

## **Sustainable Participatory Approaches in Urban Regeneration Processes: Lessons from Portsmouth Harbour and Inner-City Hulme, Manchester**

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**Keywords:** Urban regeneration, participation, local communities.

### **SUMMARY**

The drive towards public participation in many policy areas across the globe has evolved over the years from the top-down approaches to modern day democratic institutions. This unprecedented culture of participation started in the late 1970s and early 1980s in the field of research and development and later spread to local community engagement. The benefits of incorporating participatory approaches in urban regeneration processes have been recited elsewhere in many pieces of scholarly work. Rather than dwelling on these tired concepts of benevolence of engagement, the aim of this paper is comment on the nature of participatory approaches with a view to securing a better understanding of sustainable participation structures. The authors perceive urban regeneration projects as a form of central intervention into existing socio-spatial systems in which two forms of participatory structures are possible: where the central authorities create artificial collaborative structures which normally end up assuming quasi-local authority functions and statuses, apart from being dependent on regeneration resources for their very existence. The second focuses on engaging the already existing formal and informal local community networks. It is argued in the paper that the latter are more enduring participatory structures than their artificial counterparts created by central planning authorities. The concept of urban regeneration is identified in the paper before scanning the case studies of the regenerations of Portsmouth harbour and inner city Hulme in Manchester for evidence on the validity of the above hypothesis. The discussion is largely a narrative of the evolution of participatory structures in these two examples. The paper noted that in both the regeneration of Portsmouth harbour and inner-city Hulme, those organisations formed for the projects ceased to operate at the conclusion of the projects while those 'naturally' existing networks continued to operate and to look after the interests of the areas beyond the regeneration projects. Based on this kind of evidence, the authors feel entitled to suggest that in order to achieve true regeneration, the enabling environment for participation of existing community groups needs to be encouraged. Establishing parallel structures may not necessarily lead to sustainable solutions. By creating quasi-municipal parallels in the regeneration projects, it also negates the whole rationale for seeking to engage local communities in the decision-making processes.

# **Sustainable Participatory Approaches in Urban Regeneration Processes: Lessons from Portsmouth Harbour and Inner-City Hulme, Manchester**

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

The impetus towards public participation in many spheres of the human existence across the world has evolved over the years from the doldrums of the top-down approaches to current levels of excitement with collaborative planning. This burgeoning culture of participation first manifested itself in the late 1970s and early 1980s in the field of research and development and spread to local community engagement (Moobela and Mahdjoubi, 2007). In the United Kingdom, the dawn of the 1990s particularly witnessed an increased amount of community participation in urban regeneration processes. This has been paralleled by a considerable amount of eclecticism on the part of the planning system, culminating into the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 which provides for, among others instruments, the requirement for enhanced community involvement in the system.

The benefits of incorporating participatory approaches in urban regeneration processes have been recited in the burgeoning amount of literature on the subject. It is widely understood that participation encourages cooperation among participants pursuing their common goal. By so doing they are able to mutually identify their common pressing problems, formulate and discuss alternative solutions from which the best options are selected and implemented within the participants' resource potential (Boeren, 1992). Consequently, many scholarly pieces of work point to the social, economic, and environmental benefits associated with engaging a diversity of stakeholders in the decision-making processes (Healy, 1998; Newson, 2006; Wold Bank, 1991; Magdolna et al, 1994). It is now almost a common place to say that the success of a development is often determined by the level of acceptance which the local community accords to it. It is not the intention of this paper to rehearse these common mantras of urban regeneration processes. Rather, the aim of the paper is to comment on the nature of participatory approaches with a view to securing a better understanding of sustainable participation structures. The authors perceive an urban regeneration project as a form of central intervention into an existing socio-spatial system in which two forms of participatory structures are possible. The first is where the central authorities create collaborative structures consisting of local communities and local planning officers in a partnership manner. These kinds of structures end up assuming quasi-local authority functions and status, apart from being dependent on regeneration resources for their continued existence. The second focuses on engaging the already existing local community organisations, both formal and informal. It is argued in the paper that the latter are more enduring participatory structures than their artificial counterparts created at the behest of the regeneration project resources. To champion these arguments, the paper begins by sweeping through the broad concept of urban regeneration before narrowing down to evidence provided by the two case studies of Portsmouth Harbour and inner-city Hulme in Manchester. The

discussion is largely a narrative of the evolution of participatory structures in these two examples.

## 2. THE CONCEPT AND PROCESS OF URBAN REGENERATION

The most comprehensive attempt to define the concept of urban regeneration is perhaps provided by the British Urban Regeneration Association (BURA) in a reader edited by Roberts et al (2000). Six interlinked themes are identified as constituting the practice of urban regeneration: physical conditions and the social-political response; housing and health; social welfare and economic progress; urban containment; changing role and nature of urban policy; and sustainable development.

The six themes reflect the physical, economic, social and environmental dimensions of urban regeneration. Using these themes, Roberts et al (2000:17) defined urban regeneration as:

*"Comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change".*

There are a few discernible features from this definition that are worth noting especially as they relate to the broader perspective of planning as a decision-making process. The first relates to what urban regeneration is - that it is an interventionist activity. This intervention can either be state-led or it can be a matter of public-private consensus. The second relates to what urban regeneration is not - that it is not simply the aspirations and achievements of urban renewal, which is essentially physical change (ibid). Urban regeneration is not urban development or redevelopment as this is less well defined in purpose. Furthermore, urban regeneration is not urban revitalisation (or rehabilitation) as this fails to specify a precise method of approach.

Another useful way of operationalising urban regeneration is to relate it to other similar concepts, such as gentrification and redevelopment, as suggested in Table 1 below.

**Table 1:** Urban Regeneration, Gentrification and Redevelopment

Regeneration	Gentrification	Redevelopment
Inward looking: seeks inward investment through indirect and inducement effects on locals.	Outwards looking: seeks inward investment through external effects.	Inward or outward: focuses on the physical structures of the built environment.
Aims at improving the living conditions and the economy of the local population.	Aims at improving the economy through by attracting external investment.	Aims at attracting private enterprise to transform the physical environment.
Ensures that the local peoples are not displaced.	May ultimately lead to the displacement of the local people.	Affordability determines who lives in the area after redevelopment.

While gentrification transforms neighbourhoods by bringing in newcomers to the area, the eventual displacement of the host communities makes it rather a pseudo social justice issue. It can be argued that urban redevelopment achieves almost the same kind of results as urban gentrification as the faith in private enterprise may not cater for those in low income brackets. A balance between these two has been a key aim of urban regeneration, as the two examples of Portsmouth harbour and Hulme regeneration demonstrate.

### 3.PORTSMOUTH HARBOUR

Portsmouth harbour has been the home of the British Royal Navy for over 500 years. The major occupation in the area was shipbuilding and the Navy. However, from its peak in 1945 shipbuilding in Portsmouth gradually declined and the last ship completed was HMS Andromeda in 1968. The work force too, declined from its peak of 23,000 to only 7,700 by 1982 (Portsmouth City Council, 2006) For years, Portsmouth and other local communities like Gosport and Fareham relied largely on the Royal navy for employment opportunities, but with a change of emphasis in defence spending away from large conventional surface fleet, the role of Portsmouth harbour as Britain’s premier Naval port was declining and land redundant while unemployment crept in. Therefore there was the need for the city to take measures to replace the lost jobs and also put redundant Ministry of Defence (MoD) land back into use

### **3.1 Regenerating the harbour**

Through consultations with the various stakeholders, a strategic policy for the regeneration of Portsmouth was designed, focussing mainly on a four-dimensional agenda: regenerating the economy of Portsmouth harbour area; achieving release and redevelopment of redundant MOD sites; encouraging inward investment; and promoting the harbour as a visitors' destination (Portsmouth City Council, 2006).

The project received funding from the Millennium Commission, a body formed to generate funds and plan for the celebration of the millennium in 2000, though there were considerable contributions from Portsmouth and Gosport Borough councils, public, private as well as Non-Governmental organisations. The South East Hampshire Business Partnership, a major local consortium of public and private sector organisations with a backing of the Royal Navy and various Heritage Trusts in the area, was also involved in the project. In order to maximise the benefits of the project to the local communities, the partners agreed that contracts be awarded to local companies and that the contracting companies should employ local people (Portsmouth City Council, 2006). The idea was that the employees would spend their income on local goods and services and thus reducing the local unemployment. The project started in 1999 with an expected completion date of 2003

The project led to the regeneration of 80 hectares (approx. 200 acres) of waterfront sites both in Gosport and Portsmouth. The main partners in the implementation of the project were Portsmouth City Council and Gosport Borough Council whose waterfront forms the harbour, and Naval Base Property Trust which has property rights over most of the sites that were to be released for the project. Many other businesses and organisations, including the voluntary sector from across South East Hampshire, were also involved. A company called Portsmouth Harbour Renaissance Limited was formed by the partners to oversee the project's construction and to co-ordinate millions of pounds that would be invested in the project (Portsmouth City Council, 2006) The Company had a board of directors composed of representatives from each of the main partners.

### **3.2 Celebrating success in Portsmouth Harbour**

The regeneration of Portsmouth harbour can be said to have succeeded in many ways. In the area of infrastructure development, walkways were developed to link almost all the retail and leisure establishments along the harbour. The area also boasts of a range of offices, housing and industrial spaces. The once nearly derelict Ministry of Defense sites were redeveloped much to count as windfall gain to the local economy. The project also helped in linking up Portsmouth and Gosport together, with increased commuter numbers being evident. The project has helped in the provision of offices, housing and industrial spaces.

The project provided employment opportunities. The implementation guidelines, which led to the awarding of contracts to the local contractors and the subsequent employment of the local people by contractors, decreased the unemployment rate in the area. The total number of

unemployed people claiming benefits in Portsmouth on September 1999 was 4054 but this figure fell to 2400 in the same month 2003 (Portsmouth City Council, 2003). Furthermore, opportunities were created for the youth to train in various types of trades, such as brick laying, carpentry, and masonry to gain skill and experience. This has increased their employability, with the resultant multiplier effects. Other positive aspects of the regeneration of Portsmouth harbour include the redevelopment of Ministry of Defense sites, attraction of inward investment to the area, and the promotion of the harbour as a visitor destination.

The project succeeded in securing of 80 hectares abandoned MoD land for redevelopment, apart from fostering stronger relations between the MoD and the two councils for economic and social development of the area. The project's incorporation of retail, offices, and leisure as well as awarding contracts to local companies and subsequent employment of the local people has had an induced and indirect multiplier effect which has increased investment in the area.

The project made Portsmouth and Gosport very attractive for investment. It has been able to attract reputable property companies like Berkeley group Plc, Land and Securities Plc and others. The tourism potential of Portsmouth and Gosport has equally been enhanced. Visitor numbers increased to a record 4.5million in 2003 (Portsmouth City Council, 2003). One element of the project that has made fascinating attraction is the Portsmouth Spinnaker Tower, which soars 170m above Portsmouth Harbour, offering visitors uninterrupted view across the city and the Solent coastline.

#### **4. HULME, MANCHESTER: FROM WASTE SLUM TO BEST EXAMPLE OF REGENERATION**

*"It is not necessary to go as far as South Africa to observe the reality of second class citizenship. Deprived families, herded together, are to be seen in every major British inner city. Manchester's Hulme bears all the sociological characteristics of a Bantustan Reservation" (Hanon, 1977).*

The above quote is a description of the inner city area of Hulme, Manchester, in the late 1970s, and is a view that remained valid till about the dawn of the 1990s. However, Hulme has now moved from the rank of worst slum in Manchester to that of being one of the best examples of regeneration in Britain, at least as at the dawn of the century. More important than mere praise, here, is a critical understanding of the roadmap to this achievement of unparalleled magnitude. What was the nature of the path to the success story of Hulme and to whom (or to what) does credit go?

The inner city area of Hulme is situated immediately south of Manchester city centre. The area is also suitably located in close proximity with the education precinct of Manchester University, and Manchester Metropolitan University. Prior to the onset of the Industrial Revolution, Hulme was predominantly an agricultural area. It was not until 1764 that the agricultural pre-occupation of the area began to fade following the completion of the

Bridgewater canal through to Manchester (Makepeace, 1995). The new waterway brought with it a fresh injection of development to the south-western peripheral areas of the city, as wharves and warehouses clustered around the canal terminus. The new structures were erected in a haphazard pattern and had no regard for municipal boundaries. For instance, the River Medlock almost disappeared as its course was built over.

The area developed haphazardly as an area of tightly packed terraces and courts, providing cramped and often unsanitary accommodation for migrants coming to Manchester city. Some houses had no toilets of their own while many others had no foundations and were laid on bare earth (HMSO, 1995). As a result of these squalid conditions, Hulme was soon branded one of Manchester's worst slums, occasionally ravaged by outbreaks of cholera and other diseases associated with unsanitary conditions. The Sunday Chronicle made the following comment about Hulme in 1889:

*"The streets are dim with smoke and the floors of the passages and the cellars are positively reeking under the hot sun. Stagnant water, rotten vegetables and liquid filth lie amongst the stones, the ash boxes are overfull, the atmosphere is thick and, the stench is overpowering"* (26th May, 1889).

Like in other British inner city areas, efforts to correct the urban problem in Hulme began with the physical approach. Apart from the slum clearance programmes followed by the erection of a number of traditional brick-built flats and high-rise blocks, an important feature of post-war Hulme was the continuation of a rich mixture of businesses and trades, ranging from the Dunlop rubber factory, Gaythorn Gas works, to smaller specialized industries like gold-beating and sign-writing (HRL, 1994). The relocation or closure of these traditional industries and centres of commerce had a very devastating effect on Hulme. It is no wonder that Hulme residents believe that in the 1960s, their area underwent some of the most shattering changes a community could ever have imposed upon it, and from which it was still struggling to recover by 1990 (Hulme Views Project, 1990). The period after 1960 was the most radical in urban regeneration circles.

#### **4.1 The Rise of Deck-access Housing in Hulme**

By the early 1960s, all remaining terraced houses in Hulme were demolished in a slum clearance programme that spared only a few buildings (HMSO, 1995). The design philosophy of the time was for a new Hulme planned around the rigid segregation of vehicles and pedestrians. Tenants were to be accommodated in flats and maisonettes on interlocking decks where it was assumed that traditional street life would be replicated far above the hazards of traffic. The crowning piece of the redevelopments was on the four huge crescent blocks. These were five storey deck access blocks each a quarter of a mile long, and together having a capacity of 1000 homes (EIUA, 1997). They consisted of two and three bed-roomed flats, and one bed-roomed maisonette, which were all connected by large access decks.

The redevelopment of Hulme was virtually complete by 1972. More than 5000 housing units had been built in less than eight years with 3,000 of them being deck access, making Hulme the biggest concentration of this type of housing in Britain (HMSO, 1995). The crescents did indeed become the pride of the new Hulme though not to the extent that the designers or the council had anticipated. The deck access blocks offered housing standards far 'better' than what the old Hulme had to offer. The new housing units were neat and well equipped. Everything was done and taken into account, perhaps except for one:

*"No one thought of involving residents in the decision-making processes of the (proposed) redevelopment of Hulme" (HPRC, 1977).*

The result of such an omission can perhaps be understood from the next section.

#### **4.2 Hulme's Deck-access Disaster**

The honeymoon for the architects of the Hulme crescents (together with that of the city council and everyone concerned) was short lived. It was not long before the disadvantages of deck access housing overtook the advantages. As tenants moved in, problems began to surface almost immediately and at an exponential rate (HRL, 1994). Structural faults were spotted in some sections of the new buildings. Maintenance problems equally arose from poorly designed systems such as heating, ventilation, and waste disposal. There were also major difficulties with the upkeep of common areas such as lifts, walkways and entry areas. Many of these defects were translated into high occupation costs on the part of tenants. Expensive heating systems meant that many households, even with children, were disconnected due to non-payment of bills and had to rely on color gas stoves and candle light instead (HMSO, 1995).

Hulme had acquired a reputation and its residents were stigmatized. There was a high concentration of poor people, the elderly and the disabled, ex-homeless, a high incidence of alcoholism and drug dependency. Many children left school without any proper qualifications. Truancy and vandalism were rife and went unchecked. At this time, and using Great Britain as the yard-stick, if you lived in Hulme, you were: seven times more likely to commit suicide; thirty-one times more likely to be the victim of crime; and forty-one times more likely to be actually murdered (HPRC, 1977). The upper deck-access units of the crescents were particularly unsuitable for children. This became tragically evident when a child fell to his death from one of the crescents in 1974. The tragedy aroused the Hulme tradition of tenant activism, which was overwhelmingly directed at Manchester City Council.

The crescents particularly were also hosts to a variety of unconventional creative and leisure activities in the mid 1980s. It was common knowledge that deck access housing had succeeded in creating a unique, diverse and underprivileged community. Each of the various interest groups had very different expectations, needs and attitudes towards life in Hulme. This combination of deplorable housing conditions and a diversity of social mix coincided with a period of enormous economic change in the early to mid 1980s, in which potential

sources of employment for Hulme declined. Despite all this, the Hulme community has always boasted of great strengths and the caring and supportive approach of neighbors. Indeed...

*"...there must be very few places in Britain where, against all odds, there is such a lively array of associations and clubs firmly based within their communities" (HMSO, 1990:13).*

In the 1980s, this community spirit found itself in the aggressive hands of the market-oriented Conservative government, thereby further alienating the chances of narrowing the central-cum-local authorities and local communities' gap in the decision-making processes. Table 2 below shows the evolution of consensus in the regeneration of Hulme between 1960s and 1990s

**Table 2.** Evolution of community engagement in Hulme

<b>Key</b>		
<i>Item</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Issues</i>
1	1960s	Hulme redevelopment begins (slum clearance and the construction of new houses). No consultations with tenants and residents. Redevelopments blamed by tenants for causing blight and mass disruption to community cohesion
2	1972	Hulme redevelopment completed. Architects awarded prizes for their designs. "Streets in the sky" deck access houses delivered to the community
3	1973	Problems with the new houses begin to surface. Tenants blamed for vandalism, crime, damp, infestation, etc
4	1974	Child falls to his death from a top floor flat. Tenant activism ignited. Following the tragic death of a child, Council changes housing allocation policy to allow families to move out.
5	1977	Council against the idea of demolishing. "I do not agree that it should be demolished" (Councillor). Tenants launch campaigns demanding demolition of deck access housing
6	1979	Council still appears unmoved by tenants' demands. "Demolition of deck access housing is the only answer" (tenants)
7	1984	Council now in a dilemma over the problem of Hulme. "If our opinion had been sought...the problems of Hulme would have been avoided" (Tenants)
8	1985a	Council acknowledges the problem. "Hulme has become unmanageable" (CEO). Tenants' declaration: "From now we will no longer have planning done for us...we demand a future of our own design
9	1985b	"We also took the unusual step of deciding to have a tenant conference rather than one dominated by politicians and professionals" (1st Community/ Council conference)

<b>Key</b>		
<i>Item</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Issues</i>
10	1985c	"We have 2,864 deck access dwellings in Hulme and are committed to a policy of eliminating them (2nd Community/Council Conference)
11	1989	"The govt is no longer listening to local authorities on their own. That is why it is so important for tenant groups and local authorities to join together..." (Hulme Study)
12	1991	Hulme City Challenge announced (Based on the idea of partnership)

It can be seen from the table that it was not until the early 1990s that real progress began to dawn in the name of City Challenge Regeneration project.

### **4.3 Hulme City Challenge**

Hulme City Challenge was launched in April 1992 with the help of £37.5 million of government money. This funding acted as a catalyst for a comprehensive programme of initiatives to tackle economic, social and physical problems based on a partnership between the public, private, voluntary sector, and the local community groups. Holism was at the centre of the City Challenge approach. It was recognized that no single organization has a monopoly of knowledge about, or resources to deal with, complex urban problems (EIUA, 1997). Therefore, programmes needed to be drawn on the basis of the expertise, energies and resources of local authorities, government, other public agencies, the private sector, voluntary groups and local residents.

A plethora of initiatives were set up to achieve these objectives. Hulme Regeneration Limited (HRL) was set up by Manchester City Council and AMEC PLC as a joint venture to coordinate and manage a complex of these new initiatives (MCC, 1997). Plans were drawn up to build 3,000 housing units as well as new shops, roads, offices and community facilities. The overall approach reflected a deliberate departure from the traditional land use zoning to that of achieving a close integration of economic and social activities. Hulme Community Homes Limited (HCML) a community-based forum was set up. The forum re-established the linkage with the local community to formulate social housing policies for the proposed redevelopments. A Hulme Tenants Participation Project (HTPP) established earlier in 1988 would work alongside the HCML. The HTPP was the first funded agency to work specifically for, and with the tenants of Hulme and to liaise between the institutional stakeholders and tenants. The initiative was funded jointly by the Housing Corporation and the City Council, the latter through City Challenge. The Moss Side and Hulme Business Federation were also set up in 1994 by local business-persons in conjunction with Manchester Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Its main aim was to assist local businesses, especially those with 25 or fewer employees, to have equal opportunities to compete effectively in local, regional, national and international markets. Out of this rich mixture of multiple agent involvement in the

regeneration process, emerged one of the best examples of regeneration in Britain in the 1990s.

## 5 DISCUSSION

Both the regeneration of Portsmouth harbour and inner-city Hulme in Manchester were based on aggressive involvement of multiple stakeholders in the processes. From the historical account of Hulme regeneration for example, it would appear that there was an ‘iron curtain’ between the local authority and local residents from 1960 to early 1990s. The decision-making mechanism was enshrined in the notion of local authorities making decisions for local communities without the latter being consulted. Hulme had become frozen by many years of authoritarian planning. However, the injection of City Challenge funding at a time of heightened engagement of multiple stakeholders was not only a new phenomenon but also produced one of the exemplars of regeneration initiatives at the time. It might be worthwhile to remind the readership that the very solutions (such as demolition of deck access housing) that were being suggested by the local communities and persistently rejected by the local and central planning authorities for a long time are the ones that were embraced by all stakeholders at the zenith of consensus and even served as the foundation for the new Hulme.

Making an informed comment on the hypothesis of the paper – that organic structures are more enduring than those centrally-created for the regeneration processes – requires us to take stock of the stakeholders that were involved in both projects. Table 3 below summarises these institutions, categorising them into: Govt – for local and central government and their departments; artificial – for those organisations that were created specifically for the regeneration projects; and organic – for those organisations formed by local communities themselves either prior to or during and after the regeneration projects.

### Key actors in the regeneration of Portsmouth Harbour and Hulme

Organisation	Area	Type	Status
Manchester City Council	Hulme	Govt	
Hulme Regeneration Limited	Hulme	Artificial	Ceased
Hulme Community Homes Limited	Hulme	Organic	Active
Hulme Tenants Participation Project	Hulme	Organic	Active
Moss Side and Hulme Business Federation	Hulme	Artificial	Ceased
Hulme and Moss Side Partnership	Hulme	Artificial	Ceased
Portsmouth City Council	Portsmouth Harbour	Govt	
Portsmouth Harbour Renaissance Limited	Portsmouth Harbour	Artificial	Ceased
Ministry of Defense	Portsmouth Harbour	Govt	
Gosport Borough Council	Portsmouth	Govt	

Organisation	Area	Type	Status
	Harbour		
Portsmouth and East Hampshire Partnership	Portsmouth Harbour	Govt	

As is probably expected, those organisations formed for the projects ceased to operate at the conclusion of the projects while those ‘naturally’ existing structures continued to operate and to look after the interests of the regenerated areas. This might look like a superficial vantage point but it is important to recognise that the longer term implications of areas that are a subject of regeneration is given due attention at the project design. The establishment of the Hulme Regeneration Limited (HRL) and the Portsmouth Harbour Renaissance Limited are a good model for fostering physical development but these on their own can not be used to take forward the longer term objectives of the areas. To achieve true regeneration the enabling environment for the emergence the organic community networks within the areas need to be put in place. Establishing parallel structures does not lead to sustainable solutions and negates the whole rationale for seeking to engage local communities in the decision-making processes.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

Public participation in the decision-making processes has taken centre-stage in the management of urban affairs in general and urban regeneration processes in particular over the past three decades. Driven by an appreciation of the multiple benefits associated with involving local communities in the decisions affecting their lives and pressure on governments to embrace modern democratic institutions, participatory approaches have evolved from the primordial top-down approaches to the current heightened levels of voluntary and legislated requirements for involving local communities. An informed understanding of participatory structures is critical for securing sustainable solutions to the target areas of urban regeneration. Prior to central intervention in the form of regeneration projects, many areas that have undergone certain levels of physical, economic and social decay will already have existing social networks of community activism and resources that can be tapped into the regeneration projects. The authors have attempted demonstrate that using these formal and informal community networks can potentially lead to sustainable regeneration processes as opposed to creating parallel artificial structures whose lifespan is normally limited to the duration of the regeneration project.

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## **BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES**

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