Regenerating Communities :
A Theological and Strategic Critique

End of Year One Report:
Mapping The Boundaries

December 2003

Chapter 1 – Introduction

Aims of the research.

Regenerating Communities – A Theological and Strategic Critique is concerned with the strategic response of theology and church-based[1] communities to the rapidly changing nature of English urban life, and ongoing issues of poverty and marginalisation within it. It is being carried out by the William Temple Foundation. Named after Archbishop William Temple, one of the architects of the post-war welfare state in Britain, the WTF, as an independent faith-based research and training organisation operating out of Manchester for the past 30 years, has enabled analysis and theological reflection of major social and economic trends. This present research project represents WTF's ongoing commitment to developing a public theology for the UK which will engage, from the perspective of a Christian ethical response, with what best constitutes human flourishing and freedom within current social, economic and urban trends.

The full report will soon be available at http://www.wtf.org.uk. We are exploring the impact of globalisation on local communities in Manchester, and the role of churches and other faith groups in contributing to local networks of response to rapid urban and social change.

The Problematic addressed by this research
After 20 years of action by both the church and government policy makers, the problems of poverty which marginalise people, communities and churches have persisted and mutated. This research project is an attempt to get inside that problematic and contribute to it by resolving it.

Methodology and style
The preferred methodological stance of this research is that of *theoretical saturation*. This means that the research will be both inductive (i.e. being open to what emerges from the research) and deductive (i.e. having certain preconceived theories and understandings that it seeks to confirm). The aim is to 'spiral' towards new understandings and contributions to knowledge by alternating cycles of testing out theories that emerge from *inductive* sources (i.e. qualitative data such as primary and secondary narrative sources, responses to field studies, intuitive processes) with *deductive* sources (i.e. empirical data generated by statistics). We believe that such a methodology is appropriate in order to arrive at a new depth of understanding and analysis of the complex ways in which the global forces currently shaping the New Manchester are impacting on local neighbourhoods in respect of the current regeneration debate and the role of churches and other faith groups within it. It has led us to adopt a multi-focal approach to data-gathering which is complex and ambitious. The status of this first year summary is that the process of listening to the dialogue between inductive/deductive and qualitative/quantitative sources of data at both global and local levels is ongoing. In other words, this first year has been about mapping the terrain at a variety of different levels; geographical, theoretical and narrative. This document therefore reflects a description of where we have got to so far, the methods we have used, the processes we have encountered along the way and some of the emerging questions which are appearing. As such it is, in places, more propositional than

---

[1] All recent reports into faith-based regeneration have been properly orientated towards looking at all-faith resources. There was a perception in the Diocese of Manchester and elsewhere, that while an inter-faith agenda is essential given the faith and ethnic diversity in our urban spaces, it is occasionally right to focus on the churches and their strategic options specifically, so that better-informed and more confident church communities can be effective partners in multi-faith dialogue and regeneration initiatives. It is important to stress however that because the research is focusing on the global changes impacting Manchester, recognition of the ethnic, cultural and religious dimensions of urban change is central, including contributions from other-faith community representatives.

analytical and ongoing. **We invite anyone who has an interest in these issues to contribute their insights and responses to this research at this stage.**

With the aim of contributing to the five interrelated areas of study outlined below, we hope to;

1.1 Identify questions[1] and develop theories

i) Specifically we will question and theorise the *processes of globalisation, regeneration and marginalisation* as currently experienced in Manchester, as a case study of a representative English core city and European regional capital.

Key areas to be theorised include;

- the transition of Manchester from a globalising centre of production to a globalised centre of consumption
- the role and identity of the church within post-modern urban space
- new expressions of poverty and social exclusion in the New Manchester
- underlying processes that often work against the stated outcomes of regeneration
- the nature and role of local civil society as it responds to globalised patterns of urban, economic, social and cultural change

The project will also;

ii) *Use* these theories and questions *to contribute to the ongoing theological understanding/interpretation,* of these issues at a local, national and international level.

iii) *Enter the debate within regeneration agencies* on strategies and visions for neighbourhood renewal, offering the results of our explorations as they emerge.

iv) *Contribute practically, via training, to capacity building* in church communities/faith-based groups and other agencies in the community/voluntary sector.

 v) *Disseminate its finding*s.

The research runs from October 2002 to Autumn 2005. It has secured grants of £17,000 from the Council for Social Action (CSA) in the Diocese of Manchester to cover set-up and research costs for Year 1. Further funding from the Church Urban Fund for £25,000 has been secured to cover Years 2 and 3. (For details of staff please turn to Appendix 1)

1.2 Policy relevance and methodology

This research is intended to substantially develop the findings emerging from largely middle-ground research, which exists mainly to examine practical ways of deploying human and material resources of faith communities in the service of community cohesion and neighbourhood renewal.[2]

---

[2] Research currently underway includes *Engaging Faith Communities in Urban Regeneration* (Farnell, Furbey, al-Haqq Hills, Smith) being undertaken for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (due for completion in September 2002); also a report commissioned by the Church Urban Fund and the DTLR entitled *Faith Buildings in*

This research attempts to get to a deeper level of both sociological and theological analysis by: *identifying and reflecting on the values and principles* involved in the processes of partnership and regeneration, as expressed by those participating, at various levels, in these processes.

The typologies of participant we have identified are as follows;

- **Governmental** (regional government; local authority; health/education/ crime and community safety partnerships; poverty and exclusion partnerships; sustainability agendas; race/community relations; transport; LSPS)
- **Professional** (academics; planners; architects; consultants; health and education professionals; clergy people; other faith leaders)
- **Business community** (SMEs CBI, Chambers of Commerce, RDAs)
- **Community and Voluntary Sector** (umbrella groups; associations; community groups)
- **Grassroots communities** (contributing to the regeneration debate both in their capacity as consumers and as shapers of local regeneration initiatives)
- **Church** (church-based groups and other faith-based communities engaged at street-level in local community regeneration)

We will develop our analyses by;

- *Identifying and reflecting on the experiences of marginalisation and regeneration* which lie underneath stated regeneration objectives, by listening to the stories of individuals and communities. This will be mainly qualitative analysis e.g. documentary evidence, semi-structured interview, group work.
- I*dentifying and reflecting upon the impact of globalisation* on Manchester and selected local communities. This can often be measured by quantitative data e.g. local reports, 2001 census, community development plans etc.
- *Reflecting in a consciously theological way on praxis and engagement* in neighbourhood renewal by churches and faith bodies.
- *Contributing to the growing role of a public theology in the UK.*

1.3 Outputs

The three year structure of this research means that outputs will be rolled out in the following ways;

Year 1: **Mapping**
This will include the area-based studies; semi-structured interviews; generation of theories (6 monthly and end of year reports will be available in a variety of appropriate formats).

Year 2: **Data collection**

Neighbourhood Renewal, which will seek to produce good practice guidelines for the use of faith buildings in regeneration; and a CUF Report, *Flourishing Communities,* commissioned by the Inner Cities Religious Council and the NDC Unit, and intended to evaluate the contribution of various faith communities in 3 NDC areas: Wolverhampton, Bradford and Tower Hamlets.

This will use a variety of methods and settings, leading to the writing up of findings and sharing of methods (6 monthly and end of year reports as above).

Year 3: **Training and consultation**
This will be based on research findings and include modules for academic courses and adult training events and a final write up in a variety of formats.

Plus: one **Conference** a year, to explore themes emerging from the research and associated academic teaching and outputs. (See Appendix 2 for public events and published works in which this research is being shared.)

This report will now move on to cover some of our research's work so far under three headings;

- **Area-based studies**
- **Regeneration Interviews**
- **Theories engaged with so far**

These areas overlap; the order they are presented in does not reflect a hermeneutical hierarchy or discrete phases, and only representative portions of work can be shared in each section.

Chapter 2 - Area-based studies

2.1 Rationale for the area-based mapping

This task aims to provide a manageable way of exploring issues at local level in order to better understand the impact of globalisation on Manchester. It involved 15 field visits (see Appendix 3) to three neighbourhoods in Manchester to map out key physical changes that have occurred in these communities, hear some of the human stories that have accompanied these changes, and collect local statistical data and history.

We intend in this chapter to set individuals' stories against the 'Manchester Story', i.e. the meta-narrative of how Manchester 'successfully ' managed the transition from 'Cottonopolis', a decaying manufacturing regional city based primarily on textile production and heavy engineering, to 'Ideopolis'[3], a new globally competitive knowledge and culture-based (and largely post-industrial) city that has 'performed well' in attracting inward investment and iconic status.

2.2 Two important presuppositions underpinning this aspect of the research

Firstly, we have presupposed Manchester to be a *paradigmatic or emblematic case study* of a European regional city undergoing deindustrialisation and the subsequent rebranding of itself as a city attractive to global inward investment, based on Higher Education, research and patenting, tourism, leisure, retailing and distribution. The significant amount of literature[4]

---

[3] This 'story' is most comprehensively mapped out in J.Peck and K.Ward eds., *City of Revolution* (Manchester University Press 2002).
[4] *City of Revolution,* A.Westwood and M.Nathan, *Manchester: Ideopolis? – Developing a knowledge capital,* (Work Foundation Report, 2002); D.Haslam, *Manchester, England: The Story of the Popcult City* (Fourth Estate, 1991)

dedicated to the thesis that Manchester was the first UK city to understand the significance of public private partnership and business-based approaches (including marketing and advertising) as tools for economic regeneration lends confidence to this presupposition.

Secondly, we endorse the idea of *glocalisation* – a theory first promulgated in the early 1990s to describe the 'compression' of space/time continuums which accompanies globalisation, for instance in the use of Internet technology by the global market for the purposes of inward investment, market penetration and homogenisation, and the mutual dependence of global producers on flexible, locally-based workforces and infrastructures. Glocalisation posits that local and global processes interpenetrate each other and are therefore only understandable in terms of each other.[5] Glocalisation is key to the methodology used in this research project; that we can extrapolate on the nature of urban globalisation from the basis of local case-study.

2.3 Field visits – methodology and outcomes

The mapping carried out within these area-based field visits has sought to collect data from different sources, both qualitative and quantitative. The data includes;

- Local history
- Geographical information (urban topography)
- Statistics (ward and neighbourhood-based)
- Narrative (conducted tours of areas with locally-based people)

The mapping involved walking round with an individual or group who were either;

- Living locally in one of the selected neighbourhoods
- Working professionally in one of the selected neighbourhoods
- Church based or community development based

During the walk, general questions were asked about the significant physical and social changes occurring within the area in the last $10 - 15$ years. Notes were taken on the tour, or salient facts memorised and written up immediately afterwards on the field visit template (see Appendix 4). 15 such field visits (roughly $5 - 6$ in each area) were conducted between December 2002 and May 2003. (See Appendix 3)

The template offered the opportunity for recording both quantitative data (i.e. facts and statistics) and qualitative data (i.e. responses and impressions formed by the researchers). This information was backed up by digital photos of key urban sites (please see Appendix 5) chosen to reflect the changes talked about. To maintain anonymity and confidentiality no photos of people were taken.

Three local communities within Manchester local authority area were chosen. They met the following criteria;

- They are, or have been, the focus of large-scale regeneration initiatives under the terms and conditions of current government policy

---

[5] For example, writings of Eril Swyngedouw, Roland Robertson and Thomas Coucherne.

- They are emblematic[6] of one or more key aspects of post-modern and globalising urban change as empirically evident through statistical analysis (2001 census figures etc)
- They have significant previous or current church or other faith community involvement in neighbourhood regeneration

2.4 The three areas chosen and their typological status

East Manchester

Emblematic of large capital-driven regeneration, focusing around big infrastructure projects e.g. Wal-Mart/Asda hypermarket and the Commonwealth Games Stadium. The regeneration of this area relies on the development of mixed housing markets which, on the basis of new leisure and retailing facilities and good transport links to the city centre, will attract high-earning professionals to live alongside the existing and largely re-housed community.

Moss Side/Hulme

Hulme is emblematic of an area being regenerated by the 're-presentation' of the adjoining city centre as 'a city of liveability.' The perception is that 'the new Hulme' is becoming whiter, more affluent and more fragmented. There is also a substantial gay and student population present within this area. Meanwhile significant pockets of poverty continue to exist amongst the 'nice new housing.'

Moss Side; emblematic of an inner city community facing rapid social and ethnic reconfiguration due to immigration from globalisation. There are now 27 distinct refugee communities within the community, and the local Church of England school has 16 ethnic groups attending, a third of which are Somali. The area is perceived by some as changing from a predominantly Christian culture to a Muslim one as a result.

Wythenshawe

Emblematic of white working class outer estates, now being 'suburbanised' in Wythenshawe's case on account of its proximity to Manchester's global hub i.e. its rapidly expanding airport. Old council housing is being demolished to make way for new private estates and converted tower blocks which are being marketed as either gated communities or 'city centre' style apartment living. Contains the poorest ward in England and Wales, roughly two miles from the airport.

The areas of study covered by this research correlate roughly to the following wards within the Manchester City Council area (IMD, Index of Multiple Deprivation, rating in brackets, with 1 being the most deprived out of 8414, and so on).

- Benchill   (1)
- Baguely   (240)
- Moss Side   (73)
- Hulme   (148)
- Beswick and Clayton   (17)
- Bradford   (22)

---

[6] For discussion of the criteria by which Manchester is emblematic of post-modern, globalising urban change, see Chapter 4, Section 1 of this paper.

2.5 Cross-referencing from the area-based studies.

The purpose of this section is to link the observations of the field-visits in the three research areas to the wider empirical evidence presented by statistics and planning documents. This section stresses the impact of physical regeneration and upheaval on local communities and thus forms an important part in understanding the background to the more narrative discourse which will appear in the next chapter. It raises important questions about the role of memory, narrative and identity physical buildings such as churches play in the regeneration of communities, an issue raised by Michelle Rickett in her section in Chapter 4. The cross-referencing of physical planning themes (such as economy and population) between the three areas shows both the common issues facing local Manchester communities as well as the specific problematics and opportunities each area typifies.

> '[An] element of the regeneration strategy has been the avowed intention to roll out regeneration progressively from one geographical area to another … This has two advantages. Not only is there an implicit suggestion that areas not yet tackled need only wait patiently until their turn comes, but it also has the undoubted merit that schemes can be relatively big and thereby increase the probability that the needs of deprived areas can be tackled comprehensively across such policy domains as housing, job creation, skills and education, crime and the like.'
> (Robson 2002 p.40)

This quotation summarises the 'roll out' model of regeneration adopted within Manchester since the early 1990s, and forms a convenient framework for understanding the forces at work within the three research areas of Hulme and Moss Side, East Manchester and Wythenshawe.

In the first of these areas, Hulme and Moss Side, it is possible to examine the effects of the City's 'roll-out' regeneration strategy over a ten year period in microcosm in two areas with distinct histories and identities. These have been increasingly fused via the 'seamless link' of regeneration into the generic 'Hulme/Moss Side', but nevertheless experience the impact of successive regeneration strategies very differently.

In the second area, East Manchester the same strategy is applied to an area also lying close to the city centre, but with different economic, social and cultural profiles and a huge regeneration initiative, which includes large infrastructure projects as well as major investment of capital.

In the third research area, Wythenshawe, we examine communities furthest from city centre prosperity, who, according to the logic of the 'roll out' model, are expected 'to wait patiently until their turn comes.' Yet the same area contains Benchill, the most deprived IMD ward in England, and it is possible to see a very different force - the global economy represented by Manchester Airport – shaping their future.
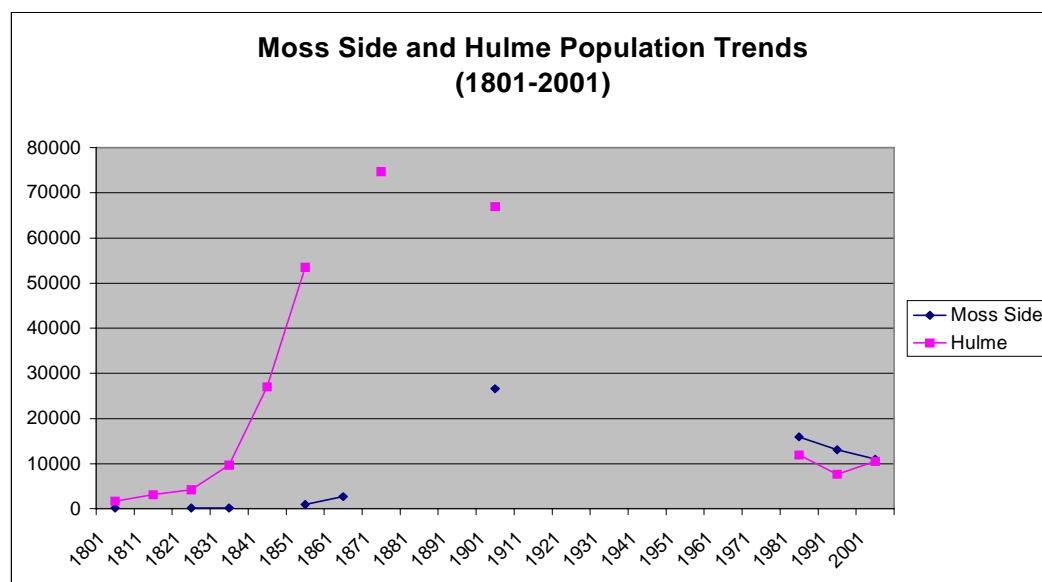
Hulme/Moss Side

> 'Construction work is underway on a new horseshoe shaped bridge that will cross over the Mancunian way linking Hulme with Knott Mill. The £1.3 million bridge which will reconnect the area with the City Centre is a result of a design competition led and managed by the Moss Side and Hulme Partnership … [It] is designed for use exclusively by pedestrians and cyclists. The Moss Side and Hulme Partnership anticipate that it will further stimulate usage of Hulme Park by visitors, the rapidly expanding residential population and workers from adjoining areas.' (Update Manchester. The Bulletin of Economic and Development Issues, April 2002, p.7)

The story of the new footbridge encapsulates this 'roll out' model of regeneration i.e. the conscious connection of newly regenerated Hulme with the prosperity of the city centre, followed by the implicit suggestion that the regeneration of Hulme is inter-linked with that of neighbouring Moss Side. This raises the issue of a subtle blurring of boundaries, or conscious rebranding, that is part of the regeneration process in Hulme and Moss Side. We begin with an historical overview.

History

In 1831, Hulme was a rapidly expanding industrial district with a population of 9,624, whereas Moss Side had a clear rural identity and a population of just 208. Seven years later, Hulme was incorporated into the new municipal borough of Manchester, whereas Moss Side had independent status until 1904. The two areas have distinct histories and identities, but their fortunes are nevertheless inter-related. Population trends illustrate their individual and linked stories since 1801;

Moss Side and Hulme Population Trends (1801-2001)

By 1871, Hulme's population had reached 74,731, a rapid population growth accompanied by extensive housing development (mainly artisan dwellings) between 1840 and 1870. Moss Side grew at a much slower rate and by 1861 stood at less than three thousand.

The 1870s show a reversal in fortunes with the highest mortality figures in the city now found in over-crowded Hulme. As populations consequently out-migrated, so Moss Side's population

increased, peaking at 26,583 in 1901 and precipitating residential development, the provision of public buildings and other amenities, including the Alexandra Park.

Hulme continued to wane so that by the 1930s, unemployment and housing conditions were among the worst in Manchester. Hulme was declared a clearance area, the largest in the country, in 1934. More houses were destroyed by the Manchester Blitz of December 1941.

Moss Side, now part of the City of Manchester, also began to experience decline and loss of status with pronounced out-migration and social decline in the 1930s, creating the conditions for post-war immigration in the 1940s and 50s.

> 'In the last three decades of the [nineteenth] century and the first three decades of [the twentieth] ... larger houses in Moss Side and the adjacent inner-ring areas of Manchester ... were home to the commercial middle classes of the city ... Continuing growth ... gave rise to a push of the commercial middle class outwards into the suburbs and beyond ... making use of the developing bus, tram and train systems to commute into the centre. Moss Side lost the prestige it had gained in the 1870s, and the suburbs to the south began to exercise a powerful pull ... One way of ... buying oneself into the southern suburbs was to 'farm' or rent out property in the inner city: ... during the 1920s and 1930s many thousands of properties ... were broken up and rented out as apartment houses…The area was, however, cheap; there was a considerable range of properties; and in the 1940s and 1950s, new migrants ... found Moss Side an attractive location.' (Taylor, Evans and Fraser 1996 pp.208-209)

The post-war City of Manchester Plan proposed that both Hulme and Moss Side be subsumed into a larger 'Moss Side District', with its own district centre and dramatically reduced population. In practice, change was implemented differently in each area. Hulme experienced wholesale demolition and redevelopment in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Demolition and new builds were concentrated in West Moss Side. By the 1970s, when the negative impact of such policies was rapidly becoming evident, improvement of the existing housing stock was proposed for the East. By 1981, when the notorious crescents had been declared unsuitable for family occupation, the population of Hulme for the first time slipped below Moss Side's. In 1991, Hulme dropped still further to 7,637.

The advent of Hulme City Challenge in 1992, the second reinvention of the area in less than thirty years, has reversed population trends. The 2001 census shows that Hulme's population (10,449) had increased by more than one third to almost equal that of Moss Side (10,977). But who lives in the new Hulme? And how does the population of Hulme compare with that of Moss Side?

Population

A distinctive feature of Hulme's population in 2001 is the high number of residents living in communal establishments; 28% of the total number. These are predominantly student residences, and the presence of a large student population is revealed in the age structure of the resident population. 46% is between 18 and 29, and just over one fifth (21%) between 20 and 24. It is the only ward in the research areas where men are the majority: 52.% of the population, compared with city figures of 48.8%.

By contrast, in Moss Side, the majority of the residents in 2001 (99.8%) lived in households. The age structure is strikingly younger; 28% of the population is under 18, and 9 % is under five. It is also, compared with Hulme, predominantly female (51%).

Ethnically Moss Side and Hulme are considerably different: between 1991 and 2001 Moss Side's white population dropped from 58.% to 48%, while in Hulme the proportion increased from 67.7% to 67.97%. This supports the impression of interviewees that Hulme, when compared with city trends, is becoming 'more white'.

Black or Black British groups represented the second largest ethnic group in both Hulme (15%) and Moss Side (32%), with majority Caribbean origin, but also a strong African population; 11% of Moss Side's population. Evidence from interviewees highlights the complexities of ethnic profiles; Somalis were most frequently identified, but Sudanese and Gambian communities were also mentioned.

Compared with City trends, Asian and Asian British groups are under represented in Hulme and Moss Side. Although their numbers have increased since 1991 the proportion is greatest in Moss Side (7.5%) with 4% for Hulme. The same interviewee who claimed that Hulme was becoming 'more white' also noted the presence of 'Asian and Muslim enclaves.' This raises the issue of religious profile, and the link between religion and cultural identity.

62% of Hulme's population identify with any religious group, whereas in Moss Side, 72.% identify do the same, although interestingly, despite 'high levels of religiosity' within the area, the figure is lower than the Manchester average (74%). Proportions of population identifying as Christian in Moss Side is 53%, only slightly higher than Hulme (51%).

The most striking feature of the religious profile of Moss Side is the proportion identifying as Muslim (16%), with it likely that the Muslim community is predominantly African rather than Asian. The tension between Christian and Muslim communities noted by one interviewee, given the presence of black-led churches, may therefore be partly attributable to competition for the loyalty of the same ethnic group.

Housing

In 1991, housing profiles of Hulme and Moss Side were virtually reverse images of each other: in Hulme 83% of dwellings were purpose-built flats and 14% were terraced, whereas in Moss Side 83% of dwellings were terraced and 11% were purpose-built flats. In Hulme, the majority of properties were council-owned (90%), but in Moss Side that category was only 29%. By 2001, under the impact of area-based regeneration, Hulme's proportion of flats has dropped to 51%, with terraced and semi-detached properties comprising 42%. The proportion of detached properties is small, but at 4% is higher than the 1991 figure of 0.2%. The proportion of council-rented properties has halved (43%), and Housing Associations play a significant role (22%). Nearly 20% of properties are owner-occupied, and one in ten privately rented.

Changes in Moss Side are less dramatic. Dwellings remain predominantly terraced (70%), but the proportion of other types of properties has increased with flats now standing at 16%. The proportion of council-rented properties has dropped slightly (27%), as has owner-occupation (from 29% to 24%). Housing Associations have increased their influence (from 25% to 27%), but the biggest increase has been in the private and other-rented sector (from 17% to 21%).

It is likely that housing profiles of both areas have continued to change since 2001. Sub-areas of Hulme, for example the Casa Urbana complex and the Bellway Homes development near Hulme Park, are still building sites. Moss Side meanwhile has its own 'micro-developments' such as brand new housing units and the presence of 'Hulme-style' multi-storey developments on the Alexandra Park Estate. As one interviewee observed of an isolated semi-detached development surrounded by 1970s properties, "not out of place in Cheadle Hulme." It is not always obvious with the newest properties, which are Housing Association and which are owner-occupied.

Such developments in Moss Side and Hulme however are not universal. The St George's area, for example, has received little new housing and many boarded up properties are particularly prevalent in Moss Side East. The 2001 census confirms that a distinctive feature of housing in Moss Side is the rising number of vacant dwellings: up 8% to 20% in 10 years. In Hulme, although the proportion of vacant properties declined from 33% in 1991 to 11% in 2001), 'pockets of poverty' are still found a stone's throw from high profile developments such as the housing around Hulme Park.

A revealing statistic from the 2001 Census shows 87 second homes now exist in Hulme, the second largest concentration outside the city centre, thus supporting the impression of interviewees that Hulme's population is becoming transitory and increasingly less rooted. Sub-areas of the 'new Hulme' – for example the area around St Mary's Church – are characterised by 'For Sale' and 'To Let' placards. The number of second homes in Moss Side (37) is lower, but suggests that the 'roll out' model of regeneration, in which city centre trends emerge in inner-city areas, is already impacting on Hulme and Moss Side.

One consequence of the expansion of 'city centre living' is the expansion of city centre prices, particularly in Hulme, where in 2001 the average (median) price was £74,000, considerably higher than the city figure of £56,000. The area also had 47 properties within the top fifty percent of council tax bands, and three of these are within the highest band. This renders new properties inaccessible to both long-term and previously-dispersed residents from the 90s. The median house price in Moss Side in 2001 was by contrast £25,000, although the price for a flat was £50,000, possibly reflecting the growth in this dwelling type since 2001.

Physical Environment

> *"[City Challenge] has completely transformed Hulme by a major design of the area, with widespread support for the demolition of some of the worst system-built housing in the city, followed by a carefully managed rebuilding programme."*
> (Moss Side and Hulme Regeneration Partnership)

> *"Moss Side's views have changed. Have yours?"*
> (Banner, Princess Road, Summer 2002)

New streets and sub-areas are growing up alongside the housing developments, particularly evident in Hulme. Some deliberately reconnect with past glories, for example the Stretford Road. Others appear to be a conscious attempt to rebrand areas perceived to have a negative public image, for example 'Birley Fields' by Princess Parkway. New and neglected housing units stand along-side each other; traces of the old street layout still visible among the new. One consequence of such wholesale change is disorientation: even long-term residents occasionally lost their bearings. It also proved difficult for some to recall what had been present

only a few months previously. This raises an interesting question about the role of the physical environment in preserving memory.

Such radical changes were less evident in older parts of Hulme and Moss Side, where the street plan has altered little since the 1970s. There is, however, evidence of deliberate rebranding: the slogan displayed on Princess Road before the Commonwealth Games (quoted above) is telling. Sometimes, rebranding draws on the power of history: just as the reopening of Stretford Road is used to symbolise the resurgence of Hulme, the extension of Great Western Street into the Alexandra Park Estate is used to symbolise the reconnection of West with East Moss Side.   On other occasions it is used to eliminate negative aspects of an area's history: Gooch Close, associated with gang culture in the 1990s, has been renamed 'Westerling Way'. If the physical environment does sustain memory, the degree to which regeneration players are aware of their power to erode and manipulate memory needs to be further examined.

Memories are also sustained by the presence of buildings of historical and social significance. These are predominantly churches - the Zion Centre, St Wilfred's, St George's and St Mary's. (Only one, St Wilfred's, is now used by a worshipping community.) Others include the Junction Pub and the Hyde Brewery, reminders of a once important local industry. (Local historians report 530 pubs and 20 breweries in Hulme in the late nineteenth century.)   Some historical buildings, notably the Zion Centre, have been restored and reordered for community use. However, such developments draw attention to other significant local landmarks, for example the Hulme Hippodrome/NIA Centre, which stand neglected. Others disappear without warning – since the end of the fieldwork (in September 2003) the 'Little Alex' pub has been demolished.

Everyday facilities are also disappearing from newly regenerated areas – as one long-term resident put it, "always houses and no shops". Examples include the decline of local shops in the St George's area; the closure of the Post Office and last local shop on the Alexandra Park Estate; boarded up shop fronts on Princess Parkway; and the recent demolition of the 'Hot Pot' pub. The continuing absence of banks from Hulme and Moss Side was also noted. New facilities, such as Asda and Hulme Market Hall, were not seen as adequate alternatives, being inaccessible to the elderly, the less mobile, and others dependent on public transport. Other facilities, notably Moss Side PowerHouse and the Kath Locke Centre, were seen as community success stories.

More positively recent changes include attractive public spaces, notably Hulme Park and Moss Side Green in the Alexandra Park Estate, and St George's with a newly regenerated park area with good children's facilities. Meanwhile, better street lighting and the elimination of unsupervised alleyways from estates, create a sense of the newly regenerated areas as 'safe space' in which to be.

Economy

> "Hulme has worked … In the past 10 years the population has increased significantly and most of those have been owner occupiers and you would intuitively say they were employed."
>
> (Councillor Richard Leese quoted in Manchester Metro News, 17 October 2003)

Serious unemployment has existed in Hulme and Moss Side since the 1970s: rates of 39% for Hulme and 29% for Moss Side were in the 1991 census, despite £22 million of investment in job creation programmes by the Moss Side and Hulme Task Force since 1986. Strengthening the economic base and improving local access to employment opportunities were therefore included within the seven strategic objectives of Hulme City Challenge. Limited, targets were met within the life of the programme; increase in businesses operating in the area, reduced unemployment and attracting a major employer, Asda, in 1998 with the immediate outcome of 250 jobs for local residents and an anchor for future economic development and sustainable economic growth.

The economic regeneration of Hulme was, however, recognised as a twenty-year project, to be carried forward and extended to include neighbouring Moss Side. Since Hulme City Challenge finished in 1997, the Moss Side and Hulme Partnership Team has been working towards the long-term goal of 'sustainable economic renewal … and a competitive inner city economy.' Birley Fields Business Park, positioned next to Princess Parkway, is a key anchor within the commercial strategy for the area. Further development of 'Hulme High Street' and regeneration of Princess Road as a local centre are planned.

Evidence from the mapping walks suggests that some high profile initiatives in Hulme have been less successful than expected. Units in Hulme Market Hall, launched in Spring 2001, now stand empty. (The 'farmers' market'-type stalls, aimed at young urban professionals moving into the area, were the first to go.) The status of many new business units, for example in the Homes for Change building, is unclear, and the Birley Fields Business Park is mostly unoccupied. Asda alone appears to prosper. However, ASDA has had a negative impact on small local shops: the old shopping precinct now stands derelict. One interviewee commented that the shopping units were unlikely to be taken over, simply because owners could not hope to compete against Asda.

Derelict shops and other business premises were even more evident in Moss Side. More than one interviewee expressed considerable anger at the 'superficial'; improvements to the shop fronts on Princess Road, seen as having more to do with the image of the City during the Commonwealth Games than community need. And certainly, less than a year later, boarded up properties and an abandoned petrol station stand side by side with the new shop fronts. Ironically, in view of the slogan displayed on banners prior to the Games, the most prestigious shop front on Princess Road belongs to a home security business. Elsewhere in Moss Side, considerable concern was expressed about the relocation of Manchester City FC to East Manchester and the negative impact on local businesses.

Evidence of a disparity in the economic fortunes of Hulme and Moss Side is supported by statistics. Very little data on business and jobs is available at ward level. However, in 2000, Moss Side had fewer than half the number of enterprises in Hulme (105 compared with 240). All were small employers (i.e. fewer than 50 employees), whereas Hulme had some larger employers (i.e. with more than 250 employees). The total number of employee jobs in Moss Side (1500) was less than one fifth of the number in Hulme (8,200). In both areas the number of female employee jobs was greater than their male counterparts.

Unemployment rates in both areas are persistently high: the total unemployment rate in Moss Side (13.3%), twice the City rate (7.9%) in January 2003. It is disturbing to find even higher unemployment rates among Hulme residents: at 16.0%, Hulme recorded the highest total, male and female unemployment rates of any ward in Greater Manchester. Between July 2002

and July 2003, more than one in five men of working age is unemployed in Hulme, attracting official concern in view of the £400 million invested there since 1997. This suggests that, whatever the achievements of the past ten years of economic regeneration in Hulme and Moss Side, the benefit to local residents is questionable.

Other forms of social deprivation accompany persistent high unemployment: Moss Side (Rank 73) is included within the most deprived 1% of wards in England, and Hulme (Rank 148) within the most deprived 2%. Both wards are included within the most deprived 10%, if not the most deprived 5%, nationally on the income, employment, health, education and housing sub-indices within the Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2000. But the most telling statistics are those of child poverty: in both wards more than 70% of under-16s live in households on means-tested benefits.

Emerging Issues in East Manchester and Wythenshawe

There are distinctive differences between Hulme and Moss Side and the other two research areas included in this study – most obviously in history and demographic profile – and a more detailed analysis of both East Manchester and Wythenshawe is clearly required. However, given the active promotion by Manchester City Council of the 'roll out' model of regeneration quoted at the beginning of this section, we briefly conclude how trends in Hulme and Moss Side over the past ten years are emerging in East Manchester and Wythenshawe. So we look at differences, but also identify areas in which the shared experience of a particular model of regeneration causes local stories to converge.

History

The histories of East Manchester and Wythenshawe differ from each other almost as much as Hulme and Moss Side. East Manchester has been shaped by the growth of manufacturing industry, whereas the garden city movement and the development of light industry shaped Wythenshawe. But they both share in declining fortunes. East Manchester, a centre for traditional manufacturing industry, suffered badly from successive economic recessions, losing 60% of its employment base between 1975-85. In Wythenshawe, deficiencies of decades of town planning became increasingly evident.

Both areas have major regeneration initiatives at different stages in their life cycle. Wythenshawe is drawing to the end of a seven year SRB scheme (1997-2004), with an original budget of £7.25 million and the hope of European funding and private investment. The scale of regeneration in East Manchester is more ambitious. Since 1999, the area has been the focus of the largest regeneration scheme in the country, drawing down £121.4 million from a range of regeneration 'pots' (mainly SRB and NDC) and the prospect of even more from private investment.

Population

Both areas have experienced population decline since 1991, although in Wythenshawe, the rate of decline varies - from just 4% in Woodhouse Park, to 18% in Benchill. Both areas seek reverse out-migration. In East Manchester out-migration was precipitated by developments in Hulme, and in Wythenshawe, rising house prices that prevented the 'second generation' from inheriting family homes. Evidence from interviewees suggests that East Manchester, like Hulme, has begun to reverse the outward flow.

Compared with Hulme and Moss Side the population of East Manchester and Wythenshawe is biased towards private households, women, the very young and the very old. The differences are most obvious in terms of ethnic group: in 2001 both East Manchester and Wythenshawe remain predominantly white. They are also more willing to identify as Christian. Some interviewees voiced concerns about their demographic profile – more than one mentioned racist attitudes (specifically in connection with the presence of asylum seekers in both East Manchester and Wythenshawe). Yet, alongside concerns, was the recognition that regeneration needed to take account of the different demographic profiles. The model developed for Hulme, described by one interviewee as a "highly politicised … cosmopolitan, liberal and fairly egalitarian" community, was felt to be neither practical nor always desirable in East Manchester and Wythenshawe.

Housing

In the face of complete collapse of property prices, housing renewal is a priority for New East Manchester. As in Hulme, wholesale redesign of the area – sub-divided into 15 neighbourhoods - predominates as a planning strategy. Initial reactions included anger at demolition proposals. But, in conscious reaction to developments in Hulme, anger was followed by a desire to ensure that existing population and families had access to new builds. There is, nevertheless, evidence of the spread of 'city-style apartments' eastwards from the centre. These are so far concentrated on the edge of the research area, most obviously in 'New Islington', but also spreading along the Ashton Canal and Philip's Park. Such developments, according to one interviewee, have little connection with community spaces.

In Wythenshawe, older developments exist alongside tower blocks and poorer high-density housing. Council housing has been taken over by the Willow Park Housing Trust, which is leading a programme of housing and estate modernisation across Wythenshawe. New housing is also planned. Yet the most striking feature is the presence of 'micro-developments' on a scale more ambitious than those in Moss Side. Large town houses with security systems stand on a street of older housing, and council tax records indicate the presence of a handful of properties within the highest band. There are also distinct differences between wards. In Sharston, median house prices exceed even those of Hulme, and are three times more than in neighbouring Benchill.

Physical Environment

East Manchester, like Hulme and Moss Side, has flagship building projects, including the North Manchester Business Park, the new Asda/Walmart and Sure Start buildings, and the NDC offices themselves. The Sure Start building and associated services were regarded positively, and one interviewee considered that the physical presence of regeneration agencies within the community "gives symbolically a sense of openness and accountability." However, the most ambitious project, the City of Manchester Stadium and surrounding Sport City complex, was considered disconnected from its surroundings both economically and socially. This concern was reinforced by the loss of local facilities such as a local Post Office and youth club.

The physical environment of Wythenshawe is shaped more by transport networks than buildings: the M56 separating East from West Wythenshawe; the Metrolink and the proposed Metrolink extension; and the commercial power of Manchester Airport to the South. Ironically, internal transport networks are poor and local facilities, for example shopping

centres, are run-down and neglected. There has been investment in quality children's facilities, for example the Barnardo's Family Centre, but otherwise community infrastructures are poor. In one sub-area four pubs serve a population of 16,000 a statistic that echoes the losses experienced in newly regenerated Hulme.

Economy

As in Hulme and Moss Side, economic regeneration is integral to regeneration strategies in East Manchester. In 2000, the area contained fewer than 500 enterprises, with no large employers, and approximately 11,500 employee jobs. It has since attracted a major employer, Asda/Walmart, and Sport City and North Manchester Business Park are promoted for job creation potential. Their impact on the local economy is not entirely clear – Asda/Walmart because of subsidies offered as an incentive to locate in East Manchester, does employ local people. However, the Sport City complex has already been found wanting in this respect – one interviewee reported that the Commonwealth Games brought little benefit to local businesses. Tellingly, in 2003, unemployment rates, although lower than those in Hulme and Moss Side, exceeded the City averages. Both East Manchester wards also number among the most deprived 1% in England.

Wythenshawe, by contrast, has a greater number of enterprises, including at least ten large employers. In 2000, the area had more than 26,000 jobs, 80% of which were concentrated in Baguley and Woodhouse Park. The Wythenshawe Partnership has emphasised the regeneration of older industrial estates, and supported the development of new business parks. In addition to established big employers, Manchester Airport and Wythenshawe Hospital, Tesco has opened a new superstore and Barclays has a well-defended business complex. As in East Manchester, the extent of opportunities for local people is not clear. However, at the beginning of 2003 unemployment rates in Wythenshawe wards had dropped below the City average. The single exception is Benchill, suggesting that the patterns observed in Hulme and Moss Side, of persistent 'pockets of poverty' alongside new prosperity may also be found in Wythenshawe after six years of regeneration. And the area enjoying the greatest commercial success, because of proximity to international transport networks, also contains the most deprived ward in England (Alison Peacock)

2.6 Where are the Churches in these areas? – Perceptions of presence and absence observed on the area-based field visits.

Conflicting perceptions of church presence and engagement emerged during the field trips. Most visits indicated that the churches were marginalised by the rapid changes occurring in their areas, although signs of physical marginalisation did not necessarily equate with marginalisation from political and social processes. A substantial minority of churches visible during the walkabouts were growing, and attracting some increases in local support, although there was also anecdotal evidence, especially from the black majority churches, that the newer congregations were more eclectic i.e. a higher proportion of them came from outside the neighbourhood, often upwardly mobile worshippers who had left the area but still returned to the local church.

All these (mainly) ebbings and (some) flowings of church presence occur against the backdrop of rapid urban change in local communities, precipitated by globalising forces operating beyond their control.

There will be a brief analysis of the presence and absence of church communities encountered in each of the three areas before emerging themes and questions are offered.

Hulme/Moss Side

The presence of the churches in Hulme seems to relate primarily to the past. At an initial glance, the most visible church building (St Mary's) has been redundant for many years and has been converted into a set of apartments. The large Congregational church in the centre has been converted into an Arts Centre (the Zion). The Catholic Church of St Wilfrid's is now a business enterprise centre, although there is still a church school attached to it and the worshipping community use the community centre.

Some of those still living in Hulme remember a litany of events in the life of their community in which the churches were involved from the 60s to the 80s. For example; the campaign to raise levels of compensation to those affected by Compulsory Purchase Orders in the 60s and 70s; the birth of the Moss Care Housing Association, still an important provider of affordable housing and employment in the area; the Hideaway Project founded by Moss Side Baptist church and now working with excluded and school-refusing pupils; the role of the Ascension Church in an 80s national *cause celebre* - providing asylum for Viraj Mendis - which led to naming a new street in the area The Sanctuary; and strengthening community consultation in the development of the new Hulme.

However, the upheaval of the first wave of demolitions caused by the redevelopment of terrace housing in the 60s and the second redevelopment caused by the demolition of the Hulme crescents some 25 years later has impacted hugely on the membership of the churches because many of those who moved away, to Wythenshawe for example, did not return and have not been replaced. One host for the field trips said however, that although the churches were less influential, they were 'still kicking.' The Church of the Ascension relies on the backbone of elderly first generation Afro/Caribbean women who have stayed in the area and who are bringing their grandchildren along. There appears to a missing link as far as second generation Afro/Caribbeans are concerned.

The dark days of the 80s when Hulme became a by-word for inner-city poverty and crime, including gun violence (to the extent that most evening meetings had to be cancelled for fear of attenders being attacked or caught up in gang violence), also saw the churches coming together to offer mutual support and promote the concerns of ordinary people. However, the churches still functioning in the new Hulme appear to be struggling in the light of a wider community apathy or an uncertainty of where the points of connection exist between themselves and the newly configuring population of the area. Is it a case that when threats posed by major redevelopment or gun culture are removed, and most residents seem happy with their new house or job in the city centre, or residents are highly transient - e.g. students - the churches struggle to find a role for themselves in the wider community?

Moss Side

This could not be said of Moss Side where the presence of faith communities is prevalent and visible. Moss Side was broadly equal, in terms of inner-city deprivation, to Hulme until the City Challenge programme in the mid 90s produced the 'current' Hulme. Moss Side contains expanding communities of poverty, with recent globalisation processes bringing many different ethnic and religious groups 'washing up on its shores.' An area that would have had a vibrant and predominantly Christian identity following the immigration of first generation Afro/Caribbeans in the 50s and 60s is now acquiring a strong Muslim identity with the recent influx of immigrants from North and East Africa. After a relative lull, gun crime seems to be on the increase again and the recent move of Manchester City Football Club to East Manchester is likely to have a negative economic impact on several small businesses located in the warren of terraced streets surrounding Maine Road. [7]

The ongoing, indeed growing, poverty of Moss Side in contrast to its Hulme neighbour ensures that the presence and visibility of faith communities is very high. Several small, black house churches have sprung up in areas of noticeable economic decline such as shopping parades, taking advantage of the collapse in the housing market to buy or rent cheap worship space. Among the largest churches in the area (buildings taken over from mainline denominations such as Methodists and Anglicans) are the black majority churches, although many members no longer live in Moss Side, having moved away to boroughs like Tameside as part of black upward-mobility.

However, even mainstream Anglican churches in Moss Side have considerably larger and healthier congregations than Hulme with average congregations exceeding 100 in a few places. They also have a greater sense of community engagement as evidenced by the numbers of local clubs and associations that meet within them (although these have dropped sharply since the highpoint of the 70s, based on archive reports of Christ Church, Moss Side), and numbers of baptisms and funerals requested. Meanwhile the local secondary school, Ducie, designated as a failing inner-city school is being relaunched as the Manchester Academy, run by the Anglican-based Churches School Company and with a Christian foundation at its heart

There are also high profile religious buildings in the area such as gudwaras and mosques which are completely absent in Hulme. Moss Side would appear to demonstrate a clear correlation between poverty and the visibility of faith communities, which now no longer applies to a more wealthy Hulme.

---

[7] See for example the article by Ray King entitled *After the Blues* describing the struggle of many small businesses to survive after the departure of MCFC from Maine Road (Manchester Metro News, 3rd October, 2003)

East Manchester

East Manchester has high levels of poverty and deprivation (see IMD) but unlike Moss Side has not been opened up to a such high globalised immigration, although there is evidence that the presence of relatively small numbers of refugees and asylum seekers have made a noticeable impact on what has been an overwhelmingly white area.[8]

There is therefore little evidence of grassroots religiosity such as is apparent in Moss Side. The churches appear to be largely absent. Many of the mainstream denominations have closed down their churches over the past 40 years as a result of the massive depopulation - numbers living in the area fell from 60,000 to around 30,000 in 30 years - caused by de-industrialisation and rehousing schemes. Some churches do appear to be holding their own in the more settled communities further up the Ashton Old and New Roads. The parish church at Clayton, for example, still has a viable worshipping community and many requests for baptisms and funerals. In the course of walking around Clayton with the local parish priest, we were stopped no less than 5 times by local people wanting to talk, despite pouring rain, which was evidence of a strong link between the church and the wider community. He explained that the role of traditional churches such was to offer 'good worship and many occasional offices' and in doing so 'to offer the value of a different rhythm and a sense of space and long-term sustainability.'

The big question this raised for us both during our tour was how this view of the church would fit into the new lifestyle patterns of 30,000 new people moving into the area who will be more affluent and have consumer choice. He also expressed considerable frustration that his church could not expand its existing facilities for wider use as a community resource because of planning restrictions, and so was constrained in its present role.

An interesting case study was mentioned in passing by another East Manchester contact: a recent service to celebrate an anniversary of one of the many regeneration projects in the area. Held in a local Anglican church in the soon to be demolished Beswick neighbourhood centre, it attracted over 200 people. There would still seem to be a need for what is left of the institutional churches in East Manchester to provide some public space for facilitating and creating occasional community narratives based on celebration or joint despair. The churches' problem is that this demand seems only intermittent and unpredictable, not an easy basis for strategic planning of already scarce resources.

A complementary typology to the gathered, local and institutional expression of church is being pioneered in East Manchester. The Community Pride Initiative was established as a local proposal by the nationally-based organisation Church Action on Poverty. Its main aim is to create and facilitate networks for local people to participate more effectively within regeneration processes set up by central government. This process of empowerment initially involved the providing of information on Manchester's regeneration schemes and government opportunities for community participation in language that grass roots communities could understand. It then developed into the creating of networks all over the cities of Manchester and Salford [9](with the use of government empowerment funding[10]) for sharing information and for strategy development. Community Pride is now one of the three lead organisations for

---

[8] See latest Census material (Appendix 6)
[9] For example the Cross Community Gathering.
[10] Community Empowerment Fund and Lottery Funding.

Manchester's Community Network which feeds into Manchester's Local Strategic partnership (LSP)

As part of its networking amongst faith communities, Community Pride has been instrumental in establishing a directory of faith groups in the East Manchester area as well as facilitating a bi-monthly meeting of the East Manchester Churches Group. After some experimentation, the group now meets to share expertise and experience on specific issues, for example housing, and draw up short papers which present a deeper perspective on the changes occuring in the community as a result of the physical upheaval of regeneration.

This typology of church could be called *network church*; physical, local and institutional presence is replaced by networks and people-based events and processes.

Wythenshawe

Wythenshawe is in some ways the most stable of the three communities this research is looking at. As an overwhelmingly white working class estate nine miles south of Manchester city centre, it has been relatively immune to the more seismic shifts in building and population undergone in East Manchester and Moss Side/Hulme. However, a pronounced feature of its experience since 1960s deindustrialisation, has been gradual but pronounced decline, with youth crime and lack of amenities combining with deteriorating public services to create the poorest English ward, despite proximity to Manchester's expanding airport less than three miles away.

However, census data has shown a modest increase in ethnic minority populations due in part to the recruitment of overseas workers to work for the large Wythenshawe-based South Manchester NHS Trust. These workers live in gated communities, as do increasing numbers of middle ranking health, airport and new technology managers who have followed the inward investment created by the airport, health service and new technology businesses (communications and financial services are growing rapidly in business parks on the outskirts of Wythenshawe).

A variety of the church typologies we have already observed exist within Wythenshawe. Some churches appear on initial observation to fit the **institutional typology** i.e. locally gathered and situated buildings, many built in the mid 30s as Wythenshawe was developing, and some built to a more radical design in the 50s and 60s, such as the Basil Spence church for the Newall Green area and affectionately known as the 'shoe box.' Due to the attractive design of many of these churches and the relatively low-density, low rise nature of Wythenshawe's housing schemes, many of them still have high visibility. There is no visible sign of any other faith groups. Some churches struggle to keep a toehold in the community on account of ageing and declining memberships. One congregation was described by their vicar as 'fragile.' It was trying to encourage community groups to use the church as a way of maintaining some sense of 'ownership' by the wider community. Another minister spoke of the churches' struggle to counteract a prevailing feeling, in their part of Wythenshawe, of atomisation and fragmentation. The only point of social cohesion they could identify was a campaign run by predominantly older people to preserve one of the historic green sites of Wythenshawe, but in a way that would probably restrict its current use by local young children for whom it was a rather tatty football pitch.

Elsewhere, the visible presence of the church was an encouragement to constant low-level attacks of vandalism by local children; an 'object of senseless anger' said one church member.

Elsewhere, the presence of the church in Wythenshawe was mediated by what one could call a **'cluster' system/typology** [11] pioneered by the Methodist church, in which the five surviving Methodist congregations each take responsibility for a community project in their area and use their plants as the base for a programme of community engagement and outreach. This is designed to harness local initiative and knowledge within the cluster, freeing local churches to take their own initiative while being supported by the combined resources and infrastructure of the churches in the network. The uses to which the churches were put were often imaginative, ranging from a gym and fitness centre, to a youth counselling and employment advice centre; disabled facilities, parent and toddlers sessions, and adult literacy and computer classes. However what was equally noticeable was that while these efforts were appreciated by the wider community, the institutional profile of the churches was diminishing. Too many of the churches had relegated the worshipping community to a side room within what once had been their building, with an overall air of decline and poor resourcing. A high level of visibility in terms of community profile was almost in inverse proportion to institutional visibility.

The question needs to be asked whether institutional visibility and presence is desirable or sustainable. At the moment, many of these faithful and diminishing church communities are in a no-man's land of their own making, sacrificing their own identity and resources for the sake of a recognised participation and role in the wider community. If moving to a cluster model is one way of making diminishing resources go further then, purely on the basis of observation, it is probably delaying the inevitable.

Elsewhere there has been a long tradition of the churches making significant contributions to the impoverished social fabric of Wythenshawe which during the 'dark days' of the past had negligible youth services and one pub every 4,000 people. The churches in the Benchill area set up an ecumenical charitable company (BESS) to provide youth counselling and outreach work, from two council houses, which has now grown into an interdisciplinary youth work team (including housing and training) and the creation of a family centre. Several local clergy and lay people are closely involved, including in the role of chair, with Wythenshawe Voices, the network set up after the official Wythenshawe Partnership, established by SRB funding, did not consult widely enough with the local community. In the words of one local MP, the churches have moved from being 'sticking plasters' for the chronic marginalisation of the community, into being significant mainstream players, shaping significant parts of the regeneration delivery in Wythenshawe. The church was also entirely behind the community play 'And God created Wythenshawe' a highly successful and creative arts-based event which celebrated the history of Wythenshawe, using local writers and actors.

Overall therefore, Wythenshawe churches have had, and still do have, a high profile of engagement and presence in the local community . However this is mainly expressed through the supervision of projects and leadership of community regeneration. Such activities are largely invisible at the geographical mapping level. Several churches are materially and numerically in decline, even though most of their resources in terms of person power and plant are placed at the disposal of the wider community.

---

[11] A similar system appears to be operated by the URC churches in the Hulme, Moss Side, Chorlton areas

2.7 Emerging observation, themes and questions arising from the area-based field visits.

Urban geographical themes

- Proximity of wealth and poverty - gated communities within areas of general and sustained poverty - most new housing has entryphone access only - fear of crime highly prevalent.
- Reduced sense of public life and interaction in newly redeveloped areas - contrast new Hulme with unreconstructed Moss Side
- Decline in local shopping centres due to proximity of large-scale retail outlets
- Apparently direct relationship between poverty and visibility of religion and ethnic identity
- Urban priorities in the new post-modern infrastrucure - eg in Ancoats Urban Village the first three completed buildings are a nightclub (Sankeys Soap), a business space (Gunn' Wharf) and city appartments for single professionals
- Rebranding of areas, usually to rid them of past crime associations - attempts to name new areas with names from the past. Similar to New Town planning i.e. still an imposition of identity from above

Church-based themes

- Sustainability - most churches are reaching critical levels of membership and financial sustainability. Most physical assets are shabby and 'objects of senseless anger.' Although still visible as landmarks three out of four church-buildings in Moss Side for example are no longer used as such; appears to send out mixed-messages about the presence and viability of the churches.
- Memory and past glories; as areas change so memories of what the churches did and stood for are being erased eg Hulme. Closest connection with communities seems to be at points of crisis eg redevelopment and gun crime. Once areas have been 'regenerated' and the community appears to be in a safer, more prosperous (but also more privatised) space, the church appears disorientated and disconnected
- Inadequacy of incarnational/servant theology models; churches need to have a more assertive theology/stance in demanding support and recognition from the wider community, regeneration partners and other sections of the CVS
- Perception of assets; these are perceived by the wider community in terms of local leadership rather than physical assets, this helps create further sense of institutional invisibility
- Tense relationship with regeneration industry; the Church can sometimes feel exploited and conscious of the need to offer alternatives 'a different rhythm, a sense of space and long-term sustainability.'
- 3 typologies of church identified; **local/institutional, cluster and network**. Initial observation suggests that the **local** model (with the apparent exception of Moss

Side) and the **cluster** model **struggle,** while the **network** model appears to **connect** with wider community but as yet this has not reinvigorated the local church.

Superficial analysis based on physical field visits suggests that in;

- Hulme (see typological description p 5): churches struggle to connect and are in decline.
- East Manchester/Wythenshawe (see typological description p 6) : most churches struggle to connect but some at least appear to hold their own. This tends to be in areas where white working class communities are reasonably stable and have a residual tradition of church recognition.
- Moss Side (see typological description p 5) : churches are reasonably vibrant despite high levels of transience, growing poverty and ethnic/faith diversity.

Tasks and questions for Year 2

- Development, testing and expansion (including the addition of other typologies) of the 3 typology scheme
- Check analysis of decline etc. against church statistics
- Study the role of the black churches in Moss Side in terms of social cohesion and the social capital agenda, i.e. is their relative strength based on bridging (relationships beyond the group) or bonding capital (relationships within the group)?
- What contributes to a successful example of the local/institutional model?
- How could the cluster typology be more effective?
- Where are issues of power resident in all typologies, but especially in the network model?

Chapter 3 – Regeneration Interviews

3:1 Who was interviewed and why?

The purpose of this part of the research was to concentrate on more qualitative aspects of data. Having, in the area-based exercise, put the spotlight on **physical change**, the interviews focussed on **narrative and perception** of what people think regeneration is, and how Manchester is changing. Because of the multi-causal nature of poverty and marginalisation in post-industrialising and globalised cities, and the subsequent recognition (especially by government) of the multi-agency approach required to deal with it, we decided to get a broad range of perspectives within a typology[12] of 6 different groups or sectors engaged at various levels with regeneration. It was envisaged that these overlapping narratives would provide a rich source of reflection on key regeneration issues and begin to map out some key themes and experiences which we see as essential in shaping our understanding of the important theories we are seeking to test - for example how strategic issues such as power and empowerment, and collusion or collision with the regeneration framework are being negotiated by faith-based communities. Wherever possible voices were chosen to represent a range of perspectives in terms of gender, ethnic identity, religious faith or non-faith, disability and so forth.

---

[12] The language of typology is used in order to avoid creating concepts or implications of hierarchy between different regeneration groups

Between April and September 2003 14 semi-structured interviews lasting between 30 and 60 minutes were conducted, with interviewees drawn from the 6 typologies listed on page 2 of this report.   In order to protect anonymity and confidentiality, only details of the organization or their typology have been revealed. The interviewees were located thus;

1.Governmental

Office of Deputy Prime Minister
Government Office for the North West
East Manchester NDC
North Manchester PCT
Local MP

2. Professional

University of Manchester Department of Planning and Geography
Diocese of Manchester
Ancoats Urban Village
New East Manchester

3. Business Community

Local business in East Manchester
Social Enterprise project in North Manchester

4. Community and Voluntary Sector

Black and Ethnic Minority Business and Regeneration Group

5 & 6. Grassroots and Church-based Communities

Church-based community development network
Resident participant in regeneration

There are considerable overlaps of identity and role contained within the interviews. For example, the Social Enterprise interviewee was strongly connected to the faith sector as well as the community and voluntary sector; the church-based community development worker was connected to the community and voluntary sector; the BME interviewee to the business and professional sector, and so on.

3.2 The interview schedule.

Ten questions were asked, having been sent in advance to the interviewees for their approval. The interviews were semi-structured in that follow up questions were asked at certain points within the interview schedule at the interviewer's discretion (See Appendix 7 for Interview structure).

The questions were designed to be broad-based and accessible, exploring areas of interest currently identified as being of key concern to this research, namely;

- Definitions of regeneration
- Variety of approaches to regeneration by various sectors identified in our typology
- Strengths and weaknesses of the approaches identified
- Perceptions of Manchester's recent development
- Understandings of 'partnership' in regeneration
- Understandings of 'consultation' in regeneration[13]
- Perceptions of the role and identity of churches and other faith-based communities in regeneration

Following the interviews, the recorded tapes were transcribed and an initial analysis was done following the guidelines laid down by a transcript grid (Appendix 8) which was designed to allow broad themes to emerge.

3.3 Cross-referencing of transcripts

Following on from the analysis of the transcript grid, it was decided to present the material under 9 themes, and look at issues of power, language and perspective within each theme. It is clear from the analysis that contrasting views are expressed within broadly similar typological categories, which throws up a fascinating insight into the symmetry of power and perspective within regeneration. Examples of individual analysis of each interview are given in Appendix 9.

Theme 1 - Regeneration

There was broad agreement from all typologies that regeneration needs to be a multi-agency approach that tackles poverty and marginalisation on a variety of different levels. Most interviewees understood there was an interconnection between poverty and marginalisation, and a need for joined up thinking and response (based round partnerships) to deal with it. There were many references to 'holistic' approaches to strategy, the need for a common vision, and the importance of applying a long-term perspective (a 20 year time frame was mentioned by most interviewees) to what are clearly major and intractable problems. The potential advantage of bringing both private and public finances into regeneration in order to provide 'critical mass' investment to kick-start or reinvent the economic base and repopulate rapidly-decreasing areas was acknowledged. There was widespread acknowledgement too of failed previous attempts to deal with poverty, summarised as too-piecemeal, too short-term, too lacking in consultation and participation, and too focused on physical change (i.e. housing and buildings).

It was at this point however, that perspectives on what regeneration and its outcomes should be started to polarise sharply into those engaged at the strategic and policy implementation level, and those engaged at the more grassroots and local community level.

Those at the strategic level tended to use technocratic language and express ideas in regeneration jargon. There was much talk of floor targets, strategy areas (such as health, education, housing) , service delivery areas, programmes with acronyms such as SRB, NDC,

---

[13] These last two categories were selected because of the major emphasis on these processes in current central government rhetoric on neighbourhood renewal

EAZ, mainstreaming, 'bending service provision', 'factoring in' local views into national strategy and so on. There was a strong commitment to empirical data by which to measure change and improvement and a generally positivist perspective on the ability of the new regeneration structures to deliver change. Deeply tied into this were two significant concepts. The first was the overt use of *performance management* language and techniques by which to effect increased efficiency. The second was the overtly stated belief in the *'trickle-down' or 'snowball'* effect whereby economic investments in housing, a regenerated city centre or new schools and hospitals would create increased opportunities for everyone and kick-start economic processes at a city-wide and local level, thus creating sustainable and stable communities.

There was, though, a profound ambiguity lying at the heart of much of this rhetoric. For example, there was a recognition that regeneration displaces crime and poverty to adjacent areas (for example the use of ASBO's and other crime reduction strategies). There was widespread frustration that bureaucratic processes demanded by new partnerships, networks and new tiers of regional government, actually disempower action and response. Examples of bureaucratic disempowerment included ; rapid changeover in personnel amongst different partners; differing working cultures and management regimes; different levels of accountability; a tendency to hide behind parent organisations if wanting to resist change; and an unwillingness by some to change their ways of working.

More interestingly, senior strategy deliverers at both national (ODPM) and regional level (GONW) level acknowledged that the way forward was unclear and some of the processes felt like they were beginning to unravel in the light of experience. For example, one said 'I see us in a real period of transition where there is no real consensus about how we do partnership and lots of it is up for grabs.' Elsewhere they said, 'There's no consensus on how we might achieve it (regeneration) everywhere.' Another interviewee, a strategic advisor to the government, considered the most effective way to measure the impact of 'millions of pounds spent on regeneration policy' was at the end of the day, 'the smiles on people's faces … if somehow you can measure the width of smiles you get at it.' Another comment referred to performance management and targets, 'We're beginning at last to see some of the cracks … the beginning of acceptance that this is not going to do the job.' In other words, lying behind the strategic 'perspective' appears a significant undercurrent of doubt and uncertainty; a hope rather then a certainty that experience will catch up with policy.

A sharper analysis is offered by another strategic interviewee working at the NDC level in the city. He sees an obvious mismatch between two opposing strands of government economic policy. The first is an economic, housing and benefits system (inherited from Thatcherism) which believes in providing a low-wage economy (barely above the level of benefits) and a housing system which encourages owner occupation by seeing social housing as a housing of last resort. This creates hardened pockets of deprivation which are then to be dealt with by comparatively small amounts of public money creating larger streams of private funding. An example is the new Asda hyperstore in East Manchester which has created 600 new jobs, 90% of which have gone to people living 15 minutes walk away. Far from creating a drop in unemployment in the areas, levels have remained broadly the same, which signals to them that, 'It's to do with the amount of churning of people within East Manchester, partly because if someone does better their economic circumstances but doesn't believe that their individual improvements can be matched by improvement within their neighbourhood, the first thing they do is move out.' They also cite the transience in the local community caused by the turnaround in asylum seekers.

Meanwhile those on the grassroots end of the scale had a cluster of views seemingly at odds with the other group. They were more concerned to talk a language of empowerment and control for local communities, especially in having influence over planning decisions that directly affect their lives and environments. They therefore deliberately talk about regeneration as a *process* rather than a product, with emphasis on enhancing people's capabilities and networks, rather than physical structures. A common theme is that, rather than bringing in the radically new (that by implication is 'better' than the old), regeneration should build on what is already there. 'It is building new life, but through life that is already there,' said one. Another said, 'We are asset based not deficit based so from the start we are positive where we're seeking to change an area … we're following the grain of the wood of the community, not going against it.'

Their main concern is that regeneration is imposed on communities from outside, as being a set of propositions couched in jargon which has little connection with people's ordinary lives. The consequences of regeneration on people's lives has often been traumatic and some proposed regeneration schemes in East Manchester are total in the transformation they wish to effect (for example the Millennium Village of New Islington in Ancoats in which 50 - 60 families from the old Card Room Estate will be left and only 80 out of 1,400 new houses will be affordable). One interviewee said, 'Give it (the Cardroom estate) a new name… you sweep it out, you clean it up and you rebuild it … one of the residents described it to us as ethnic cleansing, basically.' Imposed change 'from the top' rather than organic change from the grassroots was perceived by another interviewee as 'a new form of colonialism.' Meanwhile another interviewee commented, 'To be honest with you, regeneration doesn't mean very much to us. Regeneration is a word which is much bandied about, but for people on the street, regeneration is just a word used in order to distance the agencies from them.'

For those engaging with grassroots communities, regeneration should be capacity building the people, providing the tools and knowledge whereby they can shape and implement the agendas that best suit their needs. They see regeneration as moving away from patterns of dependency on external authorities towards being a facilitating process leading to self-confidence and self-determination. As a counter-balance to trickle-down theory, one interviewee from the social enterprise sector talked about 'generating business and money that stayed in the local economy rather than leaked out.' Many saw it as a long-term process requiring patient building up of confidence and trust.

Indeed *trust* was central to any successful regeneration, and a quality generally missing from most regeneration initiatives. As one interviewee put it, 'It's about relationships, basically, and about trust … if you have partial trust, then you fail totally. You've got to have total trust to even partially succeed.' An interviewee from the tenant/resident typology identified the huge problems with trusting the regeneration agencies who have promised new homes in ten years. The waiting for delivery is putting strain on the willingness of the local community to trust, and has to be seen in the context of 40 years of failed promises. 'I'm always afraid of things happening too quick and not lasting, so yeah I am all for taking time and getting it right, but for the people who have lived in shoddy housing that they've had for so long, and hardly any repairs being done… new kitchens and things like that … and they're seeing brand new sports facilities and fantastic shops and the pricing structure means it is only used by people outside the community anyway … it gets to the point where they think they will be dead before it's finished … and people out there are haven't got the patience to wait for that … and we've lost a lot of people from the area because they have got fed up with waiting.' The strain between expectation and delivery was reflected by one resident who was an activist it the area,

'Because the agencies turned round and said "No, we can't really do it that way," they (the residents) have cottoned on and thought, "It's not going to happen, is it?" and suddenly they are all dropping off … and you've got people like myself, 'cos I'm one of those apathetic ones now.'

The issue of trust for many in this sector is related to questions of power and how transparent and accountable are processes of decision-making. As one person put it, 'The problem is that many of the flaws in the regeneration processes are about who is controlling the process; who is defining the terms of the regeneration. And to what extent do local people have any ownership whatsoever of the change that's happening?'

Theme 2 – Redistribution (including city centre regeneration)

A broad consensus from the interviews was that a main outcome of regeneration was redistribution. What was significant was the different language used to describe it according to which typology the interviewee belonged.

Those from 'strategic' typologies tended to use language that avoided direct reference to concepts of poverty, social injustice and economic redistribution. Instead they used the measured language of 'opportunity', produced by creating the right opportunities for inward investment (private housing, retail and leisure facilities, access to major employment hubs such as city centres or airports). One interviewee said, 'It's something about equality in terms of access to opportunity, but also in terms of the environment in which we are raising our young people.' They continued, 'One of the tricks with regeneration has got to be, how *can we level up some of that* … in terms of the less-advantaged… to move them to a point where the quality of life is much more acceptable than perhaps now?' Another spoke of 'narrowing the differentials in terms of unemployment, in terms of skills, in terms of crime.' Another interviewee, with authority for delivering outcomes from a local NDC, referred to the 'conventional wisdom' of regeneration which means 'you have to bring together and integrate measures which can generate higher levels of investment and wealth within local communities and marry those with measures which can secure as much of the benefit for local residents.'

However within the same interviews there were occasionally more robust descriptions of the endemic poverty still existing within Manchester. One referred to Engels, 'You are reminded something that's kind of like Engels said about North Manchester, saying it was as bad as it got and sometimes it feels like we haven't made the impact and the improvements that we need to … it does feel like there is a kind of worrying underside of society … but it feels like it is a growing group and we put resources into trying with them, but I am not sure we always make an impact ..what happens with those people, where will they end up going?' Another' strategic' interviewee refers to a, 'quasi-Marxist perspective - you would say that there will always be a need for regeneration because there'll always be a part of the community that has to be downtrodden to sustain the rest of society … it's a worry to me that the central tenet of post-modern capitalist society is about growth at the expense of something else.'

These reflections about the intractable issues of poverty come from interviewees who in their professional capacity extol the virtues of market-led regeneration and adopt the language of fairness of opportunity. This is evidence of two contrasting perspectives about redistribution being held within the strategic typological group.

Those working within the 'community sector' are consistently more willing to talk about the existence of poverty and widespread marginalisation and their impact on social cohesion. One tenant resident member described how the sense of community in her area dramatically deteriorated in a space of 20 years, following the collapse of factory employment. A sense of cohesion and identity, characterised by phrases such as, 'people all helped each other out,' and '20 years ago, people would stand on the front and have a talk … and if somebody had no money, you know the next door neighbour would be willing to help even if it was just a meal or taking care of the children … ' has been replaced by a sense of fragmentation, 'This day and age people are more for themselves and it's the survival of the fittest … there's no neighbourly spirit or community spirit now … people just go in and shut their doors.' This has led to a feeling of powerlessness to stop persistent crime, and a decline in public services to the extent that taxis or medical staff would refuse to visit certain areas after dark.

Others in the 'community' typology identify the need for practical, locally-based solutions, but explicitly backed up by national agendas. One interviewee referred to the legacy of 'total decay and disintegration that has brought about in Manchester' by the 'unleashing of the market and reducing public provision - it's hit areas that don't have means of their own, that have been victims of economic processes.' Their perception was that 'local' attempts at regeneration were equivalent to 'pissing in the wind' and that local regeneration is 'very difficult without macro-policies of redistribution.' This they defined as 'some real resources that you could put behind people's proposals and ideas … expansion of local businesses or helping to develop networks of co-operative or social enterprises.' Another 'community' interviewee remarked, 'I am still horrified at the huge disparity between rich and poor; why after 40 years we still in this country haven't redressed the balance?' However not all grassroots practitioners were looking to better-funded national schemes. One interviewee working amongst the Muslim community and asylum seekers prefers redistribution of wealth and opportunity on a local social enterprise model, with money generated within the local community staying in the local community.

Theme 3 – Globalisation

There was widespread recognition of the processes of globalisation on Manchester in the past 10 - 15 years, particularly by the need to be an internationally competitive city in a global market place. One NDC interviewee with several years experience working in the city commented, 'I doubt there's been so much physical change and development in Manchester than in the last decade.' A strategic analyst within central government noted that Manchester now finds itself in 'a completely different world - managing that transition (from manufacturing) and those profound changes are an overall context for the regeneration of Manchester.' They continued, 'How does inward investment shape the role of Manchester in a global economy? How are they going to translate into prosperity for all Manchester citizens?' One planning sector interviewee reflected that private companies (to the annoyance of local communities, promised much by public/private partnerships) were fundamentally risk averse, because as PLCs, they had to placate their shareholders in an increasingly competitive global market. One grassroots interviewee considered that enabling networks of participative democracy to flourish in poor communities like East Manchester made up the deficit of electoral democracy caused by the 'weakness of national governments over global corporations.' Interestingly, this same person saw potential benefits of globalisation for poor communities and cities in the possibility of 'connecting to the wider world' to share expertise and experiences in problem solving.

A more robust view came from another interviewee discussing the 'global dimension' to Manchester's regeneration, 'As cities begin to compete with one another, for instance, the Commonwealth Games … then you have an international image … this is the Council's agenda. It looks bad to have bad areas and I feel that when it comes down to the idea of regeneration, or redeveloping deprived communities, it's really about an economic external impetus to the argument.' The same interviewee reminded us that areas of greatest poverty usually contained areas of highest global immigration and ethnic mix. In one area of North Manchester '50 years ago, this area was predominantly Jewish; ten years ago it was predominantly Pakistani; today it seems to be so mixed ethnically, last I heard there were 31 ethnicities, 28 languages; largest Vietnamese community in the city, Libyan, massive Ukrainian and massive Polish community, we're got an Irish community which has been here for years, and it's more mixed every day.'

An insight into the impact of the huge Asda/Walmart (Walmart are the largest global retailing conglomerate) on the local community in East Manchester was given by a local resident. In their opinion, Asda (like the stadium) has been built too soon - the local community infrastructure is too weak to cope with the impact and to control the outcomes it produces, 'It's a brilliant store, but it was built too soon … in a place where you've got deprivation and unemployment it's like a great big massive candy store and its making people spend money on things that they've got on offer in there that they haven't got … I know loads of people who have nipped in for a loaf of bread and end up spending £50 and then say "Oh God, but I didn't have it".' They go on describe the impact of this global store on local shops struggling to provide a local service, 'It's knocked out the little men that have been keeping the community running all these years, and they have not given a second thought to all the little corner shops and places like that.'

This insight is reinforced by a strategic interviewee who admitted that for all the private inward investment Manchester has attracted, the polarisation between rich and poor is growing, because 'we have been less-successful at capturing the benefits for local people.'

Theme 4 – Housing and the City Centre

The above analysis of economic globalisation as an 'external impetus' to regeneration is one that is present amongst all typologies within the sample, and found particularly resonance in two issues that recurred as key themes; housing, and the city centre (including flagship regeneration projects such as AsdaWalmart and the City of Manchester Stadium).

On of the main strategies at the heart of 'trickle-down' or 'snowball-led' regeneration is to stimulate demand for wealthy taxpaying professionals and young families to move into areas where the housing market has collapsed. This means 'mixed-tenure' housing schemes whereby new estates are built in the middle of run-down housing areas on the wider periphery of the city centre, or at the heart of the city and those areas of deprivation closest to it such as old industrial sites. Of particular interest is the new building going on in Hulme, the Urban and Millennium Villages being built in Ancoats, and the several new private estates being built in Wythenshawe. Some of these new communities are gated and cost up to four or five times the median price for adjacent housing.

Opinions were sharply divided over the desirability of this strategy for helping maintain Manchester's global competitiveness in attracting a skilled workforce. One planner interviewee defended mixed-tenure housing on the basis that monocultures or ghettoes (either exclusively

rich or poor) were harmful and divisive. One interviewee whose main area was health provision saw improved housing for poor areas of Manchester as vital for attracting the middle-classes to these areas so that they could begin to develop a more 'trendy' feel. One interviewee working within the regional government sector, said that housing targets for decent homes by 2010 would help contribute to Manchester's 'liveability' credentials.

However, those at 'local community' level were more sceptical, and see the emphasis on attracting new populations to live in private estates or apartment blocks as divisive. A local church leader saw the springing up of gated communities in Wythenshawe as 'walled cities which always say we are protecting ourselves against the criminals who live beyond … it says we feel threatened.' An interviewee working in community development sees a top-down agenda being enacted whereby building a millennium village with 1400 homes for new people means, 'You've lost the existing community. They're not going to come back because it's going to mean two major moves in five years. Where people have moved, it's a kind of decimation of the community.'

Opinions were also broadly divided, along lines of typology, on Manchester's city centre development. Those closest to the management agenda saw mainly positive outputs emerging. Comments like, 'But when I look round the city when I'm shopping I am always buoyant. I genuinely see a discernible uplift that is generic,' and, 'When I look around Manchester I have confidence that things will improve and there is enough trickle-down and the association with the city centre and the pride that is in Manchester,' are typical of this response. Much is made by a business interviewee of Manchester's successful bid for the Commonwealth Games as being good for business, in terms of its image as a go-ahead global city, 'When you look at the kudos that come off the Games in Manchester. It's handled so well and it's such a popular event, the world's in on Manchester.' Inevitably the David Beckham effect was mentioned even though he has now transferred to Madrid (one of Manchester's competitor cities), 'Over the past 20 years the city centre has been transformed from being quite a dull … Northern town sort of thing into being a truly fantastic, cosmopolitan, European City. I think it stands alongside Barcelona and Madrid. I hope Beckham would stay, but I think it really is a superb city centre and I think, you know, those aspects of the city have regenerated enormously well.' Another strategic interviewee is upbeat about the inward investment Manchester is able to attract. 'We've been successful in raising the profile of the city and giving people the confidence that the city knows where it is going - that it's got a future as well as a past.'

However a different view emerges from those closest to grassroots communities. One interviewee recalls the Games in the summer of 2002, 'People were laughing … because the streets were actually cleaned on a daily basis. People would go around looking for litter saying "It's actually clean, I can't believe it." I would drive around East Manchester thinking "This is strange," but they weren't doing it for us, they (the City Council) were doing it for outsiders and that was the really sad thing - they could do it, but they didn't want to.' Their remark resonates with those made by a business interviewee who said concerning the new Asda Walmart built next to the Commonwealth Games stadium, 'It brings a lot of people into the area and brightens up the area.' A resident tenant however saw the arrival of the stadium and its world class tennis, squash and indoor athletics as an expensive distraction from the need to provide basic requirements like food and clothes, 'I mean it's great, the stadium's fantastic … the squash courts and everything else … but in an area like this at the moment its too expensive … this is a run-down area with very low employment … unemployed, single parents, and they've got children … but everything a child wants to do costs a fortune … so you know you can't allow your children to go to places like that because you have to have money to feed and

clothe them.' This begins to uncover a theme which identifies a strong *cosmetic* side to Manchester's regeneration.

Theme 5 – Manchester City Council

The work of the Council looms large for most interviewees. Many in the 'strategic' sector give credit to the council for implementing successful regeneration of the city centre. Typically; 'I think if the City Council are good at anything, they're good at regeneration and I think they have absolutely transformed the city centre over the past 20 years.' Another said, 'Manchester has always had an extraordinarily pragmatic Authority. It knows what's doing, it knows how to solve problems.' Another, from the grassroots sector commented, 'Manchester Council is very efficient, but its efficient partly because it seems to control everything and that works when you are regenerating a centre where there are no people living there, but when there are people, you really need a partnership with people and I don't think that's really the case.' An interviewee from the strategic sector reinforces this notion by calling the Council 'imperialistic' and in many ways that adjective sets the predominant tone for people's response to it; powerful, ambitious, controlling, good at presentation and, that very current political word, 'spin'.

More cynical views emerge from the 'community' typology, (although some had obvious respect for the way City Council staff were working in East Manchester). One interviewee presents the Commonwealth Games as a PR stunt by the Council; for example, the effort to maintain clean streets in East Manchester finished when the games finished. 'They didn't want to do it for us (local residents). It wasn't economically viable, so for us it's almost a case of "The council is very good at externals," and I think to them regeneration issues are almost based on "How can we do it quickly and how can we make it look good?".' Meanwhile another interviewee reflects on perceived similarities between Manchester Council and the New Labour government, 'Fundamentally the power remains with the executive ... Government Office for the North West know that Manchester is least democratic in terms of its approaches ... they are running scared of Manchester because Manchester likes to present itself as the success story in all sorts of ways. And yet we know that some of the greatest poverty in the country is here, and the government knows that, and the city council does not promote that as part of its story as well. So we've got a great exercise in spin going on. *The spin about Manchester is one thing, the reality is another.*'

This comment reflects many interviewees' perceptions of partnership and consultation, two categories we specifically looked at in the light of their centrality to central government policy on regeneration.

Theme 6 – Partnership

Opinion on partnership is wide- ranging, from neutral (with some positive connotations) to angry and dismissive. The main fora mentioned in relation to partnership were the NDC (New Deal for Communities) partnership in East Manchester, LSPs (Local Strategic Partnerships) and the Public Agencies Forum (set up as part of the East Manchester NDC) and the Beacons for a Brighter Future Board. Only one interviewee (private sector) spoke with any great enthusiasm about the experience of being on an NDC board, 'I get a really good feeling from going to the meetings because there is so much going on.' Another from the strategic typology acknowledged that 'There was a danger of superficial cosiness when you're physically together - it can sometimes be easy when we're sat in the room, you know, "Oh, we're great pals and we

kind of really work on this,'" an acknowledgement of the power of the clique. And perceptions of power is what lie at the heart of most people's analysis of what 'working in partnership is about', a perception often expressed in terms of the difference between process and product; in other words, what the government *says* about LSPs (for example, an equitable sharing of power and decision-making between the statutory bodies, the business sector and the community and voluntary sector) and what it *actually feels like.*

For those on the strategic perspective, the process often feels difficult and frustrating for the bureaucratic reasons already identified; namely differences in culture, methodologies, accountability and expectation between the partner bodies. A local politician identified that local communities need to go at a slower pace than the regeneration industry, thus causing frustration on both sides, as does different levels of leadership ranging from formal to informal in terms of style and mandate. This was reinforced by another strategic interviewee who pointed out the need to acknowledge the differences between partners rather than 'leaving them outside the door and pretending we are all equal …That's not real … because at the end of the day the authority employing 20,000 people or a turnover of half a billion is simply not going to say, "We'll put all that to one side and I'm going to sit down next to the activist or the worker from the community," … but if we acknowledge that we have a mutual inter-dependence, that we can't succeed unless we work together… we succeed or fail together … I think it's a question of managing tensions between different interests sitting round the table.'

There is general consensus that partnership involves some of the following commitments; honesty about what people want from partnership and what they are prepared to allow others to gain from the process; a level of realistic expectation about what the partnership can deliver, helping pave the way for transparency and accountability; an understanding that real engagement will involve disagreement. However there is a widely-held perception, but most vocally acknowledged by the local community sector, that *issues of power and control* lie at the heart of current partnership practice. In many ways, the problem stems from the heart of central government itself, with its desire to 'performance manage' all aspects of partnership and consultation processes. A senior ODPM civil servant commented, 'The heart of the dilemma is this; what do you do with central government as society becomes more diverse and pluralistic? … not just demographically but in terms of local cultures and the way they want to be governed? … particularly for this Government because it is very managerial … the weakness is that it becomes micro-management of the local which is actually inconsistent with another part of the Government's thinking which says "We don't want to get involved at the local level, we want to free up the local to make its own decisions."'

Another disempowering aspect for local partnership is central government's need to control the message about regeneration through the media, '… The immediate control of the media message is about micro-management – of absolutely everything – a kind of paranoia – I have thought of it as Orwellian.' This view of partnership is perhaps unintentionally endorsed by the regional government interviewee, 'I would judge a partnership by how well it's managed; we're increasingly introducing performance management systems across our regeneration programmes. Initially met with some resistance, but increasingly people are seeing the real value of it … It's not easy territory to put to the community activists and resident members.' Once again there is a sharp difference of perception between those professionally committed to implementing partnership and those invited to participate.

One interviewee, with lots of experience in helping the community and voluntary sector (CVS) apply for partnership funding, considers partnership fundamentally flawed by the practice of

awarding contracts to the CVS to implement public services. The statutory grant is essentially a contract with conditions attached. 'You have to do so many sessions of advice per year … come next year if you haven't achieved those targets, you go down. To me… it's a delivery contract. We're looking at the third sector as a delivery agent.' Far from enabling the CVS, this interviewee sees this way of working as *abusive* to the confidence and integrity of the third sector, 'The council are doing nothing except giving the money but giving the money isn't all what it's about. It's like having a community over there somewhere, "We know you can get to them I'll tell you what, give me the money and do it, but you didn't do it well so now I am not going to give you as much money now." So they keep the third sector constantly hungry for money and it's a kind of cycle of abuse.' Another interviewee from the CVS sector with experience of giving funding to commission services from the BME community likened partnership to a poker game round a table; after many years experience the interviewee knows the right time to reveal their funding hand, 'The point in time they (other partners) thought they were able to sign the dotted line I used to say, hold on a minute, I need to ask a question, "What's your success rate in delivering to the BME communities by the way?"' Our interviewee had come to the conclusion that, 'There's no real partnership, it's artificial … local authorities do not like the concept of third parties being in control and that happens in a partnership because … they have to give up some authority… you make the best of what you can.'

Another community practitioner makes the link between empowerment and training, and the assumption that it's only local people who need capacity building to participate in partnerships. They also draw attention to what happens to partnerships with responsibility for dispensing funding when the need to spend money quickly *short-circuits proper development of an adequate process of trust and accountability between partnership members*, especially those from local communities, 'It's just the assumption that the community will get the training. And it's not that; we all need to sit down together… I think it's about starting off at the same block, together, and giving time to prepare for it. The big learning in all the NDCs … is the time factor. People were thrown into regeneration and had about six months to prepare, to get 53 million to put the bid in. The whole thing has come to a grinding halt in ******* two years down the line… is in a complete crisis … because the partners never got to work together.'

Theme 7 – Consultation

Similar issues regarding the mismatch between rhetoric and reality were expressed on consultation. In many ways, analysis was even bleaker. Most agreed that a definition of effective consultation was evidence that views expressed by local communities found their way into the final outcomes of the project, and that consultation should be a continuous process ('a process of bio-feedback' according to one interviewee), shaping and monitoring outcomes, rather than one simply conducted at the start. As one community interviewee remarked, 'Well, the criteria would be, if people say no, they don't want something, will it go ahead or won't it?'

Not even those at the centre of regeneration policy making seem to have a lot of faith in the process of consultation. An ODPM interviewee said, 'I think consultation is the lowest level of engagement with the local people, the sector and the communities. It's the very minimum of participative democracy. It's about soliciting views… and then you reserve the right to take them into account or not. At its worst consultation is purely nominal.' Another interviewee from the performance management typology remarked, 'We're in danger of swinging from one extreme which is "The professionals know best" … to another extreme which is "local people know best," and all the professional responsibilities sit on local people.'

A community interviewee says of a local NDC, 'They've got the ground rules for what's supposed to happen.' Another commented that the local community had been consulted to death and were cynical about being consulted over obvious things like crèches (their area for example has the highest proportion of 0 - 4 year olds in the whole country). Their critique of the processes of consultation is bitter and wide-ranging, 'To me, consultation is a spin word. There's lots of spinning. I think morally that's what this consultation is all about - it's false. People in local communities hate it - it isn't working … to me it's objectionable because it's a lie; it's a lie because you can put any coating on it you want to. People say, "I hate being consulted." They're being consulted to death, and the people from the agencies will have a little laugh and say, "Ho, ho, ho - you haven't been consulted to death yet, ha, ha." And then you consult some more. People are just going round in circles.'

Another source of cynicism and disgruntlement from local communities is the use of outside consultants, rather than local people, to carry out reviews and opinion polls. The general perception is that when this happens it is *imposed* (like partnership) rather than a genuine process of communication. As one local community person remarked, 'Consultation is ineffectual because you have already set the agenda and you're just really asking people what they think about it.' Another from the 'community' typology said that Manchester Council, despite good work on the ground by staff working at the NDC, found consultation difficult because 'their *institutional culture found it difficult to 'let go of power',* because in local authority culture there is a resistance to trusting critical debate.

However there was equal caution expressed by all typologies about the need to move beyond representative gatekeepers (often from religious communities) who have a vested interest in maintaining power relationships with the local authority. Indeed the relationship is often collusive, to the detriment of an honest consultative process. One other obstacle to more authentic consultation (and partnership) was the use of jargon by the regeneration industry which had a disempowering effect on local community representatives. Once more, levels of cynicism are high from residents' perspectives, 'They (politicians) reel you in with the belief that you can have a say… but in a way they are educating you as you go along into their way of thinking, and they have a nice way of saying "Oh, well - should we do it this way? Or should we do it that way?" and you come out bamboozled because they have used all this jargon … and if you have not got your head around the jargon you haven't got a clue what they're saying and nine times out of ten you feel embarrassed to ask them what they are saying.'

What is clear from all these comments is that the process of consultation appears a highly contested and largely mistrusted process which lies at the heart of regeneration.

Theme 8 – Faith communities and the church

Feedback on the role of the church and other faith communities in Manchester's regeneration revealed different levels of perception among the typologies. Generally, those in Local Authority, New Deal and Regional Government level had little perception of what the church did and who was involved. The answers were formulaic and conformed largely with local government research and guidelines: namely that churches and other faith communities can provide respected and semi-impartial community leadership; have building and human resources to offer the wider community; address the social exclusion agenda by attracting different groups to come and use their facilities ; and can have access to the most marginalised groups in society. The person most identified was Tim Presswood, a local Baptist minister

(some thought he was Methodist) who is Chair of the NDC board in East Manchester. Some saw inter-religious tension as a major obstacle to trusting faith communities and in the words of one interviewee, the fear of offending religious groups tended to produce inertia, 'like rabbits caught in headlights.'

A regeneration professional engaged with resourcing the BME sector in economic regeneration recognised the deep level of prejudice amongst fellow professionals, who are frightened that churches gathered around the table would 'bible-bash'. He was also aware that many BME employees working in his organisation where Christian and regularly attended black-led churches. This he saw as an important source of capital going into the local community that isn't always valued by the local communities,' The church gets very little recognition for that … they're actually doing some very, very important work. Although not a churchgoer, he recognised there were insufficient levels of communication as to what church groups could apply for, with anxiety from older congregations and leaderships about using Lottery funding (because of its gambling roots). He saw greater regeneration engagement coming from younger leadership and membership of black churches, and that churches were more likely to get involved by supporting a member of their congregation in what they were doing.

One planning interviewee recognised the importance of religious faith (in this case Catholic) in marking major life events in the lives of individuals and the remaining community in Ancoats because of a residual sense of community identity. This person recalls setting a consultation meeting on a Sunday only to find that no one turned up. After enquiry, it transpired that everyone had gone to a church event, or at least 'the piss-up' afterwards. They expressed doubt however that in the new Millennium Village being built, religious faith would acquire any significant purchase, 'It's difficult to predict the groups that will come and what they will want to follow.'

Not surprisingly those with greatest experience of belonging to faith communities tended to offer more astute analysis of the role of church groups. These range from the positive to the negative. Positive remarks focus on the ability of churches to bring together a diverse range of people; that social cohesion is already on their agenda; that the values they inculcate give a value base to the community; that when they work well 'they garner the energy within the community'; that there is knowledge and expertise contained within the church communities who, despite facing institutional decline, often see the deeper impact of regeneration on peoples' lives. As one interviewee put it, 'We are a counterbalance to the panic to spend money and make change happen. We can get Brownie points, but we forget the human and the spiritual.'

An Islamic interviewee articulates the moral imperative that often lies behind individuals and communities of faith's inspiration to help the wider community, 'I think it (faith) has a resonance because … we want to do the right thing and if we don't get there then we'll still try and do the right thing. When you have faith that there is a better way, then there is a moral standing. People trust you on a different level and in particular communities where they are living, in these kind of so-called deprived communities, there are very strong Christians, very strong Jewish community, very strong Muslim communities, and those assets that faith brings are there. They (faith communities) add a conscience that is not about money, I do have a higher conscience that tells me that I've got to do this because I want to make a fundamental change. Even if I'm lying even to myself, I can't lie to a Higher Being.'

One interviewee from the strategic typology would like to see faith communities be more transparent about the way Jewish and Christian faiths especially use their establishment power, and develop a more nuanced understanding of the actual relationship between themselves and the CVS, and the precise role 'of faith communities as part of civil society.' A more dynamic model from a community interviewee sees the churches as potential activists to counteract the current dearth of political democracy in local neighbourhoods, 'I mean the Labour Party hardly exists and where it does it's just about winning elections.' However, they also stress the churches' need to confront 'problems of accountability.'

What turns many people off is the perception of decline, 'The credibility of the churches in many places is very, very low … the church is seen as a dying institution - a few old people going to church and no connection with the community.' Times when 'it shoots itself in the foot through squabbling' is perceived by one interviewee to be 'a male thing,' as was church politics generally. One interviewee counterbalanced this with an understanding of ecumenism based on practice rather than structure, 'In communities where there is major upheaval churches need to be working towards the regeneration agenda and get people talking more about it along questions such as; are communities engaged with what's going on? Are we really a presence alongside the rest of the community in this turmoil?'

An interesting perspective however came from a local politician, themselves from a church background. He acknowledges the good work done by local churches, turning from 'sticking plasters' that 'bind up the community', to a local group that is 'really now bound up with the new opportunities and new investments that have come along.' However, he dismisses the fact that many churches, are receiving no pay-back in terms of membership or financial support, and in are dwindling fast. 'There's no way that you could make the regeneration of churches an objective of social renewal. It's a job for the churches to renew themselves. I see personal cost to people, people who live out their lives in this way, in the churches and leadership roles. They need enormous energy to do it and often life is very tough, and I take my hat off to them.' This, it seems to me, bucks the central question of how church engagement in needy areas is resourced in the future.

Theme 9 – The Community and Voluntary sector

The section above showed a mixture of hope and despair about the churches' ongoing role in urban communities undergoing rapid restructuring. The same can not be said of the CVS. Everyone who addressed the issue of the 'third sector' agreed that it was demoralised and under-resourced to provide the services and capacity building now required of it. One interviewee working with in the BME regeneration sector felt the very fact that the CVS needed protocols (under government guidelines) by which to strengthen their engagement with the LSPs showed a fundamental flaw with the system, 'If we need to provide something that gives the voluntary community sector a greater voice because they wouldn't get it any other way in this partnership then there is a problem with the partnership.'

Two further comments will suffice, 'We are church-based regeneration, and we fall into the voluntary sector.. we have been tarred with the same brush. And the credibility of the voluntary sector in Manchester is very low … a huge issue of regeneration, generally, is the marginalisation … the undermining of the voluntary sector. Although they say, "Yes, the voluntary sector's a key partner," I can tell you that the experience of the voluntary sector is almost a total attempt to exclude them and to marginalise them.'

Part of the issue would appear to lie in the unwillingness or inability of the CVS to change to new political realities. The difference between itself and the local authority (which is also finding it hard to change deep-seated institutional cultures) is that the local authority and other statutory advisers still hold political and budgetary power. 'The voluntary sector … hasn't been very good getting its act together. It's been fighting old battles. I think, in terms of change and the changing mindsets and this whole government agenda about people doing things differently … the voluntary sector has a big challenge to itself to do things differently.'

3.4 Discourse analysis

Further evaluation of the interview transcripts was carried out in order to shed further light on the dynamics and processes involved in regeneration

Through discourse and stylistic analysis of two of the interviews (Int1 was employed as a senior manager within Government North West Office, and Int2 involved directors of a Manchester-based social enterprise initiative), interesting differences and similarities are uncovered in attitudes and belief, demonstrating the viewpoints of contrasting typologies.

An evident feature of both of the texts is an apparent underlying sense of *insecurity*. This feeling is considerably more dominant in the Int1 script, despite their position in the typology of strategic planning and performance management. Evidence of insecurity is evident in the Int2 script, though this is well masked by an exterior of assured confidence. Examples of this insecurity can be seen in linguistic features such as hesitation, repeated discourse markers, false starts, modifiers and qualifiers. Int1, "So its not …[false start] the emphasis now is very much moving away from quick fix, short-term solutions to a much more joined-up …[re-start] trying to pull together …". Int2 "So *for us* it's *almost* a case of the council is very good at the externals, and, *I think*, to them regeneration issues are *almost* based on …" In the case of Int1, non-fluency features increase dramatically when the topic of faith communities are introduced. Syntax becomes more complex, with thirteen clauses in one response, and hesitations become far more evident, "Yes. I'm not sure, I'm not sure … I'm not sure that it is …" This demonstrates a particular lack of confidence in this area. When the topic shifts to a 'safer' area, Int1 appears to overcompensate for the previous uncertainty through heavy use of jargon and technical language, and clause usage falls to three in one response.

Insecurity and a *sense of perceived disempowerment* is also evident through the content of the scripts. Int1 refers to decisions made which negatively affect his work. "But then should that individual be moved on …?" and to decisions made through unaccountable and non-participative processes, "The cult of the individual is often critical in driving these things forward". This issue of decisions being made 'behind closed doors' is also evident through the speaker's use of imagery " puts public agencies under a spotlight and makes them accountable". The lexis which the speaker uses also *demonstrates mistrust and vulnerability*, and even highlights a sense of something sinister operating outside of his control, "It's a worry for me", "That's a real fear for me", "cult of the individual", "doesn't necessarily suggest a conspiracy", "organisational cults at work here". Int2 also demonstrates a sense of *disempowerment and insecurity* "The Council is interested in this kind of short-term, easy way 'just give them the money, and if they don't deliver we'll just chop it off.'" However, whereas Int1's under confidence is expressed through *worry*, Int2's sense of insecurity is expressed through a tangible feeling of *anger* "The idea of consultation, to me, is an anathema", "They revile it", "Its objectionable", "It's a lie, it's a lie", "consulted to death," "cycle of abuse." The *active, emotional response* of Int2 to disempowerment contrasts with the *weary, resigned* tone of Int1. These differing levels of perceived

disempowerment and the contrasting reactions to it demonstrate considerable difference between the typologies.

A further feature of the scripts is the contrasting lexical choices made by the Interviewees. Int1 relies heavily on the use of jargon and technical language to demonstrate his knowledge and authority. He is evidently over familiar with formulaic phrases concerning regeneration, and appears self-conscious of this, several times restarting phrases from professional, technical semantic fields. He also appears to consciously intersperse jargon with informal, colloquial discourse markers in order to balance the tone of speech "through our community facilitators in our own interventions … I mean, but they're in the mix … but the real danger of inertia … rabbits in headlights …", "a national policy-making thing". Such examples express a sense of unease with the language available; he has no choice about using the rehearsed, formulaic responses as they are the language of professional regeneration, but is aware that this *removes his own voice from the narrative.* Int2 is more explicit in his condemnation of the language available, "consultation is a spin word", "regeneration is just a word used in order to distance the agencies", "not treating them as fools, not using jargon" However, despite these criticisms, Int2 uses the technical language and jargon in his own responses. "one of the leading BME organisations", "local strategic partnerships … and within that there's six thematic partnerships", "top-down process". Like Int1, it is evident that Int2 feels there is no alternative but to use the jargon and technical language he is uncomfortable with. The *language of regeneration itself appears to be disempowering to the people involved in it, regardless of typology*. It is unclear whether the interviewees feel that *their true beliefs are expressed with the language available to them*, but inconsistencies in tone and positive/negative attitude would suggest that this is not the case. This seems to be particularly the case for Int1.

A similarity in attitude between Int1 and Int2 lies in the area of the contribution of faith communities to regeneration. Whilst some beliefs in this area differ, for example, Int1 stating that faith based groups bring no "particular values to the table" whereas Int2 introduces a semantic field of morality and accountability to a "higher being", they share one similar attitude. Both interviewees agree that faith injects hope into the regeneration agenda, Int1 expressing this as a rejection of cynicism and a commitment to the local, "I think there's less cynicism and genuine well-being of the community about …", and Int2 as a positive vision for the future, inspired by faith and impacting on morality, "But when you have faith that there is a better way then there is a moral standing". This agreement is of great importance, both typologies recognising the outworking of faith in regeneration as providing a theology of hope for marginalised communities and the regenerative process itself. (Hannah Skinner)

3.5 Themes emerging from analysis of the interviews

- Process issues: who controls regeneration processes and what does that do to people? E.g. central government attempts to control regeneration processes by performance and micro-management, while also financially rewarding initiative and networking at the local level. Result: frustration, anxiety and cynicism.
- Manchester's regeneration is comprised of 'spin' and is 'cosmetic' while levels of poverty, unemployment and health show few signs of improvement.
- Regeneration displaces poverty, crime and exclusion to other parts of the city; it doesn't deal with the underlying causes.
- Trickle-down/snowball economic models of regeneration are actively promoted. This feels positivist and self-explanatory to those who express it, without firm evidence or long-term experience to prove it.

- General euphemisms for poverty and redistribution deployed, especially by performance managers.
- The language of regeneration disempowers those who feel they have to speak it - in all typologies. It prevents interviewees from saying what they really want to say. This experience of language is mirrored by the disempowering effects of sustaining networks and bureaucracies now required by regeneration. Networks 'feel' as bureaucratic and top-heavy as the institutions they are supposed to replace.
- Growth and empowerment of grass roots through the regeneration process appears restricted to a few.
- Disempowerment is experienced at all levels but more acutely by those in the 'management' typologies who exhibit greater feelings of uncertainty about the long-term sustainability of what they are being asked to do. Those working at local community level seem more empowered and work to clearer agendas.
- Regeneration has entered a new phase characterised by uncertainty, apprehension and determined confidence by some. The rhetoric of regeneration is unravelling after initially optimism as processes take longer and are more complex than envisaged.
- It is also clear that the chain of events established by the injection of money and infrastructure is far from predictable.
- A strong feeling of parallel universes emerges despite efforts and new structures designed to bring the two together. Indeed both sets of typologies seem generally polarised and mistrustful.
- Genuine rapport and understanding between regeneration mangers and clients is based on long periods of interaction and exhaustingly long hours of working together. It appears restricted to a handful of people at the heart of the processes. For them it can be exciting. This contrasts with what feels like the apathy of the 95% wider community.
- Suspicion of external consultants and outsiders generally, including academics.
- Need to deliver outputs and targets, especially spending money, is short-circuiting the processes of trust and accountability needed to create sustainable relationships between partners.
- Perception of the role of faith communities and churches is generally low and formulaic i.e. learnt from government guidance.
- Language of colonialisation and oppression from those on the receiving end of regeneration or at least those who speak on their behalf.
- Transference of feelings and roles between the experts and the clients - parent/child dynamics - sometimes the children are naughty and ungrateful, sometimes they are innocent and in need of guidance.

Questions emerging from analysis of the interviews

- Within a polarised and fragile process, what is the best role the churches can play? To what extent should they collude and collide with the regeneration matrix? And how?
- To what extent will central government's desire to engage faith communities and churches disempower their identity and way of working?
- Church needs to develop genuinely alternative, discourse-based words and concepts that are readily understood, don't reflect jargon, and refer to processes and experiences as much as outputs.

- How can the church authorities best release churches at local levels to perform these roles?
- How can faith groups and others take time to develop more sophisticated and truer understandings of identities each partner has other than having to rely on stereotypical understandings?
- Can the churches ensure their own power structures don't replicate the dynamics experienced elsewhere in the regeneration matrix?

Chapter 4 – Theories engaged with so far

The interdisciplinary nature of this research and its subject matters means that it is currently engaged in dialogue with five key areas of research.

4.1 The rise of the new global city – a socio-economic critique

The following aspects of the phenomenal rise in the global city in the past 15 - 20 years have been extensively documented:

- The growth of the mega-city i.e. those over 10 million and up from 13 in 1992 to 21 in 2000[14] most of which are in the South.
- The exponential rise in global urban dwellers seeking work in global production nodes as a result of economic restructuring, and the resulting diversity of ethnic, religious and cultural identities now contained within cities.
- The growing significance of mega-cities as economic and communication nodes or hubs for the global economy, based on flows of information technology, inward investment and rapid redeployment of manufacturing, goods and services to the most efficient areas of production; leading to:
- The growing decentralisation of urban space into undifferentiated 'edge' suburbia at the expense of central core areas of inner-urban areas in the cities of the North and shanty sprawl in the cities of the South, which of itself is both symptomatic and expressive of:
- Growing polarities of poverty and wealth, often in close physical proximity to each other, within cities undergoing massive and sudden restructuring, and an increasing perception of urban space as something contested rather than shared .

There are three significant writers who for the purposes of this research, most closely identify these primarily economic changes to city space and the social consequences that flow from them.

Saskia Sassen, *The Global City,* Princeton University Press, 1991.

Sassen's key thesis is that the late capitalist phase of the market economy, characterised by spatial dispersal and global integration - through ever-expanding information, knowledge and communication-based technologies - has created a new strategic role for major cities. Whilst they have always been centres for international trade and banking, new global cities fulfil a four-fold task on top of these basic functions. They are:

---

[14]E. Soja, *Postmetropolis* (Blackwell, 2000) p 242

- Highly concentrated *command points* in the organisation of the world economy.
- *Key locations* for the FIRE sector - finance, insurance and real estate - which are the 'post-industrial production sites', along with culture/entertainment, heritage-tourism and leisure shaping a 'new urban regime' of capital accumulation.
- Sites of *production of innovation.*
- Markets for the products and innovations produced.

Part of the success of the global city is its ability to control vast resources while at the same time show the flexibility to internally restructure itself to meet the demands of the financial and specialised service industries. The global city is however, predicated on increasing polarities of poverty and wealth.[15]

Alongside Sassen's economic critique, urban theology needs to engage with the neo-Marxist critique of two influential writers on global cities, Manual Castells and David Harvey.

Space as flows and the new employment hierarchies; Manuel Castells, *The Informational City,* Blackwells, 1989. [16]

Castell's now pervasive theory of current capitalist production is that somewhere during the mid 70s to the mid 80s it effected an 'organisational transition' from industrialism to informationalism, which created a new pattern of spatial dynamics based on information-technology manufacturing. This transition eroded what Ed Soja calls the 'original centrifugal and centripetal forces' once exercised by the Fordist monocentre of the traditional city, and brought about the growth of new post-Fordist reindustrialisation in new centres, Castells calls them 'milieux of innovation', further out. These new post-Fordist milieux attract other forms of service-based industries, such as retailing and distribution, which in turn inspire construction of many new residential areas. This he characterises as the 'space of flows' replacing the 'space of place'. For example, in economic terms this means the ability of capital, investment, the service economy and industrial space to connect in ways which no longer 'depend on the characteristics of any specific locale for the fulfilment of their fundamental goals'. These new forms of wealth generation require merely the 'dynamics of information-generating units, while connecting their different functions to disparate spaces assigned to each task to be performed'.[17] The logical outcome of this new economy, based on nodes of communication and high-tech infrastructure, is that people also have to follow the flow of the economy, either as managers for the new production processes, or as workers, forced to uproot themselves and follow global patterns of migration in search of employment in the newly restructured industries. Castells notes some of the social consequences of his theory, 'The new professional managerial class colonises exclusive spatial segments that connect with one another across the city, the country and the world; they isolate themselves from the fragments of local societies, which in consequence become destructured in the process of selective reorganisation of work and residence'.[18]

These new nodes of housing, retailing, distribution and high-tech industry become not just satellites, but grow with a speed and intensity by which they develop distinctive gravitational

---

[15]S. Sassen, *Global City,* p 329.
[16] M.Castells, *The Informational Cit,* (Blackwells, 1989).
[17].M.Castells, *The Informational City,* p348.
[18] M, Castells, *The Informational City,* p 349.

forces in their own right, thus producing a closely linked mesh of interconnected urban settlements which coalesce in one huge conurbation covering distances up to 100 miles square. Soja remarks, 'The most successful have spawned and sustained the mall-centred hives of consumerism that are the popular hallmarks of the post-Fordist, postmetropolitan Outer City'.[19] However, it is clear from the above theories that only those economies, communities and individuals with the required knowledge and ability to be hypermobile and flexible will be able to successfully compete in 'space based on flows'. It is the poorer sections of the community that will still be forced to live in the local space which by definition, struggles to compete with the flexibility and efficiency of flow-based investment, technology, knowledge and ideas.

The Theory of Uneven Geographical Development; David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*, Edinburgh University Press 2000

Harvey has a similarly critical evaluation of the negative impact of economic globalisation (or neo-liberal globalisation) in creating distorted patterns of wealth and poverty. Within the 'trajectories' of globalisation is contained a great deal of self-destruction, devaluation and bankruptcy at different scales and in different locations. For example, down-sizing of whole sections of population, unemployment, collapse of services, degradation of living standards, loss of resources and deterioration of environmental amenities.[20]

At the same time, globalisation concentrates wealth and power in the hands of a restricted strata of the population.[21] This uneven distribution of geo-political opportunity is not only globally, but also locally, expressed. For example in his analysis of his home town of Baltimore[22] he sees that wealth 'moves, either further out to the ex-urbs that explicitly exclude the poor and the marginalized, or it encloses itself behind high walls, in suburban privatopias and urban gated communities'.[23] The rich form 'ghettoes of affluence' while everyone is denied the opportunity to express the personal self in politically alternative ways. He describes the normative political self-definition which is produced for many people by globalisation's fierce 'spatio-temporalities of daily life' .These are the ways our daily lives are 'driven by technologies that emphasise speed and rapid reductions in the friction of distance and turnover times', thus precluding time for us to imagine or construct alternatives other than those forced upon us as we rush to perform our respective professional roles in the name of technological progress and endless capital accumulation. 'The material organization of production, exchange and consumption rests on and reinforces specific notions of rights and obligations and affects our feelings of alienation and subordination, our conceptions of power and powerlessness'. [24] So, even seemingly new avenues of self-expression are now captive to forces of capital accumulation. The love of nature, for example, is made equal to eco-tourism.

Interestingly for our research, both Harvey and Castells construct alternatives based on the idea of synergistically joining multiple networks, partnerships and paradigms of behaviour and discourse, as a way of creating local spaces of hope. For Castells, there communities of resistance will, 'defend their space, their places, against the placeless logic of the space of flows, characterising social domination in the Information Age. They claim their historic memory

---

[19] Soja, *Postmetroplis,* p 242.
[20] D.Harvey, *Spaces of Hope,* (Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p.81.
[21] *Spaces of Hope,* p 84 – 86.
[22] *Spaces of Hope,* pps 148 ff.
[23] *Spaces of Hope*, p149.
[24] *Spaces of Hope*

and/or affirm the permanence of their values against the dissolution of history in timeless time, and the celebration of the ephemeral in the culture of real virtuality'.[25]

For Harvey, spaces of hope lie in seven theatres of 'insurgent' activities, ranging from reformulating ideas of the human person as an integrated whole rather than the sum of fragmented social constructs, to the 'politics of collectivities' whereby the 'static utopianism of spatial form' is replaced by a utopianism of 'spatial-temporal transformation as expressed in flexible and broad-based political movements'.[26] In other words, spaces of hope for Harvey are as much about the transformation of notions and constructs of what it means to be human as they are about the liberation of urban space and political and economic processes.

These issues of 'uneven geography' produced by global capitalism, and the idea of local spaces of resistance and hope as responses to these processes, are a rich source of reflection for church-based engagement in processes of regeneration.

4:2 Local Civil Society, Social Capital and theories of regeneration; Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone,* Simon and Schuster, 2000

Putnam in this seminal work based on social and political experience in the States, has - through his forensic and empirical examination of the concept of social capital - influenced much current UK government thinking on the nature and outcomes of regeneration. The term social *capital* denotes the definite economic benefits to be gained from pursuing policies that generate social capital, but it is also meant to de-emphasise the all-encompassing definition that to be human is to be economic, i.e. that we exist purely to generate and consume *economic* capital. The main concept behind social capital is to the need to re-establish networks between communities and peoples so as to promote greater trust and understanding. The 3 types of capital identified by Putman are bonding (deepening the links between members of a family, or a mono-culture such a clan or ethnic group), bridging (deepening links that exist between different groups), and linking capital (capital that links between social classes)

The usefulness of this concept for regeneration, is that one can empirically measure levels of trust and social capital at both local and national levels by, for example, comparing health statistics from communities with stable networks of social interaction with those of more transient and mobile networks. One could also study social surveys; voting patterns; amounts spent on home security and lawyers etc. Those communities with more established social networks have better health and mortality statistics.

Linked with theories of social capital are theories attempting to define concepts of local civil society. Civil society, according to Boyle, is the 'buffer' zone of 'intermediate social organisation, autonomous and semi-autonomous institutions, the constitutional checks and balances that lie between central government and individual citizens … that also give shape and substance to the continuity of their lives, a focus for loyalty and a place of engagement with other citizens that is simply not an extension of the market place'[27]. Douglass and Friedman offer a similar definition, 'CS is that part of social life which lies beyond the immediate reach of the state and which … must exist for a democratic state to flower. It is the society of households, family networks, civic and religious organisations and communities that are bound to each other primarily by shared histories, collective memories and cultural norms of

[25] M.Castells, *The Power of Identity, (*Blackwell, 1997), p 356.
[26] D. Harvey, *Spaces of Hope,* pps 243/4.
[27] Quoted J.Atherton, *Public Theology for Changing Times,* (SPCK 2000), p 94.

reciprocity'.[28] In other words, it is within this multi-faceted, but difficult to pin down 'space' of associational groups that the concept of partnership between government, local authorities, business and voluntary sectors and the local community can take place. It is envisaged as an explicit counter-response to globalisation, namely *localism*, and a recognition that a multi-disciplinary approach is now required to address problems that no single institution or disciplinary approach can resolve. In theoretical terms borrowed from Habermas, civil society is a force resisting the colonisation of the lifeworld by the functional imperatives of state and market, and thus it is of prime importance for the functioning of democracy.[29]

There is more than the faint whiff of utopianism, however, about these theoretical models of civil society. They tend to be descriptions of what ought to be there beyond the state; quasi-liberal assumptions about what the common good or common goals of civil society should be, rather than what is actually *there*. A more rigorous analysis of some of the political and democratic implications of the role of local civil society is provided by Young in her book, Beyond Justice[30] . There she talks of the need to recognise a *heterogenous public*, or to develop an understanding of multiple publics within which, in the pluralistic and contested urban spaces many 'Persons stand forth with their differences'. This heterogenous public entails both local and national mechanisms for the recognition of cultural difference and the space and right to let such differences flourish.

These mechanisms include the concepts and practice of **participatory democracy,** in which all voices are recognised and represented but especially those of the marginalised, all groups are supported in their self-organisation so that they can participate within the wider society, and public policy is generated and implemented in transparent consultation with these voices. This difficult task is compounded by the need to create some overarching concepts of justice which will allow for the understanding of an intertwined fate - the possibility of togetherness in difference. This she calls *differentiated solidarity,* whereby people collectively exercise positive power in a variety of ways from a base of 'solidarities of both privileged and disadvantaged' in the cause of self-determination. How solidarities of privilege and disadvantage co-exist, and how the goal of self-determination - i.e. making the transition from subject to citizen - will be achieved for all sectors in local urban communities will be key concepts in understanding the role and identity of the church in local civil society.

However there is a strong message of warning to any sector of the community wishing to participate with others in the creation of civil society at the local level. Recent research into the role of NGOs in global fair trade movements, has suggested that the symbiotic[31] relationship between the market, the state and civil society, hampers the creative autonomy of the latter, which ends up at the 'establishment' end of the spectrum of change. NGOs and others end up working on *institutional reform* rather than an alternative to the system. As Napoor comments, 'The ones that are anti capitalist globalisation and dream of a better international order are relegated to the fringes of global civil society, dominated as it is by professional bodies who are

---

[28] Quoted D.Herbert, *Religion and Civil Society* (Ashgate, 2003) , p 72

[29] Quoted, D.Herbert, *Religion and Civil Society,* p.61

[30] I.Young, *Beyond Justice,* Cambridge University Press, 2000.

[31] According to Cheera Napoor, the market presupposes or needs a stable and sturdy civil society in order to function efficiently – it needs disciplined, predictable and socialised behaviour as a prerequisite for its successful operation, while civil society needs strong and stable states as a precondition for its very existence – (p 51 2002 handbook)

now partners in world-decision-making forums'[32]. It will be the task of this research to find out at the *local* level how these dynamics operate.[33]

With respect to the role of churches and other faith groups in local civil society, the '*Faith' in Urban Regeneration?* report[34] highlights some of the acute difficulties facing faith groups working within the social capital agenda. These include a clash of ideological presuppositions between the regeneration industry and faith communities; the difficulty in expressing the ethos and outcomes produced by faith communities in terms of the performance target parameters set up by central government; and an unwillingness to fund faith groups unless they sign up to the 'secular and liberal' values enshrined in equal opportunities legislation. There is a lack of understanding within the regeneration sector of the diversity and complexity within faith traditions, and general lumping of all faith groups into one category, and uncritical placing of the faith sector within the wider CVS, provokes further lack of clarity. Indeed there is a mistrust that faith communities will abuse funding or partnership opportunities to pursue an overtly religious agenda; there is essentially a lack of trust in the system.

There is also worrying recent research which suggests that the faith sector is failing to live up to the expectations to deliver the regeneration agenda under the terms set for it by government guidelines and legislation.[35] These two reports [36]mark the first 'reality checks' on the optimism expressed in the initial stages of regeneration policy initiated in the late 90s and enshrined in such reports as *Faiths, Hope and Participation*.

The Rhetoric of Regeneration

It is worth ending this section by looking at some of the theories and concepts that lie behind the rhetoric of regeneration.

The official line[37] is that regeneration is now a multi-faceted, interdisciplinary activity attacking social exclusion (rather than poverty) on many simultaneous fronts (e.g. the NDC agenda of health, education and skills; housing and physical environment; crime and work and enterprise)[38]. Previous models had 'put too much reliance on short-term regeneration initiatives in a handful of areas, ignored the failure of mainstream public services and the knowledge and energy of local people, and failed to empower them to develop their own solutions.'[39] So the technical shift in understanding contained in the word *regeneration,* as opposed to past concepts such as *reconstruction* (40s/50/s), *renewal* (60s/70s) and *redevelopment (1980s),* would draw on such concepts as *people-centred* (in terms of consultation and empowerment), *economically flexible* (i.e. private/public partnerships), *joined-up government* (including regional and local authority levels*)* and *sustainability* (i.e. 10 - 20 year time frames).

---

[32] Napoor, p 53

[33] See Putnam for the anti-democratic tendencies in some NGOs. Add Fukuyama's thesis that capitalist accumulation needs the presence of trust.

[34] *Faith in Regeneration,* Joseph Rowntree Foundation, April 2003

[35] P.Lukka, M.Locke and A.Soteri-Procter, *Faith and voluntary action: community values and resources* (Institute for Volunteering Research, 2003)

[36] *Faith and Voluntary Action* (see above footnote) and '*Faith' in Urban Regeneration* (see footnote 34)

[37] (see Roberts and the Regeneration handbook, the Urban Renaissance paper and the NSNR document

[38] National Strategy Action Plan, Social Exclusion Unit, Jan 2001

[39] Extract from Transcript interview

The current vogue for the word 'regeneration' has deeper resonances which help map out the ecology which church and other faith communities are expected to contribute to. Furbey[40] reflects that it is a typically post-modern word which under the present government's commitment to 'third way' policies is helpful in that it can contain a variety of different connotations.

On the one hand, Furbey identifies clear resonances between *regeneration* and spiritual and theological ideas - reincarnation in Hinduism; transformation of the individual and world by the Spirit in Christianity; the notion of cosmic restoration found in stoicism and paganism. There are also for him definite echoes from new age and post-modern religious contexts, such as 60s self-development and/or older mystical religious traditions which sought to preserve the 'inner wishes, desires and ambitions of the autonomous, utilitarian person'. It also taps into an older Victorian paternalist/liberal tradition which predicated moral and community regeneration on a return to the countryside and the constructing of small rural communities as an antidote to the corruption of the industrial and urban age. It is reminiscent of eugenics and moral authoritarianism, for example the Garden City Movement; Tolstoy and the Brotherhood communities; Ruskin's urban farms and so on.

This word with so many nostalgic and ephemerally spiritual connotations, capable of being owned by all and offensive to none, is nevertheless simultaneously tied to tightly controlled fiscal and time constraints from central government legislation.

The use of 'regeneration' simultaneously as an open-ended concept and a tightly-controlled fiscal policy is emphasised by Graham.[41] She identifies the strong moralistic ethic underpinning New Labour's use of the concept of regeneration, which is borrowed heavily from the New Right and has strong echoes of the earlier Victorian ethos of regulating the poor. Under this rhetoric, the term 'social exclusion' is interpreted primarily as economic exclusion from the job market and therefore participation in wider society. The main purposes of regeneration are therefore to provide sufficient job opportunities for everyone, via full employment, so that they can become equal stakeholders by having enough capital to acquire decent housing and other means of participating in society. The ability to engage in society at an economic level is the basis of addressing the 'social cohesion' issue - individual citizens have the moral duty to help themselves, and in so doing to contribute to the social glue that binds civic order together.

This approach is epitomised by the Welfare to Work and New Deal programmes designed to reduce, through paid work, dependency on welfare. Under these schemes young people in particular are given welfare rights on condition that they accept a training place. Similarly disabled people and lone parents are required either to attend job interviews or forfeit benefit. As Graham says, 'The iron fist of obligation lies beneath the velvet glove of mutuality'.[42]

All this begs the question of the extent to which the church should collude or collide with the visions and versions of regeneration, social capital and local civil society that are on offer.

4.3 The identity of church in the post-modern, post-industrialised urban space.

There have been a significant numbers of books written in the past five years which deal with the role and identity of the church within new post-modern urban climates. This represents a

---

[40] *Critical Social Policy*, Volume 19, November 1999, pps 419 - 445
[41] *Political theology,* Issue 2, May 2000, pps 88 – 9.
[42] Graham, *Political Theology*, Issue 2, p 83.

burgeoning interest in urban theology following a relatively quiet period in the late 80s through to the late 90s when what I am calling the *hegemony of the inner-city experience* was prevalent following the publication of the *Faith in the City* Report in 1985.

Under the terms of this narrative, much influenced by liberation theology, the church was seen as a bulwark of locality, and a community and place of significance in places of extreme poverty and alienation. Here, so the 'inner-city' narrative goes, wounded and vulnerable people, themselves Christlike by virtue of their poverty, gather in safety to tell their stories, celebrate their memories and offer small acts of love and caring, both to each other and their neighbours. It is in these small signs and fragments of memory and experience, shared within the wider narrative of the Eucharist with its emphasis on remembering the story of Christ's passion and sharing of love through the Peace and the breaking of bread, that the church offers a gospel of redemption and transformation to the wider world. The fact that the church is often small and 'of the remnant' is sustained by a Kingdom theology which affirms smallness and vulnerability as highly significant in the eyes of God, and of value and potential way beyond immediate appearance.

At its best the 'inner-city' narrative implies stability and long-time sustainability. It offers alternative criteria by which to measure progress, achievement and, indeed, regeneration; it offers an often quiet, but insistent, voice that will always be there for the poorest and most vulnerable, that delivers a critique of secularised and liberal notions of change and progress, that is often deeply prophetic in relation to issues of widening poverty and wealth symbolised by the sweeping away of old community landmarks and the building of new business sectors or leisure complexes.

At its worst however, it relies too much on self-definition and is complacent of wider empirical evidence of decline. A recent report emphasises this[43] by stressing that most faith groups, including churches, are too inward looking and have insufficient resources to fulfil the expectations of government rhetoric. Inner-city theology also too binary in its analysis of the processes of economic globalisation[44] and tends to be too dystopian of the creativity and potential for change that lies within post-modern city.

The 'inner-city narrative' is a traditional and powerful narrative which gets reinforced by government rhetoric. This imagines a local church gathered at the heart of a stable and well defined local community where there still exists a narrative within the wider community that understands what the church is and what it has to offer. One senses that it is still the *default position* of the church, particularly Anglican ones, because it speaks a language that the church understands and is reassured by.

My own research into New Towns in the late 90s and early 00s exposed the weakness of this 'one glove fits all' theology.[45] Instead of experiences of urban living based on poverty, solidarity and local belonging, with a gathered church at its heart, I found relative affluence (with hidden pockets of poverty); upward mobility (expressed in consumerism and the increased significance of the home); hypermobility and transience (reflecting patterns of work and lifestyle); a spirituality of eclecticism (from paganism to spiritualism with some Eastern mysticism and new

---

[43] See *Faith and Voluntary Action* report
[44] see for example Schreiter and his five-fold redefinition of the identity and functions of liberation theology which he sees as necessary for it to engage more effectively within a pluralistic world.
[45] C.Baker, *Towards a theology of New Towns* – (University of Manchester Phd, 2002)

age beliefs), but very little understanding or interest in the church (particularly mainstream churches).

These features I discovered in English new towns spoke to me of a more post-modern urban experience than was being acknowledged by the churches, and was indeed significant for the way the churches and new communities failed to connect with one another. To borrow a key concept from Castells already alluded to, what the traditional urban theological paradigms offer is a church based *on space as place*. While not minimising the important of this type of church, especially for poor communities that do not have the choice to be hypermobile, an equally important question the church is barely beginning to address is; *what does a church based on space as flows begin to look like?*

This type of urban experience based on flows is now epitomised by the growth of 'exurban' space (i.e. the new suburbs beyond the suburbs) which is increasingly prevalent in the UK, and will be highly apparent in areas such as the Thames Gateway, a proposed liner city spreading eastwards from London containing 200,000 new homes to be built in the next 15 – 20 years. To be on 'the edge' of the conurbation is to be globally connected in terms of proximity to airports, relocated business parks or working from home. However, pronounced flows are also observed *within* traditional cities like Manchester where *all space is contested flux,* as new communities of transient young professionals or families move into apartments or starter homes in private/gated estates that are being built in the middle of poorer communities. There is also the movement of the globalised poor in communities like Moss Side as they move from bed and breakfast to short-term rentals from so-called 'social landlords', or as they seek whatever employment is available to them, legally or illegally. Neither must one underestimate the impact of the collapse of the housing market in poor communities which produces an out-flow by the original community.

Strands emerging from the new urban theology written in the past five years identify some of the impacts of globalised flows - in particular the link between the global and the local - and the emerging of other post-modern forms of urban space. However, the model of the gathered local church remains essentially the same. For example, Gorringe refers to the importance of local church epitomising the 'human scale' of relationships (as opposed to the global economic scale); the importance of the church living by memory and tradition; of being a community where sin is recognised and forgiveness asked for; of being a locus where the concept of Justice is upheld (by which he means human equality and the right to dignity within the built environment); and a community committed to defining a common hope shaped by community action, participation, inclusiveness, and the use of local resources and enterprises.[46] This for him is summed up in the Trinitarian concept of perichoresis (or indwelling) i.e. close, intimate but differentiated relationships, and the Incarnation (i.e. following the methodology of Jesus Christ as the Man for Others).

However, despite a greater sophistication in the analysis of the post-modern city, these are essentially conservative versions of ecclesiology and they have not moved on radically from the theological agenda set nearly 20 years ago by the *Faith in the City* report.

What is being proposed by the early findings of this research is a more flexible and dynamic model of church which affirms some of the traditional rhetoric associated with the *Faith in the City* era, but overlayers that with ideas more closely modelled on post-modern, post-industrial

---

[46] T.Gorringe, *Theology of the built Environment,*(Cambridge University Press, 2002) , pps 185 – 191.

urban space. For the moment, we will call this model *hybrid church*, but before we go on to unpack it, we need to discuss briefly concepts of *hybridity* and other related post-modern cultural ideas.

4.4 Cultural Theories of late/post-modernity and cities

The research so far has dealt mainly with economic, political and urban understandings of the impact of globalisation on cities such as Manchester. An important dimension of the impacts of globalisation on cities which has not been addressed so far is the *cultural* one, which also has strong political implications.

A prevalent cultural discourse describes the fragmentation of political and economic hierarchies of space that, up until the last quarter of the 20th century, had been globally accepted. The traditional hierarchy was epitomised in the powerful symbol of the nation state as a legal, cultural, political (often military) and economic entity and the world as being ruled (certainly in the age of Empire) by a series of powerful nation states. The Age of Empire helped reinforce the concept of developed versus developing nations, or the old hierarchy of First, Second and Third world. Even with the collapse of Empire, the model held up for newly independent nations was that of the nation state.

The processes of accelerated globalisation in the last 15 - 20 years have eroded the significance of the nation concept. This has happened through an intensity of flows of investment, that has reinforced the hegemony of the global market and the enhanced role of global cities as command centres for that market. This economic process has been called 'the rolling back of the borders', and has also expanded the significance of the city-region, both as a locus of economic activity and a resurgent political identity. Accompanying the flows of investment has been an enormously intensified flow of post-colonial and economic migration, primarily attracted to the ever-expanding global cities, creating unprecedented levels of diversity and plurality. Cultural studies have been engaged since the 1990s in observing the new patterns of living and identity that are emerging in these new spaces, often called 'in between' spaces because they don't fit comfortably into neat hierarchies or zones. Many of these spaces are regional and local and refuse to be defined by outsiders or experts such as social policy devisers and planners. The new political quest (already identified in this paper) is to find a commonality based not on universality but on diversity. This political and cultural process seeking of unity within diversity has been labelled the growth of *hybridity*.

One of the most influential exponents of hybrid theory is Homi Bahbha. Starting with an analysis of post-colonial literature (especially women's writing), Bhabha identifies what he calls 'the unhomely' moment when the female protagonists of such novels as *Beloved* by Toni Morrison and *My Son's Story* by Nadine Gordimer leave behind identities imposed upon them by colonialist stereotypes. They do this by reclaiming violent and oppressive pasts through acts of remembering and self-identification, often within the contexts of domestic space, hidden from the normal private/public discourses. Once awakened to new consciousness, black or coloured women (for example) can never return to old identities. Instead they are forced to acquire new identities that not only attempt to reclaim the past but also learn to live in a present in which the old binaries are collapsing - what Bhaba calls 'the emergence of the interstices – the overlap and displacement of domains of difference – where the intersubjective and collective

experience of nationess, community interest or cultural value are *negotiated*' in what he later refers to as 'moments of historical transformation'. [47]

Whilst this task of living in post-colonial 'unhomeliness' is a task for all who live in the post-modern city, the main impetus for negotiating it inevitably comes from the poor and marginalised sections of the community. These people live on the borderlines or 'borderlands' - as Sandercock, a post-modern feminist planner would define them - of ethnic, economic and political deprivation. Empirically, there are more and more such borderlands within the new megacities. The newly contested physical arenas are home to the dynamics explored in post-colonial literature, dynamics of hybrid cultures and identities which have rapidly evolved and which have the potential for either urban conflagration (for example the LA riots of the 90s involving Korean, Mexican-American and African-American communities; rioting in declining Northern British towns between Asian and white communities in 2001) or for forging new and diverse urban and political spaces where we learn to live with social difference and identity and throw off rigid definitions or monolithic fixed categories. Post-colonial anthropologist Arjun Appadurai observes what he calls the 'new global cultural economy', a place where 'the central problem of today's global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenisation and cultural heterogenisation'.[48] In his opinion the mindset which sees the outworkings of the global economy as simply creating homogenised, Americanised and commodified spaces is missing the many counter-cultural forces that resist these trends, often expressed by what Soja summarises as the 'resistance, indigenisation, syncretism, rupture and disjuncture that reassert and often reorder urban space and cultural identity'.[49] This analysis links us to the dictum of Lefebvre who reminds us that urban space is not naively produced, but is 'the production of perceived, conceived and lived spaces'. [50]

Within this post-colonial understanding of contested space, the *methodology* of hybridity emerges as a force for the conscious and proactive creation of new space and new identity. At its best, the methodology of hybridity cuts across potentially simplistic binary equations such as the 'state is bad, the community is good', as well as 'top-down is bad, bottom-up is good' metanarratives (often associated with community development and planning)[51] by selectively accommodating ideas from both these narratives and building towards new opportunities and directions - what Bhabha defines as the 'third space' that enables other positions to emerge and 'sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives … to create something different, something new and unrecognisable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation'.[52]

Another aspect of the methodology of hybridisation emphasised by the American/African writer bell hooks is *not separating lived experience from theory*. She and many other post-colonial writers stress the importance *of remembering cultural narratives and ways of expressing those narratives* ('talking black talk') while at the same time recognising the need to find a new home, away from the narrow spaces of censorship and learnt oppression. 'Home' becomes a state of mind rather than a fixed location - a place that enables and promotes ever-changing perspectives.'[53] hooks and others stress the need to value lived experience and cultural forms of narrative, while at the same time valuing new forms of cultural identity that move beyond traditional polarities

---

[47] H.Bhabha, *Locations of Culture* (Routledge, 1994), p.2.

[48] Soja, *Postmetropolis,* p 209.

[49] Soja, *Postmetropolis,* p 209.

[50] Quoted in E.Soja, *Postmetropolis,* (Blackwells, 2000). p 200.

[51] See L.Sandercock, *Towards Cosmopolis,* (Wiley, 1998), p 101.

[52] H.Bhabha, 'The Third Space' in J.Rutherford ed., *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference* (Lawrence and Wishart, 1991) p 211.

[53] Sandercock, *Cosmopolis,* p 116.

(such as those mentioned above) and this seems to be a pertinent methodology for the church to consider. As we have seen in this research, the continuing polarisation of views between our interview typologies produces mistrust and inertia (see pps 17 – 24) . The hybrid methodology outlined above is tough yet subtle and should be considered by all those involved in local regeneration and the partnerships, including churches and other faith communities.

At its worst, however, according to a 'continuum' of typologies constructed by Pieterse, hybridity can produce a sense of submission by becoming too assimilated to oppressive and colonialist hegemonies that still exist (see also Ella Shoat who warns that celebrating hybridity can legitimate the colonial violence that creates it, be that ethnic cleansing, or the destruction of local social ecologies by market forces).[54] At one end of Pieterse's continuum there is what he calls the *'assimilationist* hybridity that leans out towards the centre, adopts the canon and mimics the hegemony'. At the other end of the spectrum, there is the '*destabilising* hybridity that blurs the canon, reverses the current, subverts the centre'.[55] This idea of a continuum of hybridity resonates with the spectrum model I am developing out of this research, which helps identify a space in which to evaluate the role and identity of the church and other faith communities in locally-based regeneration (see Appendix 12 – for description see pps 47/48).

There is little engagement with notions of hybridisation within Christian theological thinking. One exception is Schreiter who in his book, *The New Catholicity - Theology between the Global and the Local,* argues for a positive theology of *syncretism* as a way of engaging with the complexity of localised urban space. He is well aware of the negative connotations of this word within Christian circles because of its association, particularly within missiology, with 'watering down' the integrity of the Gospel. However he points out that Christianity has from its origins as a reformation movement of Judaism, and its early historical expression in such widely disparate cultures as Germanic and Mediterranean, had 'a certain restlessness' and the church has had to be 'semper reformanda.'[56]

As part of this theology of syncretism, he argues that the practice of hybridisation is essentially a local performative act, the construction of a local theology, a strategy for survival for the poor whilst being an act of choice for the rich. Coming from the Catholic tradition, he sees as practical examples of this process expressed in positive affirmation of popular religion, and the incorporation of indigenous religious traditions into Christian liturgy. But, 'the ability to allow a number of religious forms to coexist, even when they cannot be completely reconciled,'[57] is still at odds with the centralisation demanded of the Roman Catholic church. Despite this Schreiter believes that hybridity should be viewed as 'the source of a deeper life in Christ' - an 'asymmetrical source' for the development of new forms of church and mission - rather than a problem to be solved.

However, he warns against the dissolving of too many boundaries of difference in an uncritical acceptance of hybridisation. Both culturally and spatially he argues for the importance of local communities as a still-valuable means for the formation of identity and the security of belonging.

---

[54] Quoted R Schreiter, *Constructing Theologies,* (Orbis Press, 1997) p.77
[55] J.Pieterse, 'Globalization as Hybridisation' in M Featherstoine, S.Lash and R.Robertson eds., *Global Modernities* (Sage, 1995), pps 56-7.
[56] R. Schreiter, *The New Catholicity,* (Orbis, 1997), p. 66 ff.
[57] R. Schreiter, *The New Catholicity,* p. 77

We shall develop discussion of the usefulness of hybridisation for church role and identity in the conclusion to this report.

4.5 Engaging with Social Memory: Theoretical Foci (a social anthropological approach)[58]

This section seeks to describe the close link, stressed by the discipline of social anthropology, *between memory, narrative and identity*, particularly for cultures and communities undergoing processes of loss and profound physical, emotional and spiritual change. The three are best linked when seen as an overall performative process by which local communities evolve a way of living with present uncertainties and even envisioning a positive future by embracing and celebrating the past in a way that is not simply nostalgic but politically resonant and creative. Memory thus becomes a potential form of capital that is at the disposal of all those engaged in regeneration.

Narratives, Images and Bodies

Much work on social memory focuses on the relationship between memory and narrative.[59] As Connerton (1989) asserts: 'To remember … is precisely not to recall events as isolated; it is to become capable of forming narrative sequences'. (26) Ethnographers also have stressed the dialogical interplay between experience and narrative (re)constructions. For example, in a study of storytelling among the Karo in Indonesia, Steedly (1993) coins the phrase 'narrative experience' which she describes as 'a tricky space where lives are told and stories lived'. (15) Steedly also draws attention to the intertextual and intersubjective nature of storytelling. She suggests that 'memory is never private property and experience never a simple matter in this overinhabited terrain; voices are always multiple, fragmented, interrupted, possessed by the memories of other people's experiences'. (212) Steedly's study therefore focuses on 'narrative entanglements' and the 'bottomlessness' of narrative experience.

Stewart's (1997) ethnography of narrative practice in Appalachia, USA also draws attention to the subjective, fragmented and contingent nature of everyday storytelling. She suggests that Appalachian stories 'open a gap in the order of myth itself - the order of grand summarising traits that claim to capture the 'gist' of things'. (3). As with Steedly, Stewart's ethnography suggests an approach that moves away from grand narratives and closure and instead explores social memory as an ongoing and fluid creative process within relations of power. Both ethnographers attempt 'to read history against the grain' (Steedly 1993) by focusing on personal, subjective stories that are marginalised within meta-narratives of perpetual 'progress' and cannot be easily categorised within the binaries of discourse/counter-discourse or power/resistance. This shows the benefit of paying attention to everyday talk. As Cameron (2001) points out, talk is 'a culturally embedded activity'. (66) Therefore, by looking closely at language in use, we can analyse the ways in which social meanings and subjectivities are continually constructed, as well as the interplay between memory and contemporary concerns and practices.

Memories are not expressed purely through language and texts. It is also important to consider the embodied and performative nature of remembering. Connerton (1989) and Stoller (1997) both focus on ways in which memories are shaped and expressed through practices and rituals enacted through the body. Ethnographers have also explored the interrelationship and potential

---

[58] For bibliography for this section, see Appendix 10
[59] E.g. Connerton 1989; Antze and Lambek 1996; Steedly 1993; Stewart 1997; Skultans 1998.

disjunctions between language and embodiment in memory work. For example, in a study of Peruvian Independence Day, Harvey (1997) suggests that historical memory may be expressed differently through narratives and embodied practices. In this case, narratives that 'link past and present through the production of explicit connections' sit alongside 'fragmented, disconnected embodied memorisation'. (23)

Stewart (1997) explores the body as a specific channel for the expression of memory and as a 'site of social imaginary'. (134) She suggests that the body functions as 'a *sign* in which dense metonymic associations link physical, mental, emotional and social states.' (131) Marks on the body, illnesses and physical feelings are seen to function as 'a collection of *places* that *remember* events, haunt people, and take on a life of their own'. (132) This idea of the body as a *place* of memory is particularly intriguing for studies that deal with people who have been physically *dis*placed or who inhabit rapidly changing landscapes. How do bodies function as sites of memory in these contexts?

Other scholars have focused on memory in relation to visual imagery. For example, Kuchler and Melion (1991)explore the mutual relationship between material representation and recollection (Kuchler and Melion 1991). Fabian (1999) explores both artistic representations and narratives of popular history in Zaire, looking at the connections and disjunctures between the two. Photographic and artistic representations of the past are often important components of memory making as well as points of social engagement when publicly exhibited.

Taussig's (1987) concept of 'cultural formations of meaning' (87) provides a way of drawing together these approaches towards memory. Taussig contends that people make sense of their world through formations such as stories, rumours and images rather than consciously articulated ideology. Therefore, we need to explore circuits of representations (oral, textual, linguistic and visual) and the way these representations are produced, received and recrafted through social practice.

Group Identity and The Politics of Memory

A major theme of the literature is the treatment of memory as an ongoing process of negotiated social practice rather than an object to be extracted from individuals. Lambek (1996) asserts that 'memory (here) is more intersubjective and dialogical than exclusively individual, more act (remembering) than object, and more ongoing engagement than passive absorption and playback'. (240) Gillis uses the term 'memory work' (Gillis 1994) to capture the idea of memory as a social process rather than a rigid product.

There has been a strong focus on the link between memory and group identity[60] as well as the importance of an 'imagined past' (Anderson 1991) in creating and consolidating modern nation-states. However, we must also consider the ways in which these collective memories are constructed as the result of struggle and processes of exclusion and marginalisation as well as inclusion. Memory work should be placed within the context of the workings of power (Gillis 1994; Werbner 1998), as remembering always sits alongside 'forgetting' and gaps and silences in discourse.

Aretxaga's (1997) study of the construction of gendered, political subjectivities in West Belfast draws attention to the politics of memory in contexts of rapid social and political change.

---

[60] See Halbwachs 1950; Connerton 1989; Gillis 1994; Antze and Lambek 1996; Werbner 1998.

Aretxaga shows how people produce narratives about the past through which individual biographies become intertwined within a web of collective memories, creating a bridge between different temporal spheres and political experiences. It is this conflation of personal and collective suffering and injustice that is used to give legitimacy to political action in the present. Aretxaga's work also explores the dialogical interplay between changes in social practice, shifts in discourse and transformations in gendered and political subjectivities.

Memory and Regeneration

Both Stewart (1997) and Aretxaga (1997) explore the ways in which particular places can become nodal points in narratives of the past. The past appears etched in familiar landscapes and 'memory sites'. Expressions of memory may therefore provide insight into the ways in which ideas of place and belonging are conceptualised. Therefore, it is important to consider how memory work is affected by the physical changes brought about by regeneration. Also, what place does social memory play in processes of decision-making relating to regeneration? How might memory be used as a tool to support particular claims and ideas? Whose memories and narratives are included and excluded in these processes?

In terms of the Foundation's research project we will need to look at what role social memory does or does not play in the way regeneration is conceptualised in East Manchester, Wythenshawe, and Moss Side/ Hulme. Residents have expressed the opinion that regeneration projects appear to work to change areas by changing or displacing current inhabitants. 'Memory work' may provide a mechanism against this, by giving value to the historical experiences of current residents. It may also function as a point of social (re)connection, drawing together different sections of the community (and different generations) to debate their understanding of the past and visions of the future. Memory may also build a sense of 'pride of place', which should be a key outcome of regeneration projects. In terms of memory, residents can become valued local experts - a resource which remains untapped. In order to build sustainable development for the future, therefore, regeneration must engage with the past. This work could well be a focus for the methodology of data-gathering for Year 2 of this research. (Michelle Rickett).

Chapter 5 – Report conclusion

This first year of the research programme has represented an ambitious attempt to map processes of regeneration in Manchester in a variety of ways. The varied methodologies employed have also engaged with a significant number of key theories which have opened up possibilities of interpreting the role of the church in post-modern urban space in ways hitherto largely unexplored. It is hoped that these can be developed as the research unfolds into its second and third years. The main themes and questions that have emerged from the area-based field studies and the semi-structured interviews can be found on pages 13 and 27 hb check this

It was the intention of this research to dig deeper than previous efforts in this field in order to begin to understand the complexities of post-modern urban space, the impact of those complexities on local communities and the way these new complexities are impacting on the role and identity of churches and other faith groups involved in local regeneration. However what has emerged most clearly are some of the *processes* directly affecting the ways various groups are working towards the outcomes. In particular there is a strong dynamic of **disempowerment** experienced by many engaged in regeneration, paradoxically most clearly

expressed - both overtly and via discourse analysis - by those given most responsibility for implementing central government policy. The consequences of this disempowerment were expressed in anger, frustration, projection, scapegoating, and polarisation of views. These feelings seemed to considerably outweigh the feelings of pride, achievement and satisfaction that were also expressed. The focal point for this sense of disempowerment was the concept of partnership, but more especially the concept of consultation. Ironically, these are the two cornerstones of New Labour's regeneration policy designed to create empowerment and participation.

It is also quite clear from this research, that the **honeymoon phase of regeneration is over** as players from all typologies of regeneration express doubts about future directions and sustainability, such as the need to move towards 'mainstreaming'.

The new second phase of regeneration is characterised by hard bargaining and nitty-gritty detailed work, while also listening to voices saying (especially in the local communities) that **early expectations are beginning to wear thin** in the light of what is perceived to be hard work and delay. In other words, reality is beginning to catch up with rhetoric and a strong sense has emerged of entering into uncharted territory; meanwhile the clock is ticking fast. This is felt especially keenly in the tension encountered while trying to implement the essentially long-term tasks of developing partnership and networking against tight budget and target constraints. There is also evidence that the processes of learning and capacity building are tending to reach only a minority of people. The local issues this research has uncovered reflect debate now going on at a national level about the efficiency of some of the key levers of the government's regeneration policy, for example the NDC programme in its 39 key areas of deprivation (of which East Manchester is one).

It is during this critical, and in many ways fragile, phase of the regeneration process that the churches and other faith community groups (along with the wider CVS) are being asked to take more and more responsibility for delivering regeneration outcomes. But there is growing evidence (both from this and other research) that the **faith sector is not necessarily willing or able to fulfil the role expected of it by government rhetoric**.

In the light of this considerable flux, three original pieces of mapping theory are beginning to emerge.

The first is a typological scheme for evaluating the role and identity of the church communities engaged in regeneration in Manchester. More typologies will emerge as the research unfolds, but the strength of this scheme is the simplicity of its construction and use. (see Appendix 11)

Out of this typological scheme will emerge the building blocks for constructing what I am calling **hybrid church**. Hybridity within post-colonial and other post-modern discourses, results from a process of creation, not synthesis. It is committed to creating genuinely new identities and discourses out of the plurality and diversity engendered by global migrations of ideas, cultures and peoples. Hybridity emerges in a way that also attempts to listen carefully to experience and past narratives; in other words evolution not revolution. It takes seriously the potential and challenge of the post-modern world and is especially concerned with creating new spaces for social justice and more equal discourse. It aims to be flexible but outcome-oriented and pragmatic in its goal of creating public, local spaces where diversity is welcomed and new commonalities are explored. This, it seems to me, is a welcome change from previous ecclesiology and urban missiology which has been negative and defensive towards the post-

modern world, and, as I have outlined in my theoretical section, still prefers to see things in simplistic binaries or at it worst, outnarrate other narratives.

In this context therefore a hybrid church would look primarily to the *methodology* of hybridisation rather than a doctrinal one. The virtues of doctrinal hybridity are not something this research has time to cover, although cultural hybridity is clearly to be welcomed as part of the methodology of hybridity, by which I mean the willingness of the church to **engage in an interdisciplinary way that avoids simplistic binary analysis and is flexible enough to incorporate various typologies of church within, if not a single organism, then a more formalised network of connected faith communities – a network that recognises the strengths and limitations of each typology.** The simple assertion being made here is that there is no 'one size fits all' approach or typology. Instead what is required is an open, proactive and creative approach to seeing how the best of all these typologies can be brought to bear within local settings as part of a broad-based organisation. Ideas of how a network could be best sustained is contained within reflections on alternative processes of participative democracy in recent work by Wainwright, Young, and others: these are fruitful examples for churches to dialogue with.

A key part of understanding hybrid church (since hybrid identities emerge from the underside of colonial history and poverty) is sensitivity to issues of empowerment and disempowerment. This is represented on what I am calling the collision/collusion spectrum (see Appendix 12) by which I am arguing that complete collusion, or collision, with the assumptions, values and methodologies of the regeneration industry (as defined and legally established by central government) are not viable options.

Collusion (that is complete identification) with the aims and objectives of regeneration - including uncritical evaluations of key concepts such as 'social exclusion', 'social capital' etc - may make a church well-placed to receive funding, but it will, on the basis of the evidence presented so far, lead to practices and adaptations of discourse which will ultimately disempower it. It could also represent a falsely utopian perception (as within old modernism) that the application of resources and strategy from above will solve deep-seated problems of poverty and marginalisation.

Collision, on the other hand, in the form of a purist or undiluted prophetical denunciation of the regeneration that is being attempted within the regeneration matrix, resorts to a simplistic binary analysis of what is now a multi-causal, multi-faceted problem. It is unhelpfully *dys*topian, and will add to the ghetto mentality so prevalent within post-modern urban space.

What I am suggesting is that the churches, as faith communities, occupy and thus help identify what Bhabha calls 'the third space'. [61] This is a proactive and creative space where new ideas, together with practical models, can be developed in dialogue with other disciplines and perspectives, while still having a concern for the injustices of the past. Mindful of Jan Pieterses's spectrum of hybridities it is important to ensure that church activity does not veer to much towards the assimilationist end. The creation of a third space must not be seen as the equivalent of 'a third way' which politically at least, has acquired the reputation of being synonymous not with radically new ideas, but with a new form of economic conservatism and social control.

---

[61] Soja ref p. 211

Appendix 1

Regenerating Communities: A Theological and Strategic critique

Research Staff who have contributed to the compilation of this First Year Report:

Chris Baker   Research Director, William Temple Foundation

Michelle Rickett   WTF Administrator (2002/3) and researcher (Social Anthropology)

Hannah Skinner   WTF Economic Affairs Adviser (and discourse analysis)

Alison Peacock   Mission Planning Officer, Board of Ministry and Society, Diocese of
                         Manchester (statistics and urban geography)

Hilary Bichovsky   WTF Administrator (2003) (design and proof reading)

Research Support Group.

Professor Elaine Graham (Chair)

Professor Tony Berry

Revd Dr John Atherton

Revd Dr Frankie Ward

Hannah Skinner

Alison Peacock (Diocesan Rep)

Chris Baker

Hilary Bichovsky

Appendix 2

Papers, Conferences and Published work that reflects the themes of this research. (2002/3)

Papers

Religious Faith in the English exurban community, delivered at the Second Euroconference on 'The European City in Transition', University of Weimar, November 2002.

From Garden Cities to Heteropolis - a theological dialogue with urban aesthetics, delivered at the University of Manchester's Contextual Theology Seminar series, November 2002

Manchester as a globalising city and its impact on marginalisation and regeneration, Samuel Ferguson Colloquium in memory of Ronald Preston, University of Manchester, March 2003

Manchester — From Cottonopolis to Ideopolis, delivered at the International Association of Practical Theologians biennial conference — University of Manchester, April 2003*

Going with the flow — can faith communities flourish in non-institutional civil society?, Manchester University Departmental Seminar, November 2003 *

Articles

'Manchester — From Cottonopolis to Ideopolis' (to be published in *XLibris,* September 2004)
'From Garden Cities to Heteropolis' - a theological dialogue with urban aesthetics' (to be published in *Modern Believing*, January 2004)
'Religious Faith in the Exurban Community' (to be published in *City,* April 2004)

Books

'From the Land of the Concrete Cow' in *Faithfulness in the City*, Urban Theology Collective, 2003
'The Global and Local context of the local church' in *Studying Local Churches: A handbook*, ed. H.Cameron et al (SCM Press 2004)

Conferences (exploring the work in which WTF is directly involved in the planning)

Belonging and Identity in New Suburbia — *Implications for Social Cohesion of New Housing Developments in the Thames Gateway Region* (Chatham, September 2004)

The Church in the Centre of the City — *A National Symposium* (Cardiff, September 2005)

* Also delivered at Edinburgh University, November 2003

Appendix 3

Details of field trip visits

Date   Venue
Host

Date	Venue	Host
06/12/02	Wythenshawe (Northenden)	Irene Cooper
12/12/02	Wythenshawe (Brownley Green)	Adrian Klos
17/01/03	Merci (East Manchester	Chris Walsh
28/01/03	New East Manchester	Libby Graham
12/02/03	Moss Side (West)	Sarah Bullock
12/02/03	Moss Side (Barnhill Nursery	Liz Drysdale
19/02/03	Wythenshawe (Baguely)	Geoff Babb
26/02/03	Wythenshawe Voices	Clare Kerfoot
25/02/03	Wythenshawe (Benchill)	Mandy Hodgson
27/02/03	Wythenshawe (BenchillB Green	Irene Cooper
03/03/03	St Georges, Hulme	Bob Day
04/03/03	Ascension, Hulme	Ken Flood/Anne Steadman
14/05/03	East Manchester (Clayton)	Matt Thompson
26/06/03	EAZ (East Manchester)	Tim Hopkins
27/07/03	Moss Side (East)	Simon Kilwick
28/07/03	Alexandra Park/Hulme	Carol Bodey et al

Appendix 4

Mapping Walk Proforma

Location:

Date and Time:

Host:

Code Number:

Details of Host (phone number – email):

Area covered and key features observed:

Important new facts (quantitative-based):

Follow-up contacts:

Feelings/Reaction:

3 examples of hope/new life:

3 examples of suffering/death:

Where did we observe power and powerlessness?

Further questions to ask:

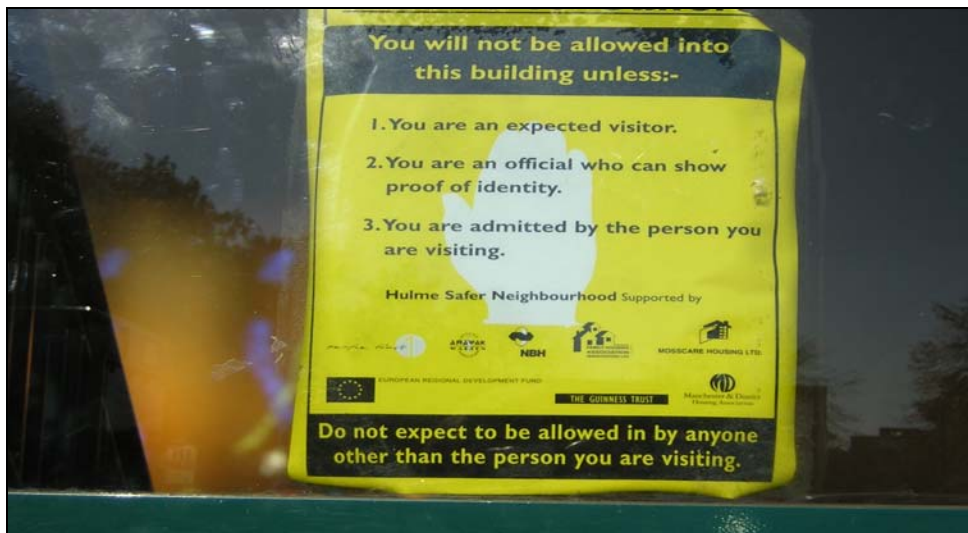**Signed:**

Date :

Appendix 5   The Changing Face of Hulme

Creating a 'welcoming space' in a new
Hulme street.

Typical new 'suburban' lay-out in Hulme.

Emphasis on privacy and suspicion of 'the stranger' in the new Hulme.

The manufacturing factory becomes
a night-club

New residential, water-front living

'SportCity Living' sells happiness.

The Cardroom estate, soon to become
New Islington.

Space no longer used for production,
but consumption.

Narrative pictures of Wythenshawe's 'Garden City' beginnings.

A refurbished tower block becomes a gated community for health workers.

'City Living' apartments and gated 'Sub-urban' cul-de-sacs for families represent the two post-modern housing styles now changing Wythenshawe.

Old and New Wythenshawe

Appendix 6

This is the statistical appendix. It carries tables on 1. Population, 2. Households and Housing, 3. Employment and Unemployment, 4. Deprivation and Welfare. It is in landscape layout and can be accessed, as a separate document, from the website.

Appendix 7

Interview schedule for Year 1

1) From your perspective as a *community enabler,* what in broad terms does the word regeneration mean to you?

2) What motivates you to be engaged in regeneration?

3) What should be the main outcomes or outputs of regeneration? How, in your opinion, are these best achieved?

4) What are the strengths of your approach?

5) What are the weaknesses?

6) How do you understand the idea of partnership in current regeneration practice? And how would you know when partnership is effective?

7) How do you understand the idea of consultation in current regeneration practice? And how would you know when consultation is effective?

8) What do you think are the specific regeneration issues facing Manchester at the moment? *Follow on question: What do you think are the specific regeneration issues facing your area of Manchester at the moment?*

9) What role do you see for the faith communities in current regeneration practice? And have you experienced this at work?

10) Is there anything else that you would like to say on the concepts or outcomes of regeneration that we haven't covered in this interview?

Your comments will be reproduced anonymously, and you will be shown any draft documentation featuring your statements for your comments before any wider publication.

Appendix 8

William Temple Foundation – Year 1 interviews
Transcript Grid

1) Any changes in language during the course of the interviews.

2) Connections – who/which groups are referred and by whom.

3) Perspectives – what perspective are people talking from and any indication of being able to acknowledge the perspectives of others.

4) How are issues of power and powerlessness expressed, either directly or indirectly.

5) How are issues of proximity or distance to those affected by regeneration expressed directly or indirectly.

6) Key phrases, themes or ideas to emerge from the transcripts– some recurring often, others less frequently.

Appendix 9

William Temple Foundation – Year 1 interviews
Example of Strategic Theology Transcript Analysis

1) Any changes in language during the course of the interviews?

Use of language is straightforward and accessible – use of jargon is kept to a minimum – optimistic tone throughout and also compassionate.

2) Connections – who/which groups are referred to and by whom?

Other key players in the main partnerships (i.e. 'quite a cosy clique')
Sean MacGonigle
Tim Presswood
GPs
North Manchester PCT City Council
Social services
Beacons Board

3) Perspectives – what perspective are people talking from? Any indication of being able to acknowledge the perspectives of others?

On the whole talks from the perspective of statutory provider – statistics, clients – embraces the holistic regeneration agenda – however there is evidence of understanding the perceptions of the clients who use her services – non judgemental perspective. Perspective ideologically is that of public service but with a flexibility to work with others to provide an improving service.

4) How are issues of power and powerlessness expressed, either directly or indirectly?

Not a strong feature. She mentions the poor health statistics and the pressure to meet performance indicators, and Wigan and other towns in east Lancashire as being potentially in 'a worse place' than Manchester – she is sanguine about the issues of poverty and exclusion but also fairly clear that 'trickle-down and partnership working between statutory providers will eventually work to resolve it.

5) How are issues of proximity or distance to those affected by regeneration expressed directly or indirectly?

Talks from a strategic perspective but seems to have a sense of what ordinary users of the health service experience.

6) Key phrases, themes or ideas to emerge from the transcripts– some recurring often, others less frequently.

'Regeneration around East Manchester, incredibly, you know high levels of death from coronary heart disease and cancers, of high levels of teenage pregnancy, and low levels of very poor mental health, is about trying to, on a number of different levels, reverse those trends to actually put in place solid public services, and to truly regenerate the community to empower people who live there and to make it back into or want to become a vibrant society which is both economically and socially, and I guess, from this perspective, kind of morally and philosophically, committed part of society' .

'East Manchester, incredibly high levels of death from coronary heart disease and cancers, of high levels of teenage pregnancy, and low levels of very poor mental health,
causes of ill health are multi-factoral and they depend on the food that you eat and the environment in which you live, as well as your inherited genes. The chances are they are a bad combination in deprived areas - so if we want to address those health outcomes, we've got to work in partnership with a range of other agencies' .

'If we are a big employer we should be able to try to offer good employment for local people's welfare' .

'From my perspective, or I think what we'd have to look for is back to a viable community, an empowered community - if we can improve some of those absolute health indicators, from our perspective that would be good, and if we can develop public services which are responsive to local need, I think we will have really achieved very well' .

'I think the strength (of the regeneration initiatives) has been the level of commitment (I,e .people-based) - Sean McGonigle, in particular, and his team, really are first rate and they make it very easy to get involved with them' .

'We are under enormous pressure in order to deliver on those, because they are manifesto commitments, they are political imperatives - we have to put so much effort into that it's easy to lose sight of the wider public health regeneration - it still won't make any difference how much money there is, how much we can put into the health service side - we've got to get into the preventative way of working and address some of those fundamental issues (regeneration as preventative rather than reactive).

'Partnership: I think it's about working on the same agenda when apart rather than there's a danger of superficial cosiness when you're physically together, viz it can sometimes be easy when you're sat in the room, you know, oh we're great pals and we kind of really work on this, but the acid test is when we're not actually together, am I putting in place things which really drive forward our partnership with other agencies?'

'Other problems – pooled budgeting means some sectors give more than others, and therefore leads to tensions – and different agendas – e.g. police have an enforcement side in relation to drug users or problem families while the health service has to deal with issues of confidentiality and meeting health needs'.

'Effectiveness of partnership – do you see service improvement as a result? Better communication? Often it is personality driven – you may piss some people off you get to work with – I love those - if you really find it very hard to work with them, then you start to avoid those meetings, if you don't have to go you don't bother going, you have to sometimes dig deep to overcome that, don't you, to still be effective in your role, and not let personality issues … tend to destabilise that'.

'Consultation – I think East Manchester is a resident-driven kind of regeneration scheme – difficulty in health circles of starting with what people normally know - they often are unable to distinguish between … or really understand some of the factors which our professionals understand, and that sounds really patronising e.g. what constitutes effective surgery - consumer reaction (they are a nice doctor) versus clinical care (their record is very good or they might be brusque) in terms of regeneration, you can't ask those questions about 'What is it do you want?' it has to be framed into what's actually affordable, what's do-able, how can we do it in an equitable fashion'.

Manchester ' I think that if the City Council are good at anything, they're good at regeneration, and I think that they have absolutely transformed the city centre over the last 20 years from being quite a dull and, you know, northern town sort of thing, into being a truly, I think, fantastic cosmopolitan, European city. I think it stands alongside Barcelona or Madrid (recurring theme) - South Manchester is trying to develop the whole Withington/Wilmslow Road into like a nice place. I think it's much harder for them when they start looking at regenerating North and East Manchester, where we are often, I think, a poor relation, it's not cosmopolitan in the same way, it isn't. It doesn't have trendy areas, we don't have a Didsbury, we don't have … we're not attracting in at the moment, the middle classes don't want to live in North Manchester and certainly not in East Manchester. (i.e. a North/East versus South/West divide)' .

'My GP colleague was saying that whenever anybody leaves his list, it's a stable family, and they're moving out. If anybody's joining in it's in singles and will have drug issues and probably has been in prison, you know, will have a whole raft of other issues, it's not a good social mix, it doesn't help, which is all a bit round the houses really…'.

'You are reminded something that's kind of like Engels said about North Manchester saying it was as bad as it got, really, and sometimes it feels like we haven't made the impact and the improvements that we need to, but it does feel like there has started to be those sustainable improvements will take place and I guess, for me the optimistic thing is, is that when I look around Manchester I have the confidence that things will improve and that there is enough of the trickle-down and the association with the city centre and the pride that there is in Manchester, to lift it'.

'But it does feel like that there is that kind of worrying underside of society that we really are losing in terms of … that they're having let down [?] more and more affected and thereafter, you know, all that stuff about being involved in crime and drugs and they're vulnerable as individuals and they parent very poorly and they all kind of [unclear] a problem family, but it feels like that's a growing group and we do put resources into trying with them but I'm not sure we always make the impact and whether… you know, what happens with those people, where will they end up going? '(worry about the excluded and a recognition of the continuing polarity within Manchester).

'You see the impact of the crime, the anti-crime initiatives in East Manchester have led to a reduction, but they go elsewhere, it's just moving the problem to another area, so does it mean that they move out of Manchester [unclear] or go somewhere else - I really don't know, but it doesn't stop you doing what you have to do today, but I guess the big sociologists or the philosophers maybe could investigate those sorts of social trends – like yourself' (regeneration displaces crime and poverty),

'Tim Presswood – I think his view that regeneration is absolutely living out the Bible and living out his philosophy of social improvement – it's almost a revolutionary thing to be doing, to be really trying to kind of change a community'.

Appendix 10

Bibliography (for Memory Section by Michelle Rickett)

Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined Communities.* London: Verso.

Antze, P & Lambek, M. 1996. "Introduction: Forecasting Memory". In Antze, P & Lambek, M (eds). *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory.* London: Routledge.

Aretxaga, B. 1997. *Shattering Silence: Women, Nationalism and Political Subjectivity in Northern Ireland.* Princeton: Princeton University Press**.**

Bernard, HR. 1998. "Introduction: On Method and Methods in Anthropology." In *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology.* Bernard, HR (ed). Walnut Creek: Altamira Press.

Cameron, D. 2001. *Working with Spoken Discourse*. London: Sage Publications.

Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fabian, J. 1996. *Remembering the Present: Painting and Popular History in Zaire.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gillis, JR. 1994. "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship". In Gillis, JR (ed). *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Halbwachs, M. 1992 (1950). *On Collective Memory.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Harvey, P. 1997. "Peruvian Independence Day: Ritual, Memory and the Erasure of Narrative". In Howard-Malverne, R (ed). *Creating Context in Andean Cultures.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Jackson, M (ed). 1996. *Things As They Are: New Directions in Phenomenological Anthropology.* Indiana: Indiana University Press**.**

Kuchler, S & Melion, W (eds). 1991. *Images of Memory: On Remembering and Representation.* London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Kulick, D. 1998. *Travesti: Sex, Gender and Culture among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Steedly, M. 1993. *Hanging Without A Rope: Narrative Experience in Colonial and Post-colonial Karoland*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stewart, K. 1997. *A Space on the Side of the Road.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Stoller, P. 1997. *Sensuous Scholarship.* Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Taussig, M. 1987. Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Werbner, R. 1998a. 'Beyond Oblivion: Confronting Memory Crisis'. In *Memory and the postcolony: African anthropology and the critique of power.* Werbner, R (ed). London: Zed Books.

Appendix 11

Role and Identity of the church in post-modern urban space (pros and cons) Copyright William Temple Foundation

3 Typologies.

Local/institutional church

- NEF model- breaks down social exclusion by providing spaces of across ages and ethnic backgrounds
- Provider of space – claims to be a place of creating social capital through the use of community buildings – essentially non-political – counselling, youth work, lunchclubs see GLA, NEF, Building on Faith reports report (But who doesn't use the facilities)
- Eucharistic community – sharing of stories – power of worship to provide narrative framework
- Works to a different timeframe. Long-term, sustainable (but for how long without long-term investment)
- Less likely to be co-opted by regeneration industry – more likely to be independent and less-exploited
- Can be deeply embedded in political processes

Cluster Church

- Share resources across a wider area – identify local priorities, play to local strengths and traditions.
- An understanding of church that is based on partnership and networks
- Federalism can create internal agendas which prevent more effective community outreach

Network Church
- Moves far ahead of institutional models in terms of engagement in local partnerships and networks
- Questions as to representative authenticity with regard to claiming to be the church
- Can be at cutting edge of local networks of change and regeneration – flexible and adaptable and requiring low overheads and maintenance.
- Deeply embedded in political processes and relatively easy to engage in theological reflection
- Can perhaps be more easily co-opted into the regeneration issues, not always owned by local churches – harder to be rooted/connected in the faith tradition.