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The Hive in The Cliff: an innovative case study for culturally led, cross-sector approaches to sustainable urban regeneration

by Sarie Mairs Slee, Samantha Bowker, Andy Hamilton and Theresa Wilkie

Abstract

There is long-standing recognition of the role cultural and creative industries play in regional development¹. Creative and cultural activities contribute to development in regeneration, social inclusion, education, vocational training, social entrepreneurship, celebration of cultural diversity, and the promotion of better physical and mental health. The role of culture in sustainable socio-economical development is being explored in The Hive in The Cliff, which aims to initiate social and economic renewal in East Salford in the development of a culturally led regeneration and conservation programme through interdisciplinary research and cross-sector partnership². This culturally led programme will ultimately inform a £1.5 million bid to the UK's Heritage Lottery Fund, supporting the programme's implementation.

The Hive in The Cliff proposes innovative approaches to sustainable socio-economic development, combining bottom up and top down methods to research, consultation, planning and implementation. While work with public partners and current policy establish documented community needs, The Hive in The Cliff favours community-based approaches to *understand* and *react to* the ways in which these needs affect local people. In this, The Hive in The Cliff is working with multiple community and third sector organisations, investigating working methodologies that specifically utilise creative, cultural and heritage-based activities to instigate social-economic change.

The Hive in The Cliff has substantial aspirations, having gained significant support and momentum in its early stages, and is a promising case study for culturally-led regeneration. This paper will identify the regional context for this case study, discuss working methodologies and explore the aims and outcomes of The Hive in The Cliff project. As the project is ongoing, it will also explore key issues for future development and phased implementation, integrating interdisciplinary research with large-scale public engagement in pursuit of the maximum number of outcomes and best value-for-money.

¹ See examples in: Landry, C., Greene, L. Matarasso, F. & Bianchini, F. (1996) *The Art of Regeneration: urban renewal through cultural activity* and Verwijen, J. & Lehtovuori, P. (1999) *Creative Cities: cultural industries, urban development and the information society*

² Salford is part of the Greater Manchester region in Northwest England. East Salford borders Manchester and the area of The Hive in The Cliff's focus is approximately two miles from Manchester city centre.

Introduction

“Each story of regeneration begins with poetry and ends with real estate” (Klunzman, 2004).

“The modern urban malaise is a complex crisis, which cannot be solved by traditional urban planning and policy. The hard sciences of urban planning need to be reformed and enriched by mobilising the experiences of different disciplines and people marginalised from decision making- many of these might come from the cultural arena. Culture is crucially important. It is often the forgotten glue that may hold things together in cities. It is in the cultural arena that the battles of the future will be fought- won and lost. Thus a cultural perspective needs to move centre stage in the planning of our cities” (Landry in Verwijnen et al, 1999: 7).

“Regeneration is a ‘growth’ industry and heritage assets can play a central role in achieving successful regeneration... [and] the inclusion of heritage assets in regeneration schemes provides a focus and catalyst for sustainable change” (Driver Jonas, 2006: 2).

In the 21st century, urban regeneration schemes are commonly found in cities around the globe. However, as individual cities and regions develop these schemes, conflicting considerations often cause problems between politicians, urban planners and local communities. For a pertinent example, we look no further than Pécs, host city of the 2010 RSA conference. A recent three-day Creative Cities event in Pécs considered ways that the regeneration of Kiraly Street could create short-term positive impact and a long-term legacy for the 2010 European Capital of Culture status³. According to Brian Cox, Director of IPPR North and participant in the event, these discussions dealt with a common problem in urban regeneration: balancing social well-being with physical, economically-driven regeneration. The street, lined with an increasing number of vacant shop fronts and derelict buildings, was met with contrasting proposals. Where community members and local activists “proposed plans and activities to bring many of the vacant premises back into use as workshops, museums, drama and art studios,” the city council backed the architects, planners and entrepreneurs: new, modern buildings to boost a contemporary feel and attract tourism (Cox, 2010: 1). Cox commented further:

“...there is always something highly alluring about physical regeneration. Whether it is the large sums of money involved or the genuine sense of excited ‘newness’... there is something about such grand designs that somehow stifles discontent...By contrast, social regeneration seems so soft, so nebulous. Without its... huge price tag its advocates are so easily characterised as being fringe elements and bit-part players. The stark contrast between the big money, high profile, short term hits literally overshadows more abstract building of kinship, reciprocity and community ties- the ‘hidden wealth of nations’- so often at a longer-term cost. And proponents of the latter seem always to lose out” (Cox: 2).

While this sentiment is specific to the urban regeneration of Pécs, it evokes the conflicting elements of many urban renewal programmes, including those in Salford, a city in the Greater Manchester region of Northwest England.

The case study presented in this paper relates specifically to the conflicting economic, social and environmental needs of the Broughton Renewal Area, an ongoing urban

³ This Creative Cities event was organised and managed by the British Council.

regeneration scheme in East Salford. The Hive in the Cliff is an interdisciplinary research project that aims to provide social and economic renewal to the community in Broughton, Salford through a culturally led regeneration and conservation programme. The Hive in The Cliff's five-year programme would run alongside the Broughton Renewal Area strategy, taking a community focus and working beyond the 2011 end date of the public regeneration scheme. At the heart of this programme is the renewal of an iconic, Grade-II building at the centre of the community: St. John the Evangelist Church, Higher Broughton, which closed in 2007. Built in 1836 by the Clowes family, this Grade-II listed building was designed by Richard Lane, houses stained glass designed by Pugin and has been the heart of Broughton for over 150 years.⁴ A Salford-based social enterprise, The Hive at St. Johns, is currently working to acquire and redevelop the building as a community centre for creativity, culture and the arts. This redevelopment sits within a larger plan for the physical, social and economic regeneration of The Cliff Conservation area and surrounding Broughton ward. The Hive in the Cliff would support the restoration of this vacant building within a larger, culturally led regeneration programme, supporting the community's engagement with their sense of heritage, celebrating traditional ideas and building on new perspectives toward a more cohesive contemporary community.

The Hive in The Cliff research team is diverse with academics and practitioners from the performing and visual arts, design and heritage, virtual planning and the built environment, applied archaeology, and community engagement. The Hive in The Cliff is funded by University of Salford 'Iconic City of Salford Award' and has formal ties with the SURegen project as a cultural case study. SURegen is a £2.5 million Engineering and Physical Sciences Research council (EPSRC) project, developing sustainable urban regeneration processes, including bottom-up, culturally led redevelopment.

This paper will examine The Hive in The Cliff as a case study various contexts surrounding sustainable urban regeneration. For the purpose of our discussions, we will limit scope of the term 'culture' to the inclusion of the creative arts, heritage and local/regional/national identities. Geographical and historical contexts are offered to illustrate Salford's for regeneration needs and current strategies, highlighting the role of the culture industries thus far. A series of theoretical viewpoints are discussed, providing the philosophical and research framework for The Hive in The Cliff's development. The paper then explores the working methodologies proposed in the case study, an area lacking detail within existing models for sustainable urban regeneration. The Hive in The Cliff's project developing aims and proposed activities are outlined, with closing consideration of key issues for the case study's future implementation. In all, the paper seeks to illustrate the relationship between identified needs for sustainable urban regeneration, the rationale for culturally led implementation and the specific needs of the Broughton community within its wider regional context.

⁴ Richard Lane was one of Manchester's most prominent Victorian architects and founder of the Manchester Architectural Society. Other notable works in the region included the Quaker's Meeting House in Manchester City Centre, Salford Town Hall, and the Victoria Park estate in Rusholme, Manchester. Pugin is one of the UK's most famous and influential architects/designers and contributed to the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament after the ravaging fires of 1834.

Regional Contexts

Salford: past and present

With a population of 216,103 people, the City of Salford is part of the Greater Manchester region in the North West of England (ONS, 2001). East Salford borders Manchester and Broughton, the area of The Hive in The Cliff's focus is approximately two miles from Manchester city centre. Broughton has approximately 12,000 residents and is one of the most disadvantaged and ethnically diverse wards in Salford. A quarter of the population are under the age of 19 and 56% of households with children in the ward are lone parent households. Of the working age adults living in the area, approximately 47% currently hold no qualifications and over 50% of households have been in receipt of benefits for at least five years (Salford City Council, 2009). There is one of the UK's largest Orthodox Jewish communities in Broughton, significant Congolese and Punjabi communities along with economic migrant groups from Eastern Europe (Poland and Latvia). With close proximity to the University of Salford, there is also a strong presence of student housing in Broughton. These groups sit along a substantially white, working-class majority with a strong local pride. Broughton's problems with social inclusion across these (and other) ethnic divides have been observed and documented over the last three decades.⁵

Salford has a history of human activity stretching back to the Stone Age,⁶ but it wasn't until the Industrial Revolution of the late 18th and 19th centuries until Salford rapidly developed into a major inland port and factory town. The 20th century's declining industrial activities brought high unemployment, crime and social problems while late 20th century changes brought new regeneration schemes to some of the most socially and economically deprived areas in the country (Cooper, 2005).

The population of Salford quickly expanded in the 19th Century (Salford City Council, October 2009).⁷ Attracted by job prospects in local textile mills and other industries, an influx of families strengthened the workforce and economy but gave rise to an enlarged working class population and health problems stemming from overpopulation. Both Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels spent time in Salford, studying the plight of the British working class. In *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, Engels described Salford as "really one large working-class quarter ... [a] very unhealthy, dirty and dilapidated district" (Engels, 1968). By the end of the 19th century the situation had not improved and the problems of overcrowding and chronic social deprivation experienced by the working class living in industrialised areas of the city were exacerbated by low quality Victorian terraced housing (Salford City Council).⁸ Spatial segregation showed evidence of social divisions within Salford during the early 19th century. The middle classes, repelled by the dust and dirt of the factories and proximity of the attendant workforce, started to move to rural suburbs like Higher Broughton. Bus links and private roads were built alongside these developments of mansion houses and grand terraces for the use of the growing commuter middle classes. Entrances to such roads, of which *Bury New Road* in Broughton (built 1831) was one, were often gated, patrolled and sometimes even tolled.

⁵ Details on ethnic groups came from a meeting with the Regeneration team at Salix Homes Salford, who are leading the Broughton Renewal Area programme and have long-term experience working in and with this community.

⁶ Neolithic flint arrow-heads and tools were discovered on Kersal Moor and by the River Irwell, implying the area was inhabited 7–10,000 years ago.

⁷ The population was 12,000 in 1812, but rose in just 30 years to 70,244, and by the end of the century to 220,000.

⁸ The density of housing was as high as 80 homes per acre in some areas.

At the start of the 20th century, improvements to the UK transport infrastructure and increased global competition began to overtake Salford's old industries. The state of housing stock in industrial cities like Salford became a growing cause of concern. Several waves of slum clearance and housing stock renewal marked 1950-1980. Rising unemployment and social problems persisted through this period, in spite of attempts to tackle problems and reinvigorate the local economy, through economically and culturally-driven initiatives like the Salford Quays Development Plan (initiated 1985). In 2002, the city was identified as a Pathfinder area: an area in specific need of investment for new homes. Between 2003 and 2006, £44 million was invested in housing in central Salford (Salford City Council, 3 October 2009).

Current contexts: 'islands of development' and existing cultural provisions

In May 2007, a second round of culture led regeneration commenced in the Salford Quays development, with the confirmation that five of the BBC's key departments would move from London to a new home in Salford Quays, ensuring the future of 'MediaCity:UK.' At its 2011 opening, MediaCity:UK will house one million square feet of commercial space with a clear focus on the digital and creative industries, as well as residential, retail and public spaces for thousands of residents. However, a year before the official opening, proprietors of the Media City development *already* stress that "the site being developed for 2011 only represents about one fifth of the total land available – there's actually potential to utilise up to 200 acres. That's a lot of space to grow" (MediaCityUK, 2010). While this is a substantial development for the local and regional economy and will change the commercial landscape of the city, it again focuses more on creating new populations, as well as industry, in the city. While it is a very ambitious, shiny and exciting island of development, it serves as a relatively isolated pocket nonetheless.

With large-scale developments such as Salford Quays, MediaCityUK and the Northern Quarter, smaller public and grassroots creative and heritage organisations are easy to overlook. There are, however, numerous. Salford is home to the national Working Class Movement Library and houses a Local History Library within their Museum and Art Gallery. There are currently six conservation areas and 278 listed buildings in the city. Salford City Council's Heritage Outreach team run a series of educational and engagement programmes, as well as an bi-annual, international publication, *Lifetimes Link*. There are also a number of successful, small-scale arts and heritage groups in the city. Most have been developed by ambitious social entrepreneurs and organisations like START in Salford, MAPAS and Islington Mill have created fantastic work and support for artistic and local communities. However, these organisations do not have a wider infrastructure to support connections and share good practices. Without a supportive network, these organisations inadvertently compete for funding and resources, despite their diverse work with different communities within the city.

Considering this large-scale development from a regional perspective, it is unsurprising that the digital and creative industries are one of eleven key sectors identified within regional development (NWDA, 2009). While large-scale developments are key considerations in this regional context, the importance of cultural activity at the *community* level is key for the success of urban regeneration initiatives. This split global/local perspective will be examined more closely in relation to The Hive in The Cliff case study later in the paper.

Theoretical Contexts

Sustainable Urban Regeneration

In the UK, 'sustainable communities' are meant to embody the principles of sustainable development. In 2003, the UK government issued the following working definition:

“Sustainable Communities are places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all” (ODPM, 2003).

Thus sustainable communities should be decided by choice, not by fate, and developed using methods that are inclusive and participatory. They are also meant to be not just well governed, connected and serviced but environmentally sensitive, economically thriving, well designed and built. All of this must be achieved in a way that is fair for everyone. As a result, the UK Government's use of the phrase 'sustainable communities' suggests a wider vision of places than has been held previously. This is a view that incorporates social, environmental and economic elements with recognition there are a) increasing ties between different geographical areas, and b) the impacts of decision-making at felt at different special scales (e.g. city, town, neighbourhood etc).

The first clear diagram representing the UK government's commitment to sustainable communities was the Egan Wheel (shown in diagram).⁹ When first conceived, it illustrated what the government understood about the social, environmental and economic principles underpinning sustainable development. Its appearance triggered a number of other representations, altering both the number of component parts in the diagram and their relationships to each other. In 2005, at the Bristol Accord, the UK government added an additional element, 'equity', to the diagram.

Prof. Mark Deakin, an investigator within the fore mentioned SURegen project, suggests that these



⁹ The Egan Wheel was named after Sir John Egan, who chaired the government's task force on the UK's sustainable communities skill set.

amendments have created a diagram that embodies a series of propositions about the nature of sustainable communities – about whether they are safe, inclusive, participatory, well governed and so on. They fail to give any indication of how these constituent elements should be put *into practice* (Deakin 2008a, 2008b, 2009).

Deakin finds that, although The Egan Wheel may have become the accepted image for ‘sustainable communities’ in the UK, without indicating how sustainability can be delivered, the diagram cannot be used any further than pure description. Furthermore, he finds the attempts to design methods for implementing these elements¹⁰ have only heightened the problems currently experienced by those attempting to increase the number of sustainable communities in the UK.

This is contributed to the lack of connections between the design codes and:

- the social needs and material realities that underlie the multiple-deprivation
- poverty and exclusion *experienced* by people who live in areas that require regeneration.

To counter this, Deakin suggests a community-based approach to urban regeneration, one aimed at promoting collaboration and consensus between communities, the planning and property development sectors. Community-based approaches support community involvement in a shared enterprise in which planners and property developers can act as agents for community regeneration in a joint venture. By engaging in joint ventures with cities, these groups of professional and lay people can help ‘reboot’ development of the built environment by using experience and expertise gained ‘on the ground’ from consultation with community-based members. In this way, a community-based approach to civic renewal can help deprived and excluded neighbourhoods re-integrate *themselves* back into the mainstream of civic life. This has significant impact of The Hive in The Cliff’s development in both determining aims and planning methodologies for the project’s delivery.

Heritage and urban regeneration

As well as the use of community-based approaches, the role of heritage and heritage buildings in urban regeneration has been both supported and promoted by a number of academic and public organisations across the globe. A 2006 UK-based study commissioned by English Heritage, the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors and the British Property Federation - *Heritage Works*- identified the overall qualities and benefits that heritage assets can bring to a regeneration scheme, stating:

“Historic buildings create a focal point that people can relate to and are familiar with... [and] may be well-loved local landmarks which the community will rally around to support or save... They may have interesting historical and cultural associations which can be interpreted and developed through the wider regeneration area... [as well as] feed people’s interest in the past” (Driver Jonas, 2006: 1).

The importance of heritage within urban renewal programmes has also been recognised on a European level. The European Association of Historic Towns and Regions (2007) compiled a report- *INHERIT*- reflecting upon heritage led regeneration schemes in seven European cities: Belfast, Göteborg, Gdansk, Newcastle upon Tyne, Úbeda, Verona and Belfast. This report gives extensive overviews of each scheme, analyses both qualitative

¹⁰ Such attempts include: Traditional Neighbourhood Design, Urban Villages, New Urbanism, Neighbourhood-Renewal.

and quantitative findings and draws some summative learning points for each individual city's scheme. Across these examples, shared features emerged. Each scheme stressed the importance of partnerships and cross-sector thinking, the potential role of the cultural industries in a scheme's economic and social reinvigoration, and the need for early, deep and continual engagement with wide and diverse sections of the community.

The promotion of heritage by public *heritage* organisations is unsurprising, but the financial implications associated with heritage assets cause concern for many urban planners. Heritage assets that are listed with English Heritage (under Grade I, II* or II strata) are governed by restrictions, requiring the local authority to consider the buildings' historical and architectural merit when assessing heritage-related planning applications (English Heritage, 2010). Historic buildings are often more expensive to maintain, more complicated to develop and can be seen as a *barrier* to regeneration. But this assumption is built on degrees of misunderstanding. As developers confuse 'conservation' with 'preservation' and discount the potential value of heritage assets, "comprehensive regeneration schemes...have swept away heritage assets in the name of efficiency, cost, viability, and meeting occupier requirements" (Driver Jonas, 2006: 3). Unfortunately, these decisions are so often made *despite* the guidance and funding from public bodies. These organisations, like English Heritage, ensure that the value of heritage assets remains intact and they make extensive guidance available to assist urban planners in achieving this (Driver Jonas, 2006).

'Place-making and the role of culture in community'

With such strong advocacy for community-based approaches and the use of historic assets in urban regeneration and planning, the role of 'place-making' is brought to the foreground. The team comes to this project acknowledging the importance of place in people's lives and how place is constructed, along with a concern with topography and how this informs who we are and how we see our place in the world. In this respect the writings of Bachelard (1994), (Casey, 1993, 1997), Harvey (1996), and Steedman (1986), have been particularly influential. As Casey writes,

"The relationship between self and place is not just one of reciprocal influence but also, more radically, of constitutive coingredience: each is essential to the being of the other. In effect there is no place without self and no self without place" (Casey in Anderson 2004).

In order for The Hive in the Cliff to be successful we must be working alongside our community, learning from *their* constructions of Broughton as 'place' in all our activities, and interpreting the connections between self and place. Anderson has reminded us: "places are not passive stages on which actions occur, rather they are the medium that impinge on, structure and facilitate these processes" (Anderson, 2004: 255). Considering Casey's notion of 'constitutive coingredience,' he further argues that the relationship of people and place could be better harnessed 'to access deeper insights into these human constructions of the world' (Casey in Anderson: 254). Community development workers in East Salford have expressed concern that in terms of an awareness of the history and heritage of place the neighbourhood is losing its 'thread of continuity'. While the renovation and regeneration of one iconic building- the former St John's church- is at the heart of this project we are not only concerned with how this project 'brings in' an audience but rather how this building can be a focal point to facilitate local narratives and initiatives and bring people together in order to continue to spin and weave this 'thread of continuity'. Within The Hive in The Cliff, we interpret this within the framework of sustainable regeneration. The creation of *cultural places* for residents to meet/exchange/ learn/challenge/celebrate is integral to urban planning. If sustainable urban regeneration aims to create sustainable communities, then the development of

city spaces and places must consider economic, social, and environmental impacts. In all three areas, culture has a positive role to play.

'Creative Cities' in urban regeneration: bridging the local/global divide

While cultural development can be seen as a primarily social tool, it has a substantial role to play in the local and regional economies. Zukin (1995) discusses the "symbolic economy of culture in cities," stating that "with the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and periodic crises in government and finance, culture is more and more the business of cities- the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique, competitive edge" (1-2). As previously described, the steady disintegration of manufacturing industries in Salford has caused unemployment and marked economic hardship. The creative and cultural industries are a tempting new possibility, especially within the digital creative sector and the role of MediaCity:UK cements these sectors within the economic future of Salford.

In developing cultural and technological economies simultaneously and with equal focus, cities like Salford make strides in bridging the global/local foci. On the one hand, the culture of the city is sold in its unique personality and set of economic opportunities. Yet the city's role within the global network is technological and the flows of information, communication and goods depend on *networks*, both physical and digital. The physical networks of roads, air and rail travel and digital communication infrastructures are the tools that allow cities to play in the global economic sphere.

Culture defines and embodies the distinct 'local-ness' of a city, places this identity within wider national and global context and communicates, and expresses this identity through a variety of digital networks. Verwijnen (1999) argues that, as networks are the medium through which people, ideas and products gain mobility, the digital and creative industries hold a *crucial* role in enabling a city- or region- to play a key role within the world-wide economy. He further states that:

“...the actors in the new cultural industries that are increasingly inhabiting these former industrial areas reject [the] gentrified style of 'revitalisation,' preferring instead a different cultural landscape. These industries generally consist of a multitude of small offices and studios that increasingly operate with multimedia content, rely on information technology and are heavily networked. They are now considered to be an important if not the main source of new employment” (12).

Again, in considering The Hive in The Cliff as a case study, it is vital to recognise the significant role that the growing digital economy currently plays in Salford and therefore impacts our aims and frames our considerations.

As the emphasis of the digital world is its non-geographical, development of a city's infrastructure for the digital economy must surely reinforce its role in the global economy, as well as strengthen its role as a 'creative city.' In a study of creative cities from the last two millennia, Prof. Peter Hall (1999) framed these commonalities in a 21st century context to characterise creative cities in contemporary development. Within this study, he stressed the importance of the 'multi-media revolution' and its deep impact on the way people develop and exchange ideas, interact, enterprise, socialise and define themselves in local and global settings. Hall identifies the economic growth drivers in contemporary culture to be informational, combining "artistic and intellectual creativity with technological innovativeness," citing "...entertainment in live and broadcast versions; the media, both print and electronic... high-level financial services,

involving judgement and information and the capacity to innovate; and... architecture, engineering, management and design” (54).

But Hall stresses the interplay between the digital and face-to-face within personal experience, both as a consumer and as a citizen:

“...as observed in all human experience since the invention of the telephone, the increasing use of electronic media may paradoxically increase the need and the incentive for face-to-face contact...and the same will surely be true this time: places with a unique buzz, a unique fizz, a special kind of energy, will prove more magnetic than ever for the production of products and above all the performance of services” (55).

So the strength of the digital economy must be supported by places where face-to-face exchange is facilitated. If we return again to our earlier definition of sustainable development- “the integration of the social, environmental and economic development of communities places with diverse cultures”- we consider the role of culture in balancing the wide focus of a city’s global position with the fine-grain detail of community engagement *within* place-making. And the role of culture- creativity, the arts, heritage, and the environment- is a recognised player in sustainable regeneration.

Creative Spaces and Urban Regeneration: a paradigm shift

The creation of creative spaces is already a common part of urban renewal strategies. In a wide study of cultural activities in UK urban renewal programmes, According to a Comedia study (1996), the majority of resources allocated to creative and cultural initiatives are actually invested into building programmes that actually supported the construction industry rather than cultural activities (Landry in Verwijnen, 1999: 14). In the last thirty years, much of this ‘cultural’ investment funded architecturally ambitious arts centres, iconic buildings within cities. However, these buildings, often built around a particular ‘high art’ perspective, now lack sustainable business models. After the initial investment in the arts buildings, on-going funding is often inadequate. Under staffing and maintenance become serial issues and the full *people-based* potentials of these centres are never fully realised (Landry in Verwijnen: 14).

Considering the potential impact of people-focused, arts/creative projects, one should also emphasize their value-for-money within larger regeneration schemes, as shown in a number of case studies. In Northeast England, Newcastle upon Tyne’s Quayside regeneration scheme incorporated ‘The Hidden Rivers Public Art Project,’ which built on the wide presence of small rivers running beneath the streets in the city. This project’s stated learning points presented ‘Hidden Rivers’ as a success, as “public art can be a key factor in improving the setting of a historic area and its buildings and in establishing the identity of an area at relatively low cost” (EAHTR, 2007). Out of the €229k devoted to the project, only €59k was used to implement the scheme, with the remaining monies spent on other paving within the area. Similarly the creation of an outdoor Gallery within the regeneration of a historical suburb of Gdansk, Poland was only €30k and run by the city’s contemporary art centre, Laznia. If we compare these figures with the €3.55m spent on the public realm works within the Newcastle’s Quayside project or the €1.5m spent on heritage-specific signage in Belfast’s cultural quarters regeneration scheme, we see great demonstration of value-for-money within the overall scheme (EAHTR).

As the creation of cultural spaces is important, the focus and balance ‘cultural’ spending must indeed refocus on active engagement with citizens through creative and cultural activities. It is simply not enough to place a cultural building in the same geographical

landscape as a community; it must have a dominant focus on dialogue, engagement and inclusion. In developing sustainable, cohesive communities, meaningful interaction must be developed beyond a superficial level and then sustained. According to Hole (2009), people need more places to meet and mix. While community centres are seen as important 'hubs,' they often separate people into distinct groups instead of developing opportunities for "...different people to mix in a meaningful [and sustained] way...Sustaining and building on connections requires follow-up sessions which bring people back together, and connections should be spread outwards, creating opportunities for participants' families and friends to also participate and feel the benefit of a project" (Hole: 10-11). So, new models of *both* place-making *and* expenditure within creative initiatives must be formed. Again, *The Hive in The Cliff* seeks to propose a new model for such efforts.

One tested method of activating a community within urban renewal programmes is *through* the use of historic buildings. According to The Civic Trust:

"Historic buildings and public space can inspire regeneration through local pressure groups using them as a rallying point. By contrast, a feeling by the public that 'they' are demolishing loved buildings, and its feeling of powerlessness when the redevelopment process has no public involvement or support, increase an indifferent and negative population who feels it is pointless to vote; that they have no control over, and therefore no responsibility for, their local environment; and come to see change as something to be fought rather than encouraged" (EAHTR, 2007:16).

As a visual symbol of the community, the long timescales required in the redevelopment of heritage assets can play a positive role. Community involvement can begin with consultation during planning development, continue through volunteer and vocational training in the physical redevelopment and develop long-term in the building's new use. Furthermore, the use of historical buildings can also provide significant aesthetic and environmental benefits. According to Zukin (1995), historical assets can provide as a set of architectural themes, reinforcing the symbolic identity of a community through both historic and contemporary aspects of cohesive built environment. This community-based focus interplays with potential environmental benefits toward the overall aim of sustainable regeneration. In English Heritage's 2005 report, "Regeneration and the Historic Environment" this viewpoint is strongly advocated:

"The aims of sustainable development are central to heritage led regeneration in seeking to safeguard the heritage through finding new uses for historic buildings and ensuring the continued viability for the heritage stock of Europe's cities...Re-use of existing buildings is a simple way to achieve sustainability, substantially reducing carbon footprint and landfill requirements. Re-using buildings and adapting landscapes can help reinforce a sense of place... restoring the historic environment creates jobs and helps underpin local economies... [and] the historic environment contributes to quality of life and enriches people's understanding of the diversity and changing nature of their communities [as] historic places are a powerful focus for community action" (EAHTR, 2007: 15-16).

It is clear that culturally led regeneration can contribute strongly to sustainable regeneration and in support of sustainable communities. But to do so effectively requires long-term, joined-up thinking in the planning process and a continued

commitment to balancing global and local foci for the widest, most holistic, and ultimately most *sustainable* benefits through regeneration.

The Hive in The Cliff: Working Methodologies

With the regional and contextual groundwork laid, several key considerations emerge for The Hive in The Cliff as a case study. After decades of social and economic decline and a number of regeneration schemes embodying the classic indicators of gentrification, there is much for our project team to reflect upon. As The Hive in The Cliff will work within the existing the Broughton Renewal Area (2006-2011) we are keen to both learn from these mistakes and follow the critique, analysis and guidance presented toward community-led, sustainable regeneration *with* (and not *for*) the current Broughton community.

These ambitions will only be realised if the working methodologies of The Hive in The Cliff continuously embody notions of collaboration, integrity and equity throughout the whole project. Collaboration must involve public and private organisations, small community and creative organisations already working in the area, as well as the local residents and activists for whom this project will make the biggest difference. Integrity will be needed in the long-term commitment to communication and negotiation, which is neither time-efficient nor easy, but produces the best chances for the Broughton community's long-term sustainability. Finally, as Broughton is an ethnically diverse and resource poor area of Salford, equity for all subgroups in Broughton must be transparent and demonstrable within The Hive in The Cliff programme. If these three values are adopted and practiced in the planning, measuring and delivery of The Hive in The Cliff, we have a chance of achieving a promising, long-term sustainable future with the Broughton community and creating a dynamic model for future regeneration projects.

Facilitating community contribution: proposed methodologies

Engagement with, and understanding of, the local neighbourhood is crucial to the Hive in the Cliff project along with an acknowledgement that 'the community' is not monolithic. Referring to Klunzman's opening quote,¹¹ our aspirations are to start with and *continue* with poetry. In our discussions with local community development workers we are warned that the Broughton community is disenchanting and is in fact one of the most over-consulted communities in the region. There is, however, very little action or progress to have come from this. As artists and researchers we bring with us a strong sense of the value and power of place and heritage to local communities and therefore a major issue of concern for us then is how best to engage with local residents in a meaningful way.

In light of the over consultation of this community, and drawing on the above approaches, the team feels that we should consult with and further research the needs of the residents by a range of cultural activities and events which draw out notions of heritage and place. At an initial stakeholders meeting held in January 2010 the number and range of people who attended, as well as the sheer amount of ideas generated heartened us. As these collaborative ideas from the basis of The Hive in The Cliff activity plan, we intend to carry out our research for a long-term strategy. In the first instance, we will link with existing groups within this community and to attempt to re-activate

¹¹ "Each story of regeneration begins with poetry and ends with real estate" (Klunzman, 2004).

groups which have stopped meeting over recent years through a lack of support, such as a local history group and the residents' association.¹²

The team are concerned to explore a range of creative approaches that acknowledge the complexity and shifting relationships in the community and in this respect ethno-mimesis as a methodology is a favoured approach. Described as a 'politics of feeling' (O'Neill, 2002) ethno-mimesis emphasises the collaboration of participants with artists, photographers, performance artists, writers and poets in representing life history and narratives. According to O'Neill and Hubbard:

"The ethno-mimetic research process involves sensuousness and emotion in tension with reason, rationality and objectivity. Combining micrology (ethnology) and mimesis (not as imitation or mimicry but as sensuous knowing) requires creative methods such as collaborating with artists and participants ... working together through narrative, talk, and art-making. At the core of the process is an exploration of the transformative role of art and the methodological approach of working with artists" (2010: 47).

Using this method, and especially through their walking practice, O'Neill and Hubbard suggest that in their work with refugees in the English East Midlands they have been able to access 'a richer understanding of the lived experience'. Walking as a cultural practice has been recognised recently by a number of writers (Anderson 2004, Edensor 2000, Solnit 2001, Carpiano 2009, O'Neill & Hubbard 2010). Useful for us is that walking is often linked to remembrance as Anderson puts it 'the recalling of incidents, feelings and experiences that were constitutive of that individual's understanding of the life-world' (2004: 258) and in some instances associations that the walker had previously been unaware of. At the time of writing a range of activities and projects are being developed based on ideas that came out of the stakeholders meeting referred to above. As a number of the ideas refer to 'walking' or 'walks' or 'trails,' it would seem that these walking events could underpin the research for our future activities and long term engagement at The Hive in the Cliff.

Active 'Engagement-through' Methodologies

This initial example of engagement through walking illustrates the possibilities of other 'engagement through' methodologies, providing the basis for consultation, education, and contribution to the scheme. Previously, the need for sustainable, meaningful interaction with communities was emphasized, but The Hive in The Cliff programme seeks to develop *active* approaches to engagement. While discussion and dialogue is highly important, the contribution is more passive: words are offered, but can be as easily ignored as embraced by those in positions of authority. However, *active* engagement methodologies, which involve physically realised education, vocational training, and volunteer opportunities enable citizens to not only say something, but *do* something with and for their community. Active engagement practices lead to *active* involvement and *active* ownership of the regeneration scheme and the community future.

The integration of 'engagement through' applies to policy makers and developers as well as local citizens. In this, cultural intermediaries have strong potential of being the 'through line' from policy makers and budget holders to the local community. The ability to facilitate the 'bottom-up/top-down practice' also produces a specific

¹² In fact, both groups used St. Johns church as their meeting place. When the church closed, no alternative community spaces existed nearby and the groups disbanded. While the church's closure was not the only factor in this, it is certainly a contributing factor.

knowledge set, categorised by Justin O'Connor (1999) as "...knowledge of the local...that allows cultural industries to both innovate in the local sphere and extend beyond the local." O'Connor further states that "local economic development increasingly depends on the mobilisation of this knowledge, but the ability to do so depends on a range of historically-specific social, economic, cultural and political factors" (16). This specific knowledge set can facilitate engagement *between* the two distinct and seemingly incompatible paradigms: that of the budget holders, whose focus is on economic growth and a city's place in the global market, and those of local communities, whose sense of history, place and ownership permeates their own sense of their city. With the ability to see and work in both perspectives, this 'bottom-up/top-down' engagement *through* cultural and creative activities and entrepreneurship can allow the people and policy-makers to move together in sustainable urban regeneration.

Active engagement is especially important in communities with histories of social cohesion problems. Duffy (2009) discusses the decline in community cohesion and trust in the UK over the last 50 years. He begins by discussing the trust and understanding needed to develop (1) relationships between people from different backgrounds and (2) connections between communities and institutions. Ipsos MORI research (2009) showed that two key factors decreased inclusive attitudes toward people from different backgrounds: levels of deprivation and levels of education. The higher the levels of deprivation and the lower the levels of education, the lower the social cohesion will likely exist in the area. This is highly relevant for Broughton as approximately 47% of working age adults held no qualifications in the 2007 census and cohesion has been a problematic issue (Salford City Council, 2009). Duffy further states that "in order to value diversity in society, we must also be confident of the value of our own contribution and not feel threatened by the contribution of others" (5). Enabling citizens' active contributions may help grow their individual confidence and collective sense of achievement¹³. Active engagement methodologies can play a part in these efforts, as active contribution by diverse groups of citizens in one activity or toward one goal *builds* common experiences. This is especially successful when the central activity lays focus on a subject outside the subject of diversity, as found in the 2007 '100 Voices' project in another part of Northwest England. '100 Voices' was run in Blackburn with Darwen, which is approximately 50 kilometres north/northwest of Salford, a city with significant Southeast Asian populations within a dominant white working class population. '100 Voices' brought together 100 randomly selected citizens to draw out and discuss key issues for local people. In this project, organisers were surprised that people didn't want to talk about social cohesion, but instead issues like graffiti, bad lighting, off-licenses selling alcohol to children, etc. (Burgess in Hole, 2009). Even without guidance from the organisers, citizens sought the opportunity to deal with aspects of mutual concern within the wider community dialogue. Similar approaches will be integrated in the planning of The Hive in The Cliff's activity strands.

The potential economic and social benefits of active engagement through creative and cultural activities are significant. In this, they will create the framework for the working methodologies of The Hive in The Cliff programme. But in our discussion of collaboration, integrity and equity, we must ensure these are applied in consistent, long-term approaches and not in 'drop-in, drop-out' delivery. In The Hive in The Cliff, our work with partners towards a cohesive culturally led regeneration and conservation

¹³ This notion is supported by Shahid Malik, the UK Minister for Community Cohesion: "while the UK is quite good at celebrating diversity, it has not made such an effort to recognise community [and that] doing the latter is key...It is through meaningful interaction that people learn about commonalities... that the more that people mix and engage with different people, the more they identify that diverse people care about many of the same issues, and people do, have common values" (Hole, 2009: 8).

programme will provide numerous active engagement opportunities for *all* community members. The Hive in The Cliff will also support The Hive as at St. Johns as a community space for creativity, culture and the arts as its most visible legacy. This legacy will enable creative engagement to be sustained beyond initial five-year programme.

The Hive in The Cliff: project aims and outcomes

Programme Outline and Collaborators

From January to August 2010, The Hive in the Cliff will work with partners to develop a five-year culturally led regeneration programme for Broughton, East Salford for sustainable social and economic renewal in and with the community. As previously discussed, the renewal of an iconic building at risk- the former St. John the Evangelist Church- is at the heart of this programme. The Hive in the Cliff would support its restoration and redevelopment as a community centre for creativity, culture and the arts. The redevelopment of this single building and the overarching programme will underpin the community's engagement with their sense of heritage, celebrating traditional ideas and building on new perspectives toward a more cohesive contemporary community.

The Hive in The Cliff is being led by the University of Salford and the Hive at St. Johns, the social enterprise who are working to develop and manage the building, making space for a creative community within for years to come. Both of these organisations are uncharacteristic leaders within a regeneration scheme, usually led by local authorities, urban planners and large regeneration companies. This paradigm shift is a perceived strength of The Hive in The Cliff, as it provides insight and new perspectives to sustainable urban regeneration, as we are engaging by choice and not obligation. However, we are working with a number of partners for whom community and urban renewal *is*, quite literally, their business and responsibility. These partners include Salford City Council; more specifically, their Arts Development, Heritage Outreach, and Conservation offices, along with the Neighbourhood Management Team, the Higher Broughton Health Centre and the Sustainable Urban Regeneration Directorate. Partners also include Salix Homes and Contour Housing: independent property management companies that maintain Salford City Council's stock of social housing, funded by public monies. Salix Homes also oversees the delivery of the current Broughton Renewal Area programme. Other partners include third sector organizations like the Church of England and the Broughton Trust, along with a number of artists and small arts organizations. Collaborative partnerships currently involve project planning and will involve co-delivery once funding is secured.

The Hive in The Cliff: key funding strategies and considerations

The Hive in The Cliff's funding strategies target both research and engagement funding streams. The significant disconnections that remain between some individuals and groups, posing threats to social cohesion and well being, are also a cause of concern for the UK Research Councils (UKRC). Pockets of deprivation, low employment, low educational achievement skills, poor life-chances, high crime, poor quality local environments, reoffending, anti-social behaviour and low levels of mental well-being persist, especially in economically deprived areas. This is in spite repeated attempts to address these issues. In the face of rapid technological, cultural, social and economic changes and the further need to address major environmental challenges¹⁴, the UKRC

¹⁴ These environmental changes are profoundly re-shaping some aspects of community life, for example in terms of social networks, community diversity, interpersonal communication and patterns of mobility and participation.

has announced they will soon call for the roles of public engagement to be reevaluated. It is expected the emergent 'Connected Communities' theme will call for new approaches to be developed that integrate existing knowledge, data and approaches to engage communities and other stakeholders in partnerships to address these key challenges. In short it is about research *with* stakeholders and communities, rather than research *on* communities. The Hive in The Cliff is developing a research project within the overarching five-year programme, targeting the 'Connected Communities' scheme for research funding support.

One key aim of The Hive in The Cliff is to develop a bid for the UK's Heritage Lottery Fund's *Townscape Heritage Initiative (THI)* scheme, exploring notions within the Cliff Conservation Area through the creation of The Hive at St. Johns as a cultural community space in Broughton. The *THI* scheme gives grants of £500,000 to £2 million, supporting the heritage-led regeneration of designated conservation areas that suffer significant socio-economic disadvantage. This scheme gives priority to areas of the highest deprivation. *THI* projects must:

- take place in a designated conservation area and involve works to a number of buildings
- involve character-restoring works in the public realm
- contribute to an area's wider regeneration strategies
- involve community consultation, engagement and activities, encouraging local people to be involved in their heritage
- tackle local skills shortages in conservation work

The Hive in the Cliff closely fits the key aims of the Townscape Heritage Scheme. The Index of Deprivation (2007) place Broughton within the 1% - 7% most deprived areas in the nation (Salford City Council, 2009). The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) Northwest has also specifically named Salford as one of three priority areas for funding for 2008-2011, strengthening the potential for success. The project team will submit a first-round application by October 2010. If successful, the preparation for the second-stage application will involve a HLF development grant with assistance from a HLF support officer in the stage-two project development.

The Hive in The Cliff: proposed building and activity strands

The Hive in The Cliff programme will include works for the physical and built environment, based on needs identified in the 2006 The Cliffs Conservation Area Appraisal and Broughton Renewal Area Reports. The physical and building aspects are being developed with the city council's Conservation and Planning offices during May and June 2010 and are therefore currently in development. However, the physical and building programme will focus on the redevelopment of St. Johns church surrounding two acres of green space into a much needed community facility, public garden, play area, community growing scheme, community orchard and apiary. The physical and building programme will also seek to develop up to three vacant/overgrown sites in Broughton into outdoor exhibition/activity spaces. If supported by the city council's Conservation office, the programme will redress long-term under investment on council-maintained physical aspects of The Cliff Conservation Area, like street furniture, maintenance of cobbled streets and publicly owned listed buildings. It will also work with partners to develop better public access and usage of the woodland area bordering the River Irwell. Physical developments would include the creation of walking trails, biodiversity planting projects and structures like benches, small rain shelters and huts for bird watching.

However, the main focus of The Hive in The Cliff is the residents and their active input into Broughton's regeneration. In this, we have created fourteen activity strands within the five-year programme. Planning meetings for each distinct activity strand have been scheduled in April and May 2010 and, at the time of writing, a third of these meetings have occurred. Although the strands are highly varied in content and approach, several trends have emerged.

Some activity strands support on existing projects that incorporate engagement with heritage and creative approaches. Each of these existing activities has documented evidence of success, but are either under funded or will be un-funded within twelve months. For example, the 'Writing Lives Plus' activity strand builds on the success of a creative writing and identities group and further integrates its practices into the larger heritage project, supporting its continuity for another five years.

Other activity strands are educational in nature, but use creative methodologies to present heritage in genuinely surprising, new and unexpected ways. For example, one activity strand will develop a series of heritage and cultural walks/trails in and through Broughton. However, some walks will be led by performers in character. These characters will not be 'historical' in nature, but 'imperfect, ill-placed experts' that inject a sense of play into the walks, inverting the notions of expert and novice and empowering the participants to 'guide their guide' within the activity's framework. By integrating high quality creative practices in active 'engagement through' approaches to heritage and education, both the content and context are more likely to inspire.

Many activity strands seek to build the community's individual and collective capacity within the cultural industries, both formally and informally. One strand is comprised of vocational schemes, which will address an identified national shortage of conservation specialism within the UK building trade, the high rates of unemployment in Broughton, and will train a small workforce *in* the capital projects of The Hive in The Cliff. Other strands develop a range of non-vocational creative skills such as creative writing, patchwork, and storytelling, which can contribute to the community's overall social capacity and sense of mutual belonging.

Finally, a collection of strands focus on disseminating the knowledge, strategies and practices developed in The Hive in The Cliff to others involved in future culturally led regeneration schemes. The project's interdisciplinarity allows for a range of appropriate and interested audiences: academics, local authorities, artists and community workers, among others. An archiving strand will document The Hive in The Cliff and create an archive of Broughton's heritage for present and future generations.

Although their individual practices differ, each distinct strand of The Hive in The Cliff programme clearly involves creative approaches to and heritage sites and subject matter. Each strand also addresses at least one aspect identified in building sustainable communities: economic, social, educational, and environmental benefits. We are confident that our cross-sector planning and active engagement approach provides an exciting case study with potential for palpable community benefit.

Key Issues for Project Development

In the final stages of the project's development, several issues remain highly important. In our combined research, we were pleased to find that advocates for culturally led regeneration are plentiful. But many theorists make great warnings to the "just add culture and stir" approach to urban regeneration. (Gibson and Stevenson in Quinn,

2007: 86) Culturally led regeneration must go beyond the top-down perspectives of culture as an economic driver and an opportunity for public art. “The rhetorical promotion of culture as a sort of economic panacea is profoundly short-sighted and indeed underestimates the value of culture for the people of the locality” (Paddison et al, 2007: xiii). For examples, Glasgow’s 1990 European Year of Culture was seen as an overall success, despite two widely criticised aspects: “...its failure to promote the involvement of geographically peripheral and socially deprived communities in arts activity, and its inability to act as a platform for representing local cultures.” Glasgow’s Year of Culture was even referred to as a “superficial makeover,’ focusing on the privileged few while ‘covering up’ the real concerns of the city’s working class majority” (McLay in Quinn: 94). High quality does not mean high art. Nor does it mean the *rejection* of high art as a way to connect with people from various working class communities.¹⁵ Sharp et al (2007) make a clear point about the risks involved in the schemes such as ours, stating:

“What the experience of urban regeneration continues to repeat is that the uses to which culture has been employed as part of the process of revival can be socially divisive... [as] cultural planning immediately raises the question ‘culture for whom?’ in which imposition and the favouring of public interests are likely to engender reaction and resistance” (157-158).

With this warning ringing in our ears, The Hive in The Cliff team is currently focusing on five issues for the project’s short and long-term development. These foci involve: community contribution, organisational collaboration, relationship to public initiatives, integration of research and the legacy of the project.

Key issues: community and organisational contribution

The first key issue- community contribution- relates to many *communication* aspects of The Hive in The Cliff. We recognise that the Broughton community is made up of long-term residents, short-term and transient residents, community organisations, local businesses, and branches of the local authority. As previously illustrated, there has been collaboration and contribution at the organisational level, but none yet on the level of the resident. The first steps in community consultation will occur in July, but there is a fine balance to strike within the planning of these communications and consultations. Widespread anecdotal evidence indicate that this community has been ‘consulted to death’ over the last five years, due to the fore mentioned public schemes. However, there is a general impression in the community that their wishes have been ignored in the planning and delivery of ‘beneficial’ schemes and projects. So, The Hive in The Cliff is keen to make community involvement meaningful and with direct correlation to the programme as its both delivered and experienced. However, we must also consider the timeframes of The Hive in The Cliff as a five year, *funding dependent* programme. Although we have identified a good central target for funding and are developing the application for an October/November deadline, the earliest this scheme might start is March 2012. If we are unsuccessful with our initial applications, the delay will continue until the project can be supported. So, in planning the methods and timings of community contribution to the scheme, we must balance our desire to embed the community’s specific wants/needs without inadvertently making promises or raising expectations without a guaranteed ability to follow through.

¹⁵ This comment responds to the popular ‘fad’ of including graffiti murals and street dance classes in community art projects. While both are valid creative mediums, this ‘street-wise’ approach makes patronising assumptions about urban, disadvantaged communities and bypass the process of engaging with the local community and creatively responding to their specific situation and needs.

Organisational collaboration is also a key issue. The interest in this scheme from new partners has been broad and the potentials for joined-up thinking and joint delivery promises the widest benefits from a number of perspectives. However, wide involvement is notoriously difficult to manage, as each organisation has its own priorities, staffing and budgeting issues. A lack of time committed to the project by *each* partner could lead to poor delivery, mission drift, poor collaboration in delivery and lost opportunities in monitoring and evaluation. So, in the creation of The Hive in The Cliff comprehensive project plan, careful consideration will be needed to generate and maintain high-quality collaboration and dialogue within the full five-year programme and its earlier development/bidding processes.

Key issues: public initiatives, the role of research and long-term legacies

One positive aspect of The Hive in The Cliff is its clear overlap with the local and regional initiatives, targeting both the Broughton area's needs and the role of the creative and cultural industries in Salford and the greater Manchester region. However, where the overlap is not a *perfect* fit, problems may arise. For example, Salford City Council is committing large sums of money to develop the cultural industries within regeneration schemes in both the Salford Quays and the Central Salford corridor.¹⁶ Both of these areas are at least 1½ miles from Broughton, which is a chiefly residential area and sits outside of the city's central business districts. As public funds hope to achieve the greatest economic return on their investment, it is common for these investments to centre on economic areas. "Current trends suggest precisely the scenario of a rapidly regenerating and gentrifying urban core surrounded by a ring of intensely disadvantaged residential areas" (Jones and Wilks-Heeg in Paddison et al, 2007: xi). This trend creates a potential risk in accessing some public funding, along with *full* philosophical commitment to The Hive in The Cliff and its various aims.

The integration of the research, recording, monitoring and evaluation aspects of this project is also a concern. As described in the project overview, the Heritage Lottery funding bid will be paired with an application to the UKRC's 'Connected Communities' scheme, building publicly engaged, interdisciplinary research into The Hive in The Cliff programme as a whole. However, the relationship between academic research, which is reflective and analytical in nature, and the monitoring and evaluation process, which is also reflective and analytical in nature, is difficult one. They will require different involvement from different partners and yet have some overlapping perspectives. Both budgeting and planning these various aspects will be complicated, as activity strands overlap and form part of a long-term project. Value-for-money and the depth of evaluation will remain important, especially as an ambitious case study for cross-sector approaches in culturally-led sustainable regeneration. While these are achievable, the complexity of the integration process remains a cause for careful consideration.

Finally the legacy of the project remains an important consideration in the development of The Hive in The Cliff project. Some project aspects will involve large-scale building work, which create one type of legacy. Archives will be created and maintained, with training programmes developed to communicate our learning points and help prepare others for similar schemes in the future. However, some of the ephemeral aspects of the project, those that deal with individual experiences, memories and discoveries, create another sort of legacy which equally important, but difficult to capture. The Hive in The Cliff project team want to make sure both the tangible and intangible are considered when addressing the project's legacy. This, of course, links to the earlier issue of

¹⁶ Both of these sites border major economic sites in Manchester. The Salford Quays development sits across the water from Manchester United's Old Trafford football ground and the Trafford Park economic area and the Central Salford corridor borders Manchester City Centre.

monitoring and evaluation and the project team will grapple with these issues simultaneously.

Conclusion

While The Hive in The Cliff is an ambitious project in early stages, it is built on extensive research and existing expertise. The Hive in The Cliff programme will be developed and agreed by August 2010 and aims for full-scale implementation by spring 2012. This case study seeks to integrate sustainable building methods, community-led approaches, wide scale collaboration with the public, private and third sector, and active, 'engagement-through' methodologies, all for palpable community benefit. Within a cultural context, it also aims to do so while demonstrating good value-for-money, especially in comparison to culturally led regeneration programmes like MediaCity:UK and the overall Salford Quays development. However, as with the regeneration of Kiraly Street in Pécs, The Hive in the Cliff project team and our partners face documented history of preference toward high-profile, physically-driven models of regeneration. We hope that, in The Hive in The Cliff, we can place the "more abstract building of kinship, reciprocity and community ties- the 'hidden wealth of nations'" at the heart of both physical and social regeneration activities toward a genuinely sustainable future in Broughton (Cox, 2010: 2). We look forward to future updates regarding this case study at future Regional Studies Association events and proceedings.

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