation thus showing the multiplicity of uses associated with restored historic buildings.

The temporal dimension also conditioned the conceptualisation of urban space. The Haussmanisation of Paris left the city unrecognisable from the previous era, the distinction between old and new towns, for example in Stockholm as the Gamla Stan ends and the Sergels Torg starts starkly locates space in time just as the ongoing re-design of Dubai is removing any previous traces of the area's history. These examples illuminate the temporal trajectory of urban design and how societal preoccupations and economic capability conditioned the reconceptualisation of urban space. The changing beliefs over the use of urban space affected the conceptualisations of the historic environment.

The museum and visitor's centre that opened in Castlefield during the early 1980s revealed the increased emphasis on urban tourism. However, into the 1990s this focus on lifestyle gravitated towards experiencing the city and as such the night-time economy started to become an attractive proposition and thus

Castlefield's historic buildings became bars and restaurants. Diversifying the urban economy was also a major component during this period and as such throughout the 1980s, 1990s and into the twenty-first century creative, cultural and communications industries were all feasible new uses for both Castlefield and Motte-Bossut. The temporal dimension thus regulated the conceptualisations of the urban and historic environment.

The Value of Legitimacy

The association with a successful past ensured that a historic building was manipulated to convey a selective and indeed sanitised image of the past. In an unstable urban world where uncertainty and instability reigned as traditional industrial bases contracted, the economic climate lurched into crisis, and urban riots signalled the extent of unrest the ability to anchor urban change in continuity and stability was a tool employed by the agents of change to both legitimise their plans and also to give their collective agencies and individual reputations a justifiable position.

This was a tool utilised in Manchester where in order to lure private sector investment into the area and thus ensure Central Manchester Development Corporation fulfilled its remit to successfully regenerate the area, the Corporation presented an image of the city that was rooted in the success of its past

> Manchester was at the forefront of the industrial revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was the first Industrial City. The legacy of the invention, prosperity and confidence of this period of bold growth remains: canals, railways, mills, warehouses and offices.[21]

Central Manchester Development Corporation then combined this rich built historic legacy with human characteristics as they stressed that this was 'a city rich in ideas and with the people possessing the initiative, drive and determination to turn those ideas into reality'.[22] The human capabilities of the great Manchester Men of the nineteenth-century were inextricably connected to the built environment in a move designed to encourage private investors to work with the same industrial structures that made both Manchester and the reputation

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[21] Central Manchester Development Corporation, *Strategy for Consultation*, Manchester, 1989, point 1.1

[22] Ibid

of its urban leaders. History was therefore fused with the present in order to secure an urban renaissance and thus legitimate the involvement of the Development Corporation.

A similar situation was witnessed in Roubaix. André Diligent and his centre-right party ended over seventy-years of Socialist administration by winning the local election in 1983. Diligent used Motte-Bossut as a way to separate himself both himself and his party from the outgoing administration and the stance of the previous Mayor which favoured the demolition of the factory. Diligent promoted the building and its re-use as a way to use the past to fuel the future whereas Victor Provo had rejected the industrial past. Diligent's conscious policy was motivated by a local desire to demarcate himself from previous Mayors but was also influenced by a national agenda that believed in the ability of culture to stimulate the economy. In this way, the Motte-Bossut factory became a political pawn used to boost Diligent's reputation and to legitimate his party through aligning himself with evolving national policies.

On the other hand the Liberty building was used to legitimise the work of the two government quangos: City Challenge and the Leicester Urban Regeneration Company. The continuous decline of the building and the inability of the City Council to effect urgent works and repair notices along with an uncooperative private owner ensured that both quangos felt that the appearance of the building was hindering their plans to regenerate Leicester. Its location on a main artery in and out of Leicester left the quangos questioning whether we really want this image for our city and whether it would be liberating for the city to allow its demolition.

This use of the historic environment to legitimate actions is not a new phenomenon, indeed Mussolini was the epitome of a conscious manipulator of the past. However, the fact those different agencies in Britain and France used the historic environment to achieve legitimacy revealed how the historic environment can be manipulated in many different ways and to meet various agendas. The buildings were thus ascribed with a contemporary value as they could be manipulated to legitimise the work and position of key agencies in urban politics.

Managing Values

> 'Planners must use the criteria of today to decide which cultural materials and properties to save for tomorrow.'[23]

The 'criteria of today' related to both the contemporary urban agenda and the institutional framework and organisational structure charged with the delivery of urban regeneration. Value judgements on the historic environment were conditioned by the type of urban regeneration desired by agents and the ways in which certain agencies were able to navigate the organisational structure to assert their dominance. The differences in the values ascribed to the historic environment from the stark binary between retention and demolition to the more subtle variation in their new uses rests with the existing and evolving institutional framework and organisational structure that conditioned the contemporary values ascribed to historic buildings by urban actors.

The existence of a designation and classification system in both Britain and France allowed the buildings to be ascribed with a contemporary value. However, this was not sufficient to prevent their demolition nor did it find new uses for the buildings. The future of the buildings within an urban regeneration context therefore rested with the planning and policy systems in operation and how different agencies each holding different values to meet different remits were able to ascribe them through assuming dominance with the existing institutional framework and organisation structure of governance.

The importance of elucidating the institutional framework and organisational structure allows the value judgements to be put into context. The ability of the Leicester Group of the Victorian Society to submit a listing application to get Liberty spot listed and the campaigns of Liverpool Road Station Society to find a new use for Liverpool Road Station rested with the existing structures that allowed the voluntary sector a voice within the British planning system. The involvement of the public in the British planning system became common after the 1960s.[24] Public opinion is voiced at public enquiries, in consultation meetings and through applications to spot-list historic buildings. This public interest is often represented by voluntary amenity groups and in the case of the historic environment local historical societies. This negates the heterogeneity of public

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[23] Lipe, *Value and Meaning in Cultural Resources*, 1984, p. 2

[24] P.J. Larkham, *Conservation and the City*, Routledge, London, 1996, p.65

interest, which transcends class, education and wealth boundaries. The result is that although these societies campaign for the local community of the common good the likelihood is that 'that they are directly representative, in terms of numbers of members, of only a small proportion of the population'.[25] Moreover, these views may well be those of a minority who the *New Statesman* somewhat harshly described as

> the ever-present ancient establishment, the landed aristocracy, the products of Oxford and Cambridge, the landowners, the officer-class, and, behind them, their hangers-on: the trendy academics with less pretensions to gentility who prove their club-worthiness by espousing these elitist views.[26]

In general the historic societies represent 'the well-educated, vociferous elite, rather than the public at large'.[27] This is supported by the membership figures, which illustrate 'predominantly middle-class occupations and values.'[28] Indeed in Castlefield and Liberty those involved were conservationists, teachers, planners, academics and lecturers. In France access to the planning system still exists and public consultations are also held. However, the act of forming a group to campaign for a cause was, in this case, not as entrenched as in Britain.

When considered against the eleven and eight-year campaigns of the voluntary sector in Manchester and Leicester to prevent the continued decay and demolition of historic buildings, the decision to make a clandestine video of the interior of the Motte-Bossut factory appears incomparable. However, when put into the context that the 'political project of nation-building pursued by the French state not only led to a weak concept of civil society but also to the persistent fear of the dangers of communities operating within the public sphere'[29] this action assumes more importance. Furthermore, the urban condition and pressing urban needs also mediated the degree to which historic buildings were on the radar of its citizens. Roubaisiens' immediate need to save their *courées* from demolition

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[25] Ibid, p. 66

[26] The *New Statesman* 1973, p. 146 quoted from Ibid

[27] Ibid

[28] Ibid

[29] This was supported by the World Value Survey from 1981 and 1991 and the URBED report detailed in chapter 4. Jennings, Citizenship, Republicanism and Multiculturalism in Contemporary France, *British Journal of Political Science,* Vol.30, No.4, p. 597 cited in M. Dikeç, *Badlands of the Republic, Space, Politics, and Urban Policy,* Oxford, 2007, p. 10

rendered the retention of a historic building secondary. Indeed, in the 1970s as the Chief Planning Officer in Liverpool stated 'it is unreal to expect local interests, in an area which has suffered for many decades from chronic unemployment, to consider the preservation of a building more important than the opportunity of 40,000 jobs'[30] thus illustrating the impact of competing urban priorities on the future of the historic environment.

The fact that the societies involved with Castlefield and Liberty were not neighbourhood organisations but rather united by their shared appreciation of history rendered this urban context immaterial. Roubaix, in contrast to the rest of France does contain numerous voluntary societies ranging from sports clubs to those that arrange neighbourhood festivals; and indeed Garbaye[31] has credited the rise of immigrant political leaders to the vibrant voluntary ethos in Roubaix. However, these organisations were primarily concerned with improving the lives and living conditions of the residents in their neighbourhoods and were less concerned with conservation issues. Furthermore, the overwhelming dominance of either the State or the Mayors Victor Provo and André Diligent left little opportunity for voluntary sector organisations to have an impact on decisions concerning the future of the Motte-Bossut building and thus supported the URBED conclusions that 'they (France) are surprised by our (British) enthusiasm for relying on voluntary and community organisations rather than elected local authorities'.[32]

This also reflects the lack of an elite within Roubaix when compared to Manchester and Leicester. Traditionally both Manchester and Leicester developed service sector industries outside their industrial base as universities and financial and administrative sectors located in these two British cities. This was in marked contrast to Roubaix where their elite consisted purely of business leaders and whose workforce was mainly unskilled, and of whom a large proportion were immigrants with little knowledge of French. An educated elite

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[30] R. Hewison, *The Heritage Industry*, *Britain in a Climate of Decline,* London, 1987, p. 100 See chapter 3 for more detail on the socio-economic and political context of urban centres in Britain and France in the 1970s.

[31] R. Garbaye, *Getting Into Local Power, The Politics of Ethnic Minorities in British and French Cities,* Oxford, 2005

[32] Urban and Economic Development (URBED), *Learning from Lille and Roubaix, Sub-Regional Planning and the Coordination of Transport and Development*, London, 2006, p. 12

formed the backbone of civic societies from the early twentieth centuries and as Larkham has noted contributed to local historical societies. This British phenomenon contrasted starkly with the relative lack of voluntary activity in France and was certainly weaker in Roubaix compared to Manchester and Leicester.

The institutional framework allowed public participation yet as Liberty showed this was not sufficient to prevent the building's demolition. Within Castlefield a series of informal networks propelled the area on to the local and regional agenda as key men within the voluntary sector also had jobs with Manchester City Council and Greater Manchester County Council. Without these networks it is doubtful whether the decline of Castlefield would have been halted. Castlefield's hidden and decayed environment previously provided a barrier as the Conservation Officer stated: 'no one could see the history let alone the potential of the area'[33] and thus the intervention of key individuals was vital.

In France, connections between individuals holding several different positions are formalised. The tradition of the *Grand Notables* was in evidence with Motte-Bossut as personal connections were made between key individuals working at every level of French government. The values placed on the building by the local historical societies in Castlefield and by Diligent in Roubaix were realised through the informal and formal networks in place in England and France. Despite the fact that the historical societies were representative of an elite in Leicester their membership did not include, as it did in Manchester, the building conservation officer, architectural conservation officer and planner. Leicester historical societies consequently lacked a direct entry into the debate in the public sector and with less influence and positive leverage were unable ultimately to prevent the demolition of the Liberty Building.

In addition to formal and informal networks, central-local relationships further mediated the value judgements of the key agents of change. In the context of Thatcher's distrust of local authorities and the relinquishment of the *dirigiste* state in light of the decentralisation laws in France, new agencies were created and the roles of existing agencies were redefined in moves which impacted on the

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[33] Interview with W. Marshall, Conservation Officer in Manchester City Council, March 2006

value of the historic environment. The creation of single issue bodies under the Thatcher government ensured that City Councils were reduced to the role of enablers who needed to align with the quangos to secure their role in the regeneration of their cities. These single issue bodies, City Challenge, Urban Development Corporations and Urban Regeneration Companies, were able to channel national resources into local issues unconstrained by the intricacies of a sensitive local situation. Furthermore, they had both the autonomy and the ability to fast track regeneration. City Councils therefore became the junior partners to the whims of a time-limited, specially created delivery vehicle. This impacted on the decision to retain Castlefield and Liberty as Manchester City Council found a niche role within Central Manchester Development Corporation to ensure that their City Centre Local Plan (1984)[34] was adopted and left CMDC able to speed up regeneration rather than create strategies.[35]

In Leicester both City Challenge and Leicester Regeneration Company failed to find a viable use for Liberty. Indeed City Challenge focussed on another historic building and at various stages LRC put pressure on the City Council as well as closing one potential avenue of funding for the restoration of the building. Throughout the discussions of the future of Liberty, under the Thatcher, Major and Blair governments, Leicester City Council and in particular their Conservation Department was marginalised by the wishes of central government quangos whereas Manchester City Council changed its outlook to embrace an entrepreneurial spirit and thus found a niche within CMDC.[36] A different situation was witnessed in France where a series of decentralisation laws in the early 1980s under Mitterrand's plan to democratise the country led to an increased role for the local authorities. Set in this context the role of Diligent and the Ville de Roubaix in defining the exact nature of the new uses for Motte-Bossut represented a shift in the relations between the state and the municipalité as the

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[34] The Local Plan contained many references in favour of conservation. See Chapters 2, 4 and 5 for more detail

[35] See Chapter 5 for the formalised working relations and importance of personality within the two organisations that helped foster an ethos of partnership

[36] The Left Wing City Council adopted a pragmatic approach to regeneration by embracing an entrepreneurial, market-driven approach to urban regeneration and working with private investors. This marked shift in the ethos of Manchester City Council is covered in I. Deas et al, Rescripting Urban Regeneration, the Mancunian Way, pp. 206-230 in R. Imrie and H. Thomas, *British Urban Policy,* 2nd edition, London, 1999

Ville de Roubaix was able to tailor the new use to the local context and also redistribute tax revenues to fund the restoration and re-use.

These changes in the centre-local relationships also impacted on the availability of finance for restoring and re-using historic buildings. An agency's position within the institutional framework of central-local relations conditioned its access to funding. This point was most evident with Liberty where the City Council was unable to prevent the further decay of the building or provide alternative sources of funding to secure its restoration. Whereas Central Manchester Development Corporation and the Ville de Roubaix[37] accessed national and European funding as well as attracting private investment, Leicester City Council was constantly rebuffed in its attempts to find funds to restore Liberty. European funding was unavailable as the building was not in a deprived ward, regional development money was not forthcoming as they did not fund wholly residential schemes which was the preferred choice of the developers, national funds went to different buildings, and VAT restrictions could not be raised. Additionally, the required cost to restore the building mounted up light of the City Council's inability to prosecute urgent works or repair notices. The total cost of restoring Liberty was £2 million, half the £4 million cost to restore Merchant's Warehouse in Castlefield. However, European Regional Development Funding and a cooperative private owner resulted in Merchant's re-use as computer software offices.

Both Castlefield and Motte-Bossut stimulated the urban economies of Manchester and Roubaix respectively by diversifying the economy. Castlefield's mixed-use development which catered for a portfolio of urban users and Motte-Bossut's business focus brought new sources of money into the urban centres. These were not, however, sufficient by themselves. Manchester developed a retail sector to cater for the needs of the new urban users and this complemented the residential, commercial and leisure uses of Castlefield. Additionally the small area approach was adopted in other parts of the city as the Northern Quarter, Ancoats Urban Village, Cathedral Quarter and Piccadilly Gardens were among numerous schemes to improve specific urban areas in order to provide a

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[37] The use of a Société d'Economie Mixte (SEM) and then a Société d'Anonymie Economie Mixte (SAEM), also reflected the increased role for local authorities after decentralisation as the municipalité was able to collect and redistribute taxes to contribute to the restoration and re-use of Motte-Bossut. See chapter 5 for more on these funding mechanisms.

comprehensive physical and economic regeneration of the city centre. More recently, the city has also been subjected to a number of social regeneration initiatives with Neighbourhood Renewal Funds and Millennium Community projects. Conservation was one component that raised the city's image, attracted investment, and allowed new cultural buildings such as the Bridgewater Hall, Beetham Tower and Urbis to co-exist with rejuvenated historic buildings. The conservation of Manchester's industrial buildings was the catalyst for attracting both people and investment but over time this focus was broadened to ensure that conservation became a piece of the urban renaissance jigsaw.

Similarly, Roubaix did not just restore Motte-Bossut in isolation and numerous other industrial buildings have since been restored and re-used as dance studios, museums, art galleries, workshops, apartments, university offices and offices. Alongside this the municipalité has introduced tax free zones to stimulate business development and has introduced a retail quarter in which only people living in Roubaix are allowed to work. This was in response to the fear that hi-tech developments like Eurotéléport were marginalising Roubaisiens, a concern also shown by the addition of a drawbridge on to Motte-Bossut designed to symbolically connect past with present and future. Like Manchester, although these two developments were the catalysts for urban regeneration they needed to become part of a holistic plan in order for the city to achieve a sustainable renaissance. The historic environment also gave Manchester and Roubaix a place on the European stage as detailed in chapters 5 and 6 and as such was designed to bring wider economic benefits into these former industrial centres. Values ascribed to the historic environment therefore related to the past, present and future perception of the city.

Moulding Values

The inherent malleability of the historic environment and the capability of urban actors to mould and manipulate the spaces, places and ideas of the industrial city were instrumental in the decision to retain or demolish. The conceptual nexus of space, place and power that has run throughout the thesis is evident in the degree of manipulation found during the process of urban regeneration. Valuing spaces by turning them into places was conditioned by the degree to which spaces, places and ideas could be moulded to fit the various urban agendas apparent during the process of urban regeneration. The inherent

malleability of Castlefield allowed it to be conceived as fulfilling several different urban roles yet this malleability was only expressed as different urban actors became involved. Similarly, the addition of the drawbridge on Motte-Bossut moulded the building to fit with the image of post-industrial Roubaix. The most explicit manipulation however was of the Liberty statue which was subjected to varying views and ascribed different values in order to obscure the demolition of the building and then legitimise a new structure. At every stage of place-making, spaces were manipulated as the areas surrounding the historic buildings were reconfigured, places were given new functions and thus invested with new meanings and the image of industrial cities was selected and sanitised in a holistic attempt to manipulate the past, present and future.

This aligns with the work of Maurice Halbwachs and Mary Douglas. Using Halbwachs concept of collective memory and applying it to urban memories in the respect of the historic environment similarities were found to exist. Halbwachs found that 'collective memory' only 'retains the elements which continue to live, or are capable of living in the consciousness of the group that keeps the memory alive'.[38] The ability of actors to mould the spaces, places and ideas allied to the receptiveness of the historic building to facilitate change regulated the degree to which urban memories lived on in the consciousness. Douglas placed Halbwachs' views into the context of institutions to conclude that memories took on a particular form according to a group's wishes. The way in which urban actors working within the institutional framework perceived urban memories and the degree to which they could be moulded to fit their remit correlated with the findings of both Halbwachs and Douglas. If Liberty had been located in Castlefield, or in a deprived European ward, or in the hands of a cooperative private owner then it may have been ascribed a contemporary value that saw the iconic building remain in the urban landscape. Values are therefore not inherent but dependent on how urban actors perceived and subsequently received the urban fabric and how their views were conditioned by the institutional framework and organisational structure in which they operated. In a different context where Leicester City Council had more power and access to funding the value of Liberty might have been different. However, when compared to Castlefield and Motte-Bossut, Liberty was demolished because of the absence

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[38] Miller, *The Representation of Place,* 2003, p. 16

of informal networks, the limitations of city councils, and the inability to access funding. All these factors contributed to the modest contemporary value of the Liberty Building and because the voluntary sector was essentially powerless it had little leverage to mount a rescue campaign.

This research has shown that the historic environment is continually subject to the dominant agents of change. Managing urban change rested upon the degree to which the existing environment could be moulded to fit the urban agenda. In the context of understanding the contemporary importance of history it was the inherent malleability of the historic environment in terms of its flexibility, its capability to be moulded to incorporate many new uses, legitimise positions, and the ability of key agents to manipulate the structures of change that ensured their judgements of historical value were realised. The spaces, places and ideas of history therefore lend themselves to manipulation as urban spaces can be re-designed, historic buildings can be re-used, and the ideas of the past can be sanitised and selected to align with the wishes of the agencies and the demands of the contemporary urban agenda. History may itself not be inherently valuable, but in the context of urban regeneration it has value due to its inherently malleability. The degree to which this was achieved then lay with the capability of the agents of change to access funding, establish working relations, and formulate and implement plans. Securing an urban renaissance thus lay with the management and manipulation of existing market structures and historic values.

Conclusion

Values are not homogeneous, as illustrated by the different conceptualisations of urban spaces by different actors over time and space. The historic environment may appear static and fixed but the requirements of urban regeneration demanded it was invested with new meanings and values. Values differed between places and agencies yet they were all motivated by the inherent malleability of the historic environment. Through manipulating the spaces, places and ideas of the industrial era the agents of change in each case study were able to envisage plans for their contemporary city which were then regulated by the institutional framework, and organisations and market structures. The values ascribed to the historic environment by official actors also impinged on the values held by urban users who had a limited impact on implementing the contemporary urban agenda. Official actors also regulated the future values invested in the city

by changing the urban landscape to cater for a new wave of urban users who could then move around the area, interact with people and the environment and carry out their daily life patterns in order to invest new meanings and ascribe personalised values in the revitalised historic environment.

The decision to retain or demolish the historic environment rested on three axioms. Firstly, the psychological benefits of continuity within urban change through embracing an intangible past; secondly, the effect of the institutional framework and organisational structures on the value judgements of the agents of change; and thirdly, the inherent malleability of the historic environment which enabled it to be manipulated at every stage to legitimate positions, secure visions and implement plans through the conscious moulding of the spaces, places and ideas of the industrial era. These truisms also regulated future perceptions of the city and more importantly left an indelible mark on the memories of the city. A dual palimpsest thus arose out of the decisions to retain or demolish. A palimpsest of historical development was further layered by the restoration and re-use of existing buildings and a palimpsest of attachment was created as new people, both official agents and urban users, frequented the revitalised city and ascribed their own collective and personalised values. Therefore in terms of both urban and personal memories the agents of change through their decision to retain or demolish mediated the past, present and future perceptions and memories of the city.

In revealing the impact of these decisions on the perceptions of the city and the contemporary values of the historic environment ascribed by urban users, future work would complement this study by providing the cultural rather than structural perspective. Values are not singular, objective or fixed, but are plural, selective and transitory, and values ascribed by official actors can be contradicted by urban users. Indeed, 'each person or group views, uses and constructs the same landscape in different ways; these are neither "right" or "wrong", but rather are part of the many layers of meaning within one landscape'.[39] Investigating why urban users value the historic environment would then allow the agents of

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[39] H.P.M. Winchester, *The Construction and Destruction of Women's Roles in the Urban Landscape,* p. 140 in N. Moore and Y. Whelan (eds), *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity, New Perspectives on the Cultural Landscapes,* Aldershot, 2007, p. 97

change to tailor their visions and further manipulate the historic environment to cater for the needs of urban users rather than impose a set of values that were conditioned by the complex interaction of agencies within a defined institutional framework which adhered to a system of organisational structures. Furthermore, to probe the question of values and of motive an examination of different cities is warranted and researching Rome's changing attitude to its industrial heritage as illustrated by the most recent Master Plan (*piano regolatore* 2000), is one such strand for future research. The decision to embrace Rome's industrial heritage despite the city's illustrious cultural heritage provides an intriguing insight into the ascription of contemporary values to historically significant buildings. This model of ascribing contemporary value to historic buildings in different cultural, socio-economic and political contexts by both official actors and urban users in varying European urban centres will shape the future direction of my research.

The examination of motive is still vital to understanding the role of the historic environment in urban change as without it academic literature is left without a robust analysis of the contemporary value of the historic environment. Ashworth believes that

> an understanding of the motivation is needed to explain the origins and nature of the conserved historic city, not least because the sort of motive is a determining influence upon the criteria and thus selection of what is to be conserved, as well as the interpretation of the past to users and therefore the role that the conserved city plays for citizens and visitors.[40]

Unravelling the many motivations for ascribing value and layers of meaning and setting them into their institutional and organisational context therefore explains why certain historic buildings are retained and others are demolished and probes why urban history remains important today.

The historic environment has been shown to be capable of manipulation and domination by agents of change whose roles are secured through the modification of the institutional framework and organisational structures. This then lay at the heart of the decisions as to when, and whether or not to retain or demolish a historic industrial building. The extent to which a historic building could be moulded to fit an agenda and could then be remoulded to fit yet another agenda mediated its contemporary value. In this way the agents of urban change

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[40] Ashworth, *Heritage Planning,* 1991, p. 8

acted as guardians for the memories and values of the city. In the context of urban regeneration schemes a building cannot therefore be ascribed a value which ensures its retention if it does not become part of a shared vision in which the space, place and the idea can be manipulated to project a positive image. A historic building therefore does not hold an innate value but is conditioned by the degree to which its surrounding spaces and its ideas can be aligned with the contemporary context. The extent to which the agents of change are able to manipulate the historic environment within the confines of the institutional framework and organisational structures regulates their belief that to 'neglect history, to neglect memory, is then to deny oneself; it is to begin' economic, political, psychological, cultural, social and 'suicide'.[41]

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[41] C. Daly in M.C Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory, Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*, London, 1994, p. 16

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