

**Uneven urban development
in North West England:
City-led transformation within a post-
industrial region in the process of
developing public transport networks**

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Outline

- 1. The arrival of the upgraded HST and the quantitative result of economic performance**
- 2. Research Context / Question/ Methodology**
- 3. Overview of the trajectory in North West England**
- 4. Government intervention at different scales**
- 5. Four kinds of local transformation processes**
- 6. Summary/Conclusion/Implication**

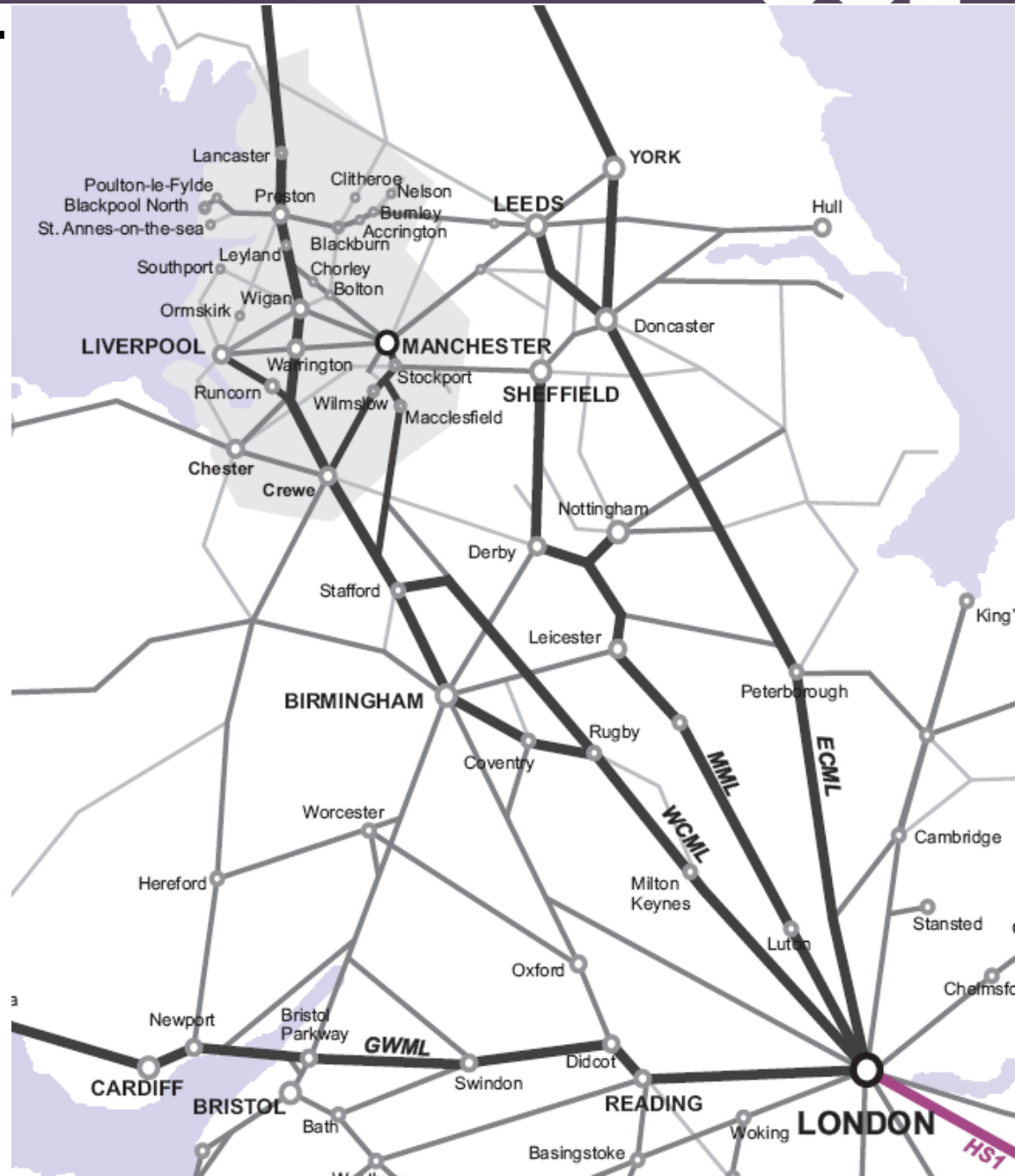
Starting point

The starting point is that the arrival of HST strengthens regional capital, but not some sub-regions around it.

The Definition of HST

Max 200 kph on Upgraded West Coast Main Line (“Low-speed high speed”)

- 1998- the modernisation project began
- 2004-Phase one
- 2008-Phase two completed



Uneven growth within North West England



Public Transport Accessibility

- Rail
- Pendolino trains
 - Super Voyager trains
 - Existing rail network
 - Rail stations
- Airport
- Airport

Urban and Regional Policies

1960s-1970s

- New Towns

1980s

- Enterprise Zones
- Urban Development Corporations

1990s

- City Challenge
- Urban Regeneration Companies
- New Deal for Communities
- Housing Market Renewal

2000s

- Strategic Regional Sites
- A: Growth Target Sectors
 - B: Established Target Sectors
 - C: Strategic Distribution
 - A+B
 - A+B+C

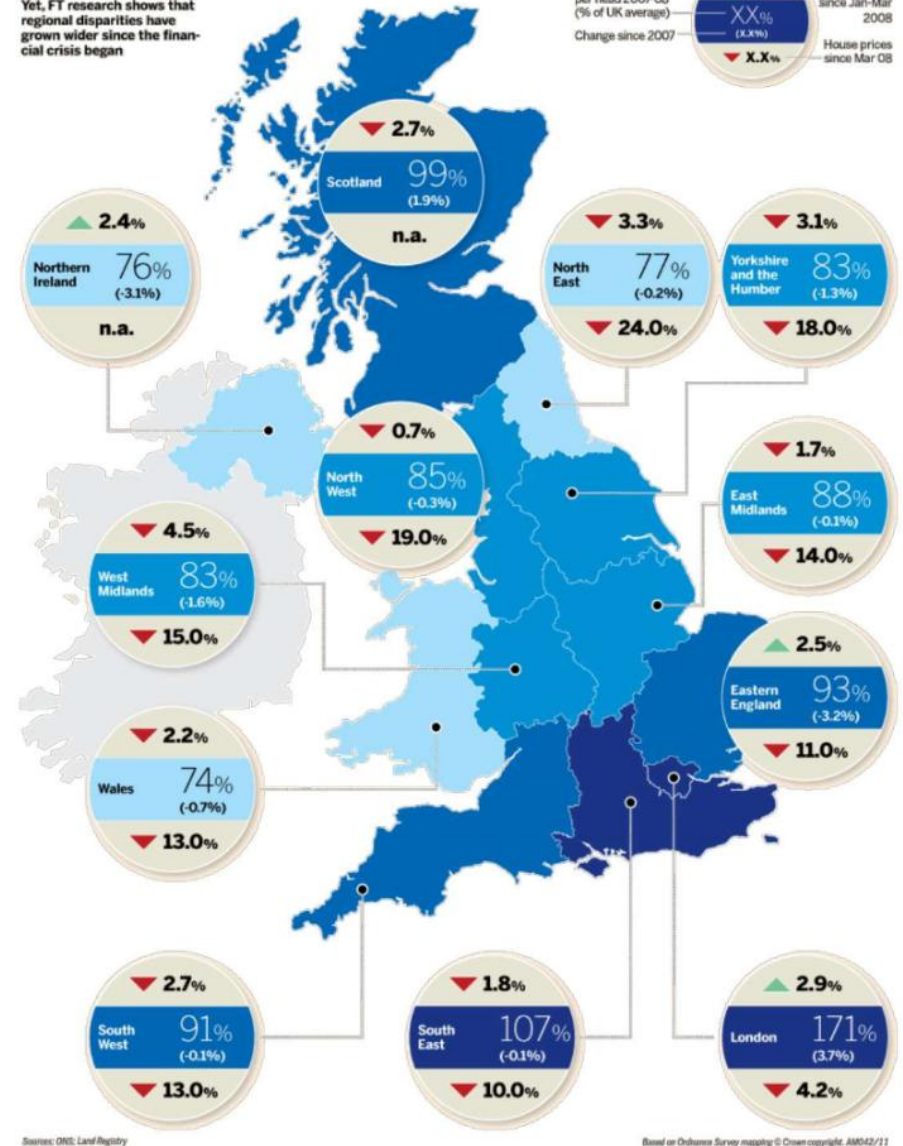
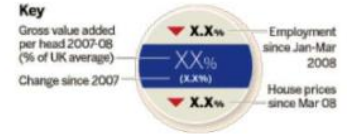
Sub-regional Economic Performance

- Revived regional centre in the knowledge economy
- Performance maintained / Private services economy
- Performance maintained / Public and private services
- Improved but below national average/ Public services
- Isolated sub-regions/ Path dependency

Context

- Inter-regional: North-South divide is widening
- Intra-regional: “Archipelago economy” (Pierre Veltz and Danny Dorling)
- How did the austerity policy affect uneven development within a region? Lessons learnt?

David Cameron has pledged to narrow the north-south divide in Britain's economy. Yet, FT research shows that regional disparities have grown wider since the financial crisis began



Theoretical background

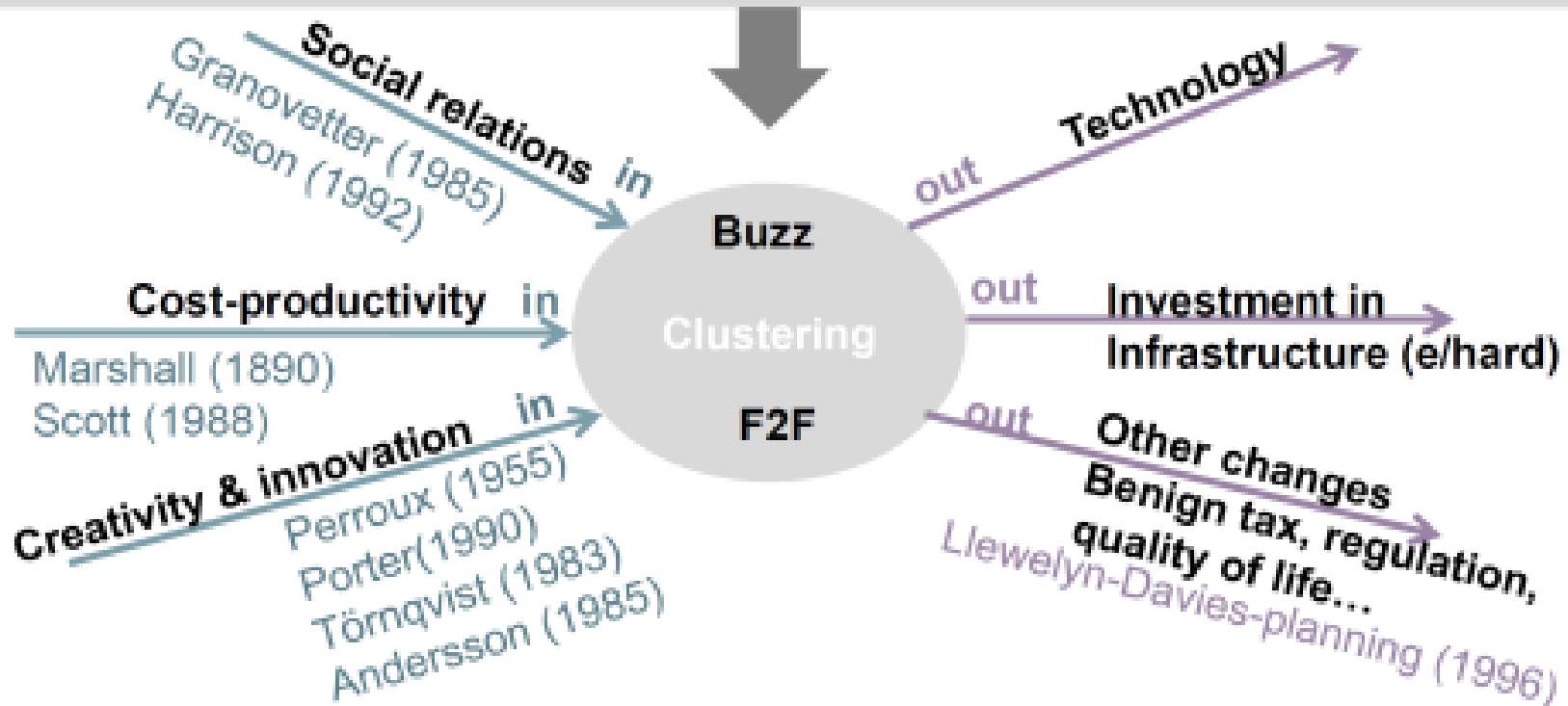
The dynamic space of agglomeration in the megacities region

Revisit neo-classical location theories

- Thünen (1826) – Agriculture
- Weber (1929) – Manufacturing
- Christaller (1933) – Consumer services

Emphasis on

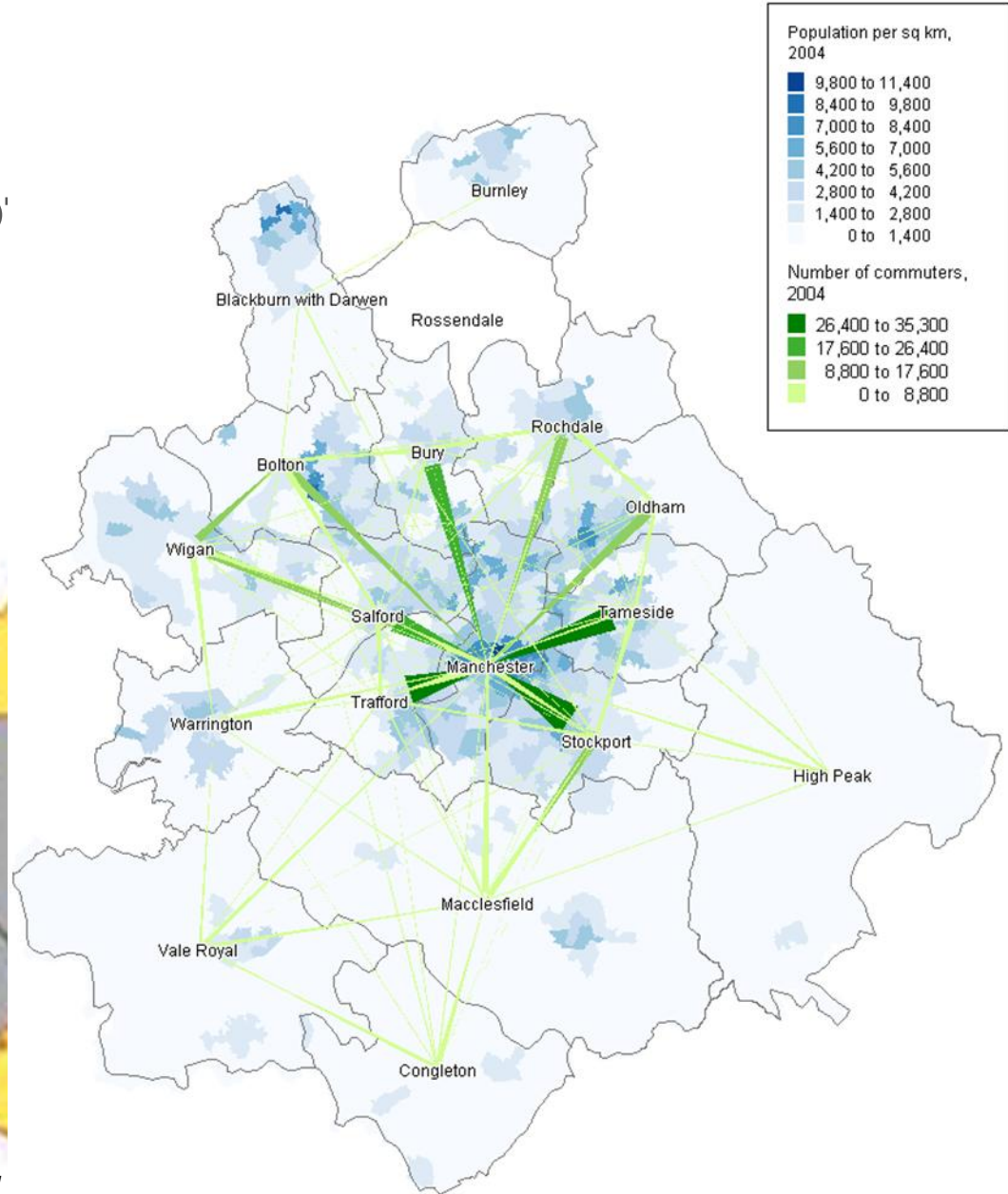
1. Static equilibrium
2. Max (revenue)/ Min (costs)



Research context

1. The phenomenon of Mega-city Region (MCR)

- Capital region (SE)
- Other regions (NW)
- Sub-regions (Greater Manchester)

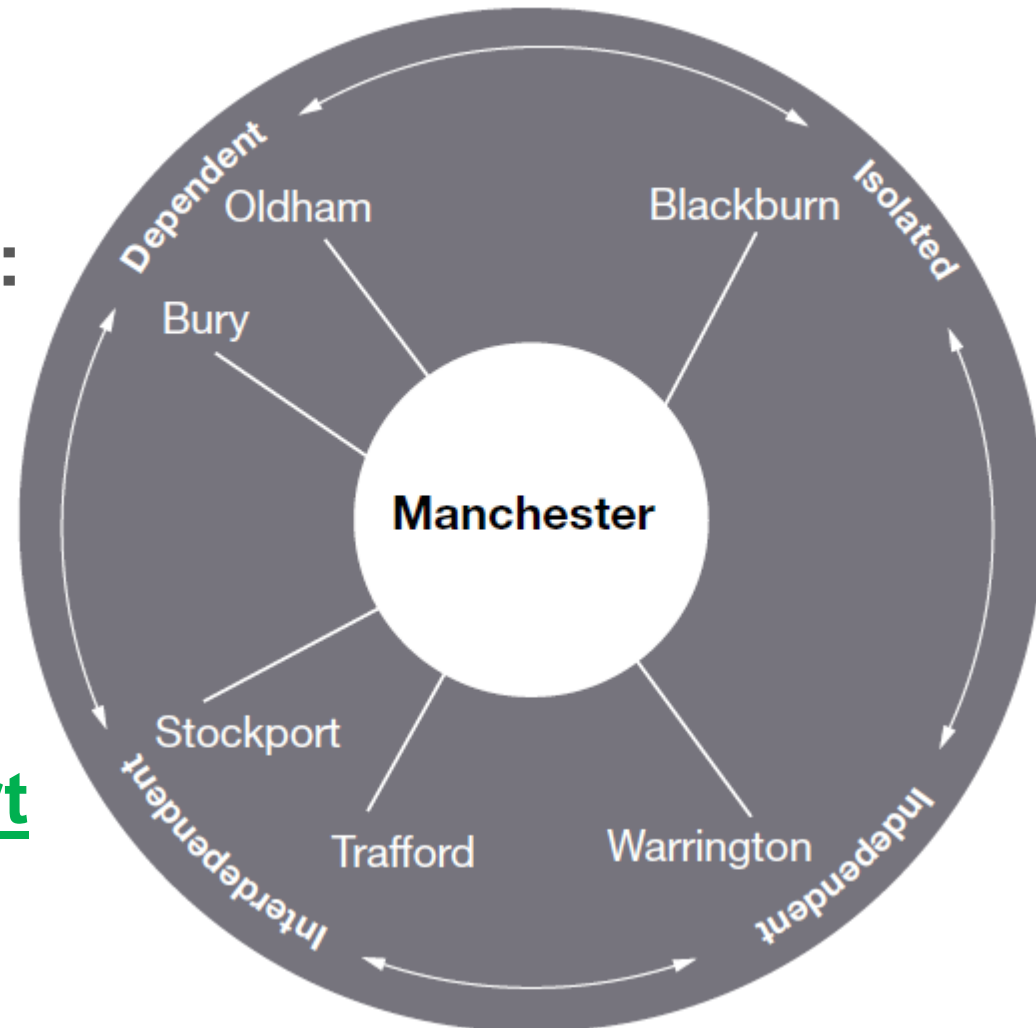


Source: Hall and Squires, 2006; Serra, 2008, 2009; Source: The Northern Way (2009)

Research context

2. City Relationships

- An in-depth analysis : *The role of government intervention* in the regional transformation process with transport opportunities



Research Question

Why did not the effects of high-speed trains spread from the regional core city to nearby sub-regions?

- What was the role of national context?
- How did the local react to the change in the national context?
- The role of transport improvement in possible transformation process.

Research Methodology

- **Analysing different levels of government Intervention**
 - **National**
 - **Local- regions/sub-regions(municipalities)**
- **Policy analysis and Interview with key academics and decision-makers.**
- **Tracing the transformation process and thematic analysis of qualitative findings.**

Typologies of sub-regions

TYPE 1- HST-served Regional Metropolitan Areas

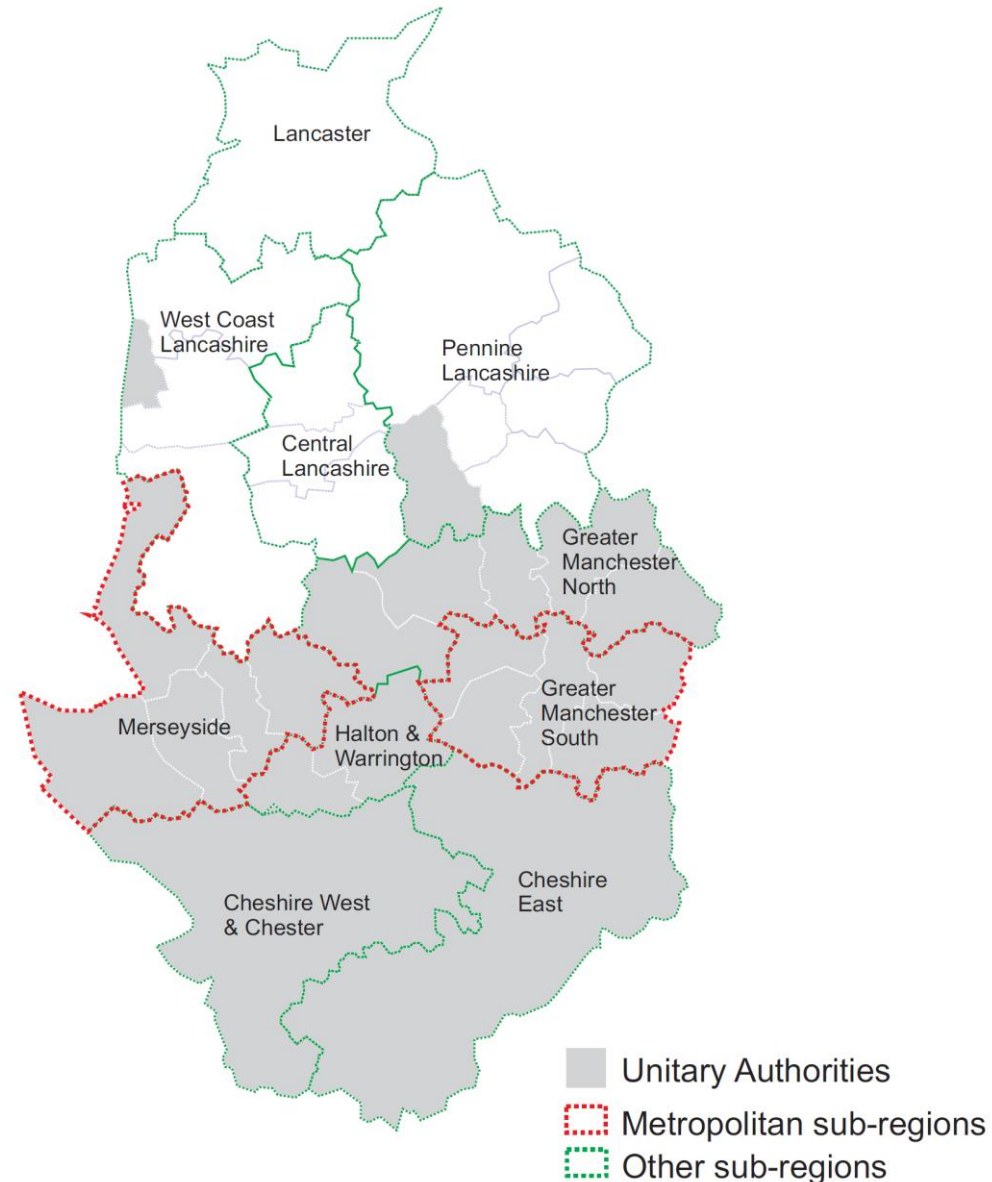
1. Greater Manchester South
2. Merseyside

TYPE 2-HST-served NON-core sub-regions

1. Warrington & Halton
2. Central Lancashire
3. Greater Manchester North
4. Cheshire East
5. Cheshire West and Chester

TYPE 3- Non HST-served NON-core sub-regions

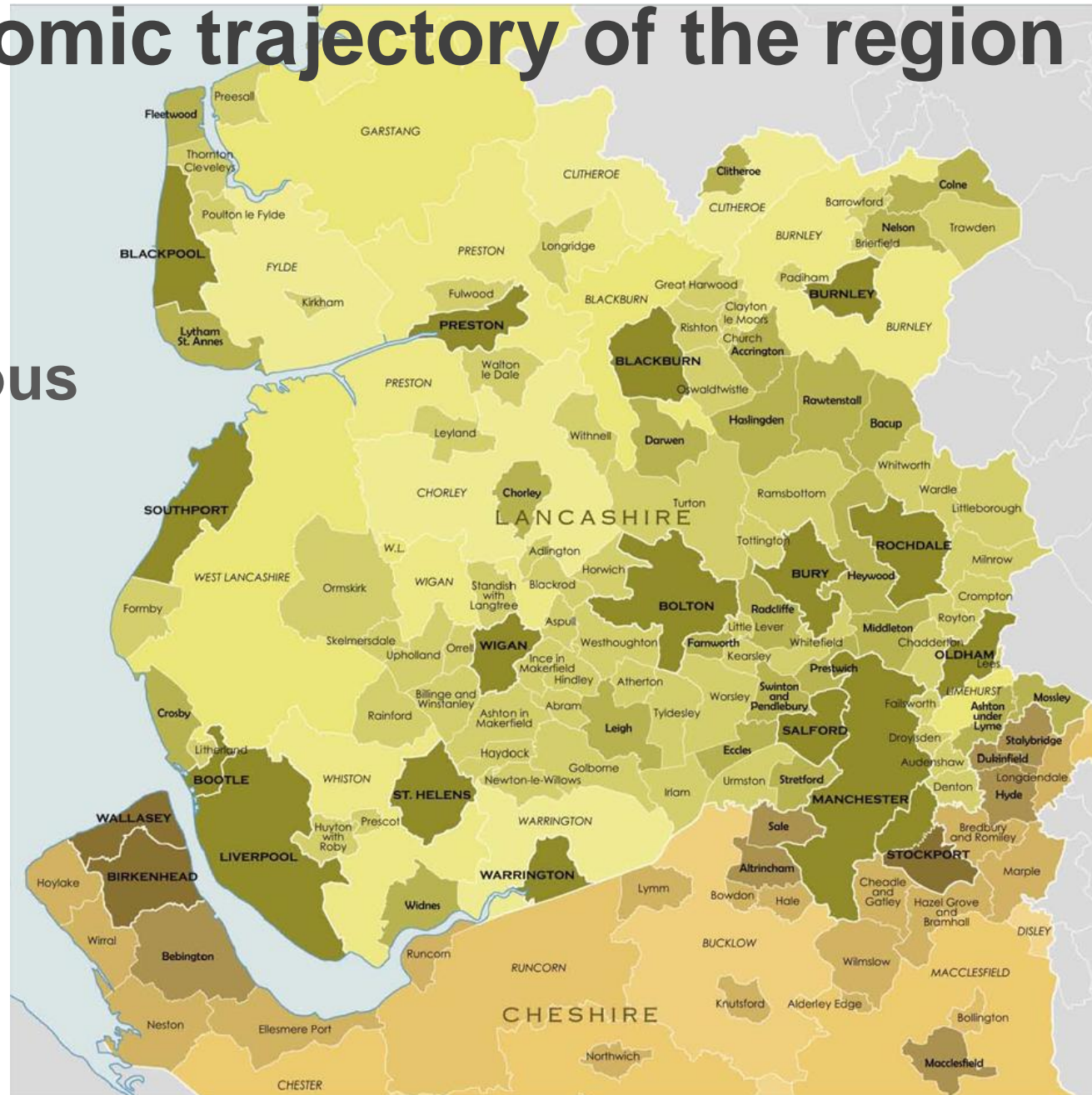
1. Pennine Lancashire
2. West Coast Lancashire



Spatial-economic trajectory of the region

- Cradle of the Industrial revolution
- A heterogeneous industrialised region

1930s-1960s:
A process of
overspill from
metropolitan
areas



Prior to 1980s 1960s-1980s

Decentralisation

- Electrification (WCML-60s)
- 4 New Towns (1961-1980s)
- Motorways (till late 1980s)



New towns

10 subregions

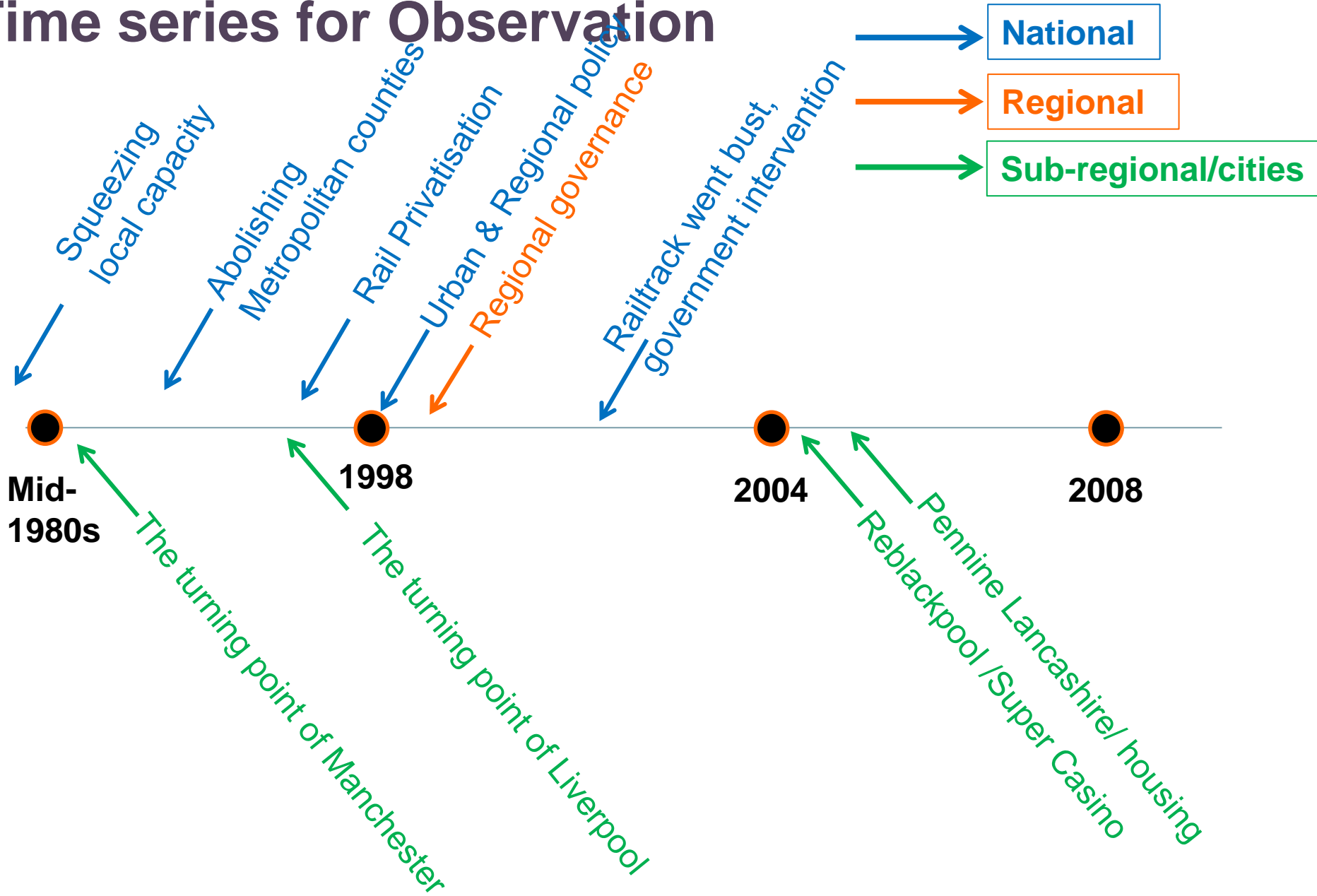
HST subregions:

1. Greater Manchester South
2. Greater Manchester North
3. Merseyside
4. Halton and Warrington
5. Cheshire East
6. Cheshire West and Chester
7. Lancaster
8. Central Lancashire

Non HST subregions:

9. West Coast Lancashire
10. Pennine Lancashire

Time series for Observation



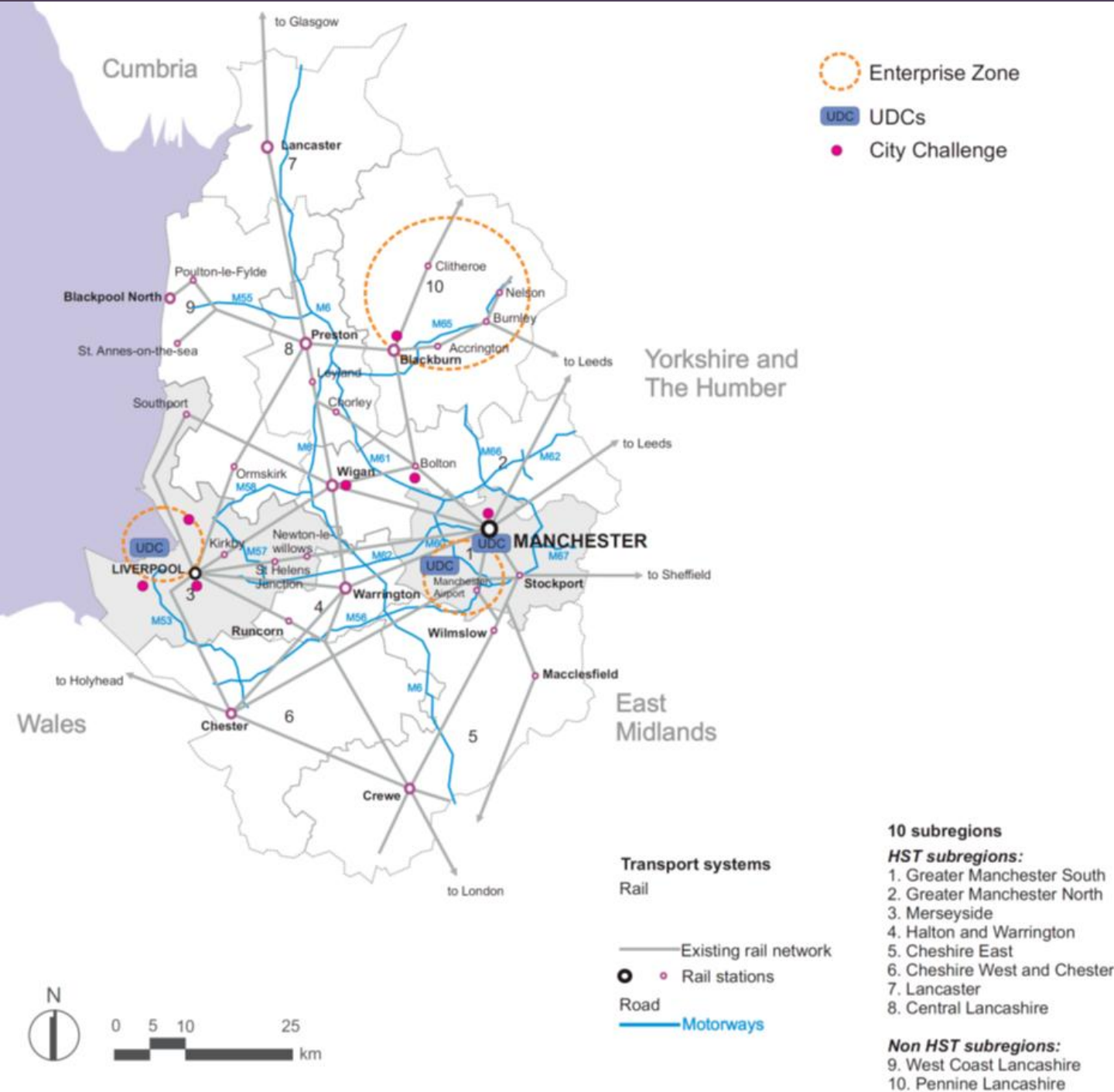
National Level: austerity > market-led

- The change of political economy: privatising public transport (air, coach, rail)
- Waiting for private money / long-delayed WCML modernisation
- WCML was regarded as “*a problem rather than an opportunity*”
- Under privatisation, the upgraded WCML proves a lack of public/private planning and investment.
- *Prioritise inter-city link rather than intra-regional linkage*
- *The factor of Business model > technical electrification:
The case serving Chester rather than Blackpool.*
- *No additional new HST stations, but the location of HST stations reinforces the existing uneven patterns concentrated in the southern part and follows the suggested business model.*

1980s: National Urban policy

To tackle
Inter-city
problems:

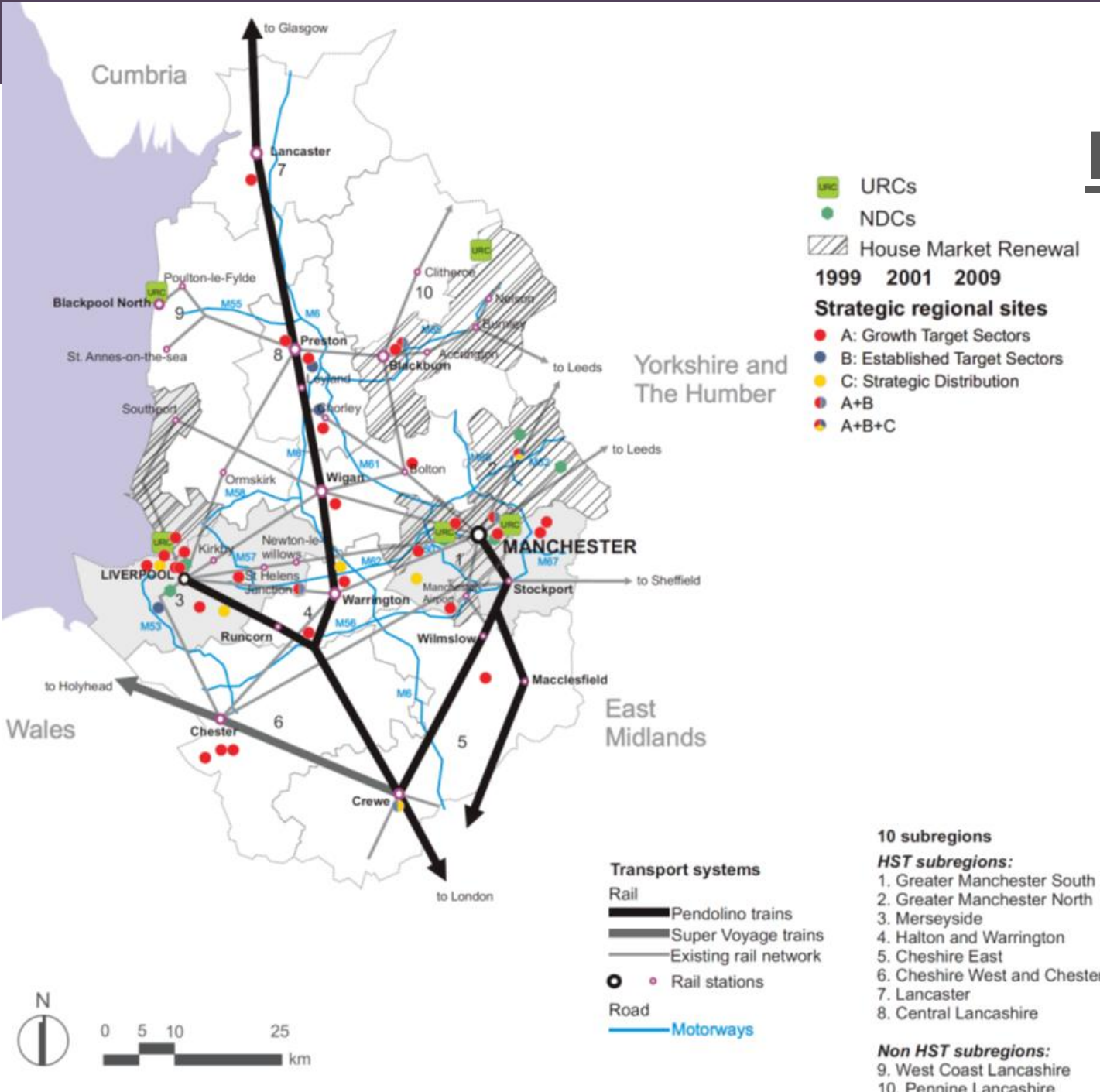
- Enterprise Zone
- Urban
Development
Corporation
- City Challenges



Late 1990s

National Urban & Regional policy

- The construction of WCML upgrade
- Urban Regeneration Company
- New Deal for Community
- Housing Market Renewal
- Strategic regional sites



National Level:

- **A political tradition- separate central-peripheral relationship: A pure national transport project**
- **A process of weakening local capacity**
 - **Weak financial discretion**
 - **Abolishing strategic planning authorities**
 - **A fragmented mixed system: 2-tire / 1-tier**
- **A competition- and guidance- led planning approach**
 - **Metropolitan-focused urban programmes**

Regional Level :

- 1980s-No regional authorities. Regional campaigning group- the reaction to the Channel Tunnel with the fear of peripheralisation. “DfT got the final decision-making power with a national perspective”
 - Late 1990s- although a revival of regional strategies, problematic regional planning operation between GONW, NWDA, NWRA.
 - 2004- The Northern Way (lack of regional consensus)
- *“Indirect regional institutions are not effective”*
- From institutional reasons, attention was shifted to city-regional local levels, in particular to individual municipal authorities.

Four sets of transformation processes:

1. The recentralisation of regional hegemony around Manchester

Greater
Manchester South

2. A catching-up process in Liverpool: in contrast to Manchester.

Merseyside
/Liverpool

3. A stable, less difficult, less strategic process in the non-metropolitan HST sub-regions.

Preston,
Warrington, Chester

4. An arduous but frustrated process in non-HST sub-regions

Blackpool,
Blackburn, Pendle

1. Greater Manchester South

1980s: a watershed

Prior to the mid-1980s: a process of decentralisation

“I first came to Greater Manchester 20 years ago as a student. My first impression was of an unhappy place, truly full of “dark, satanic mills”. The city had a huge stock of under-valued buildings, a centre that seemed to shut down at 5:30pm and a shaky local economy struggling to figure out where to go next”

-Tom Bloxham, the chairman of Urban Splash in the 1980s

1980s-2000s/ a persistent process of re-concentration

National context

- Airport and Rail privatisation
- Constraint rail investment
- Unreliable WCML services
- Massive de-industrialisation in inner city
- Economic restructuring

Manchester's Actions:

- The ownership of airport as a key asset/ developing new economies/ transport link.
- The connectivity to wider catchment through the corporation with Trans -Pennine express (internal & external one)
- The expansion and consolidation of transport network and poly-centric city redevelopment / local capacity

External link

1980s-
The expansion of
Manchester Airport

1990s-Rail link to city
centre and beyond

2000s-
Northern Hub

City Redevelopment

1980s-
Central Manchester
UDC

1996-IRA Bomb /
city centre rebuilt

2000s- City centre and
polycentric development
in city region

Internal link

1980s- Manchester
Metrolink tramway
system

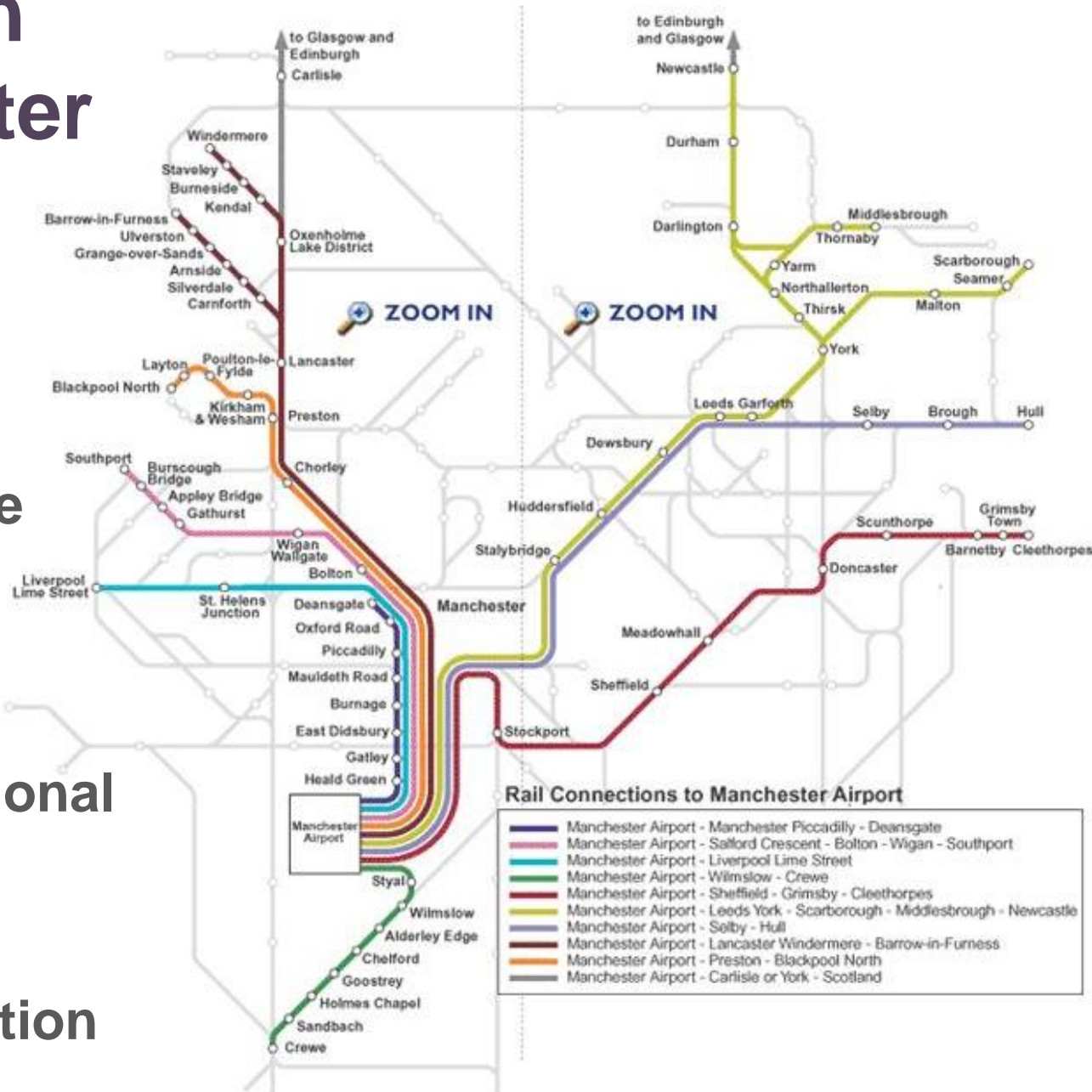
1990s- Metrolink
Expansion

Critical Governance:
AGAM + GMPTE
:Leadership/tenacity

Direct Trains to Manchester Airport

The creation of Manchester Hub

- Multi-model transport system: domestic and global interchange @ airport
- City-regional tramway network
- Wider inter-regional catchment
- The arrival of WCML modernisation



2. Merseyside (Liverpool)

1. The historical trajectory of economic function

- Historical and contemporary rival to Manchester
- The Ship Canal (1894) shifted the development to southern Lancashire around Trafford and doubled the size of Manchester's territory
- Specialised function around the port; lacking competitive manufacturing industries.
- 1970s (1972-1977): The Loop & Link project completed.
But Rail cannot save the city...(Hall & Hass-Klau, 1985).



2. The contrasting response to contemporary challenges (In contrast to Manchester in the 1980s)

- Political conflict with Whitehall and lack of leadership & vision
- Fragmentation: lacking strategic governance/ a rundown centre
- Public vs. Private: Privatisation of assets (port and airport).
- A divided view: Other local authorities were ashamed of it

3. Actions led to the belated transformation in Liverpool

- From mid-1990s:
European funding/ partnership/ leadership/ cultural events
- City centre- Liverpool One: URC/physical transformation



3. Preston / Warrington / Cheshire E/W

- Good transport position: Rail / Motorway, but 4 of 10 worst stations in UK.
- Warrington: 1h46m to London the shortest, but no benefit from the HST; Likewise: Preston.
- Less industrialised, less problematic & less strategic.
- Cheshire E/ W had different trajectory. Cheshire E: commuting and R&D activities. Cheshire W: Wealthy and tourism destination.
- Lack of efforts in seizing HST opportunity.



Rising as a motorway town, but “just settled down and never exploited rail...”.

4-1 Pennine Lancashire

Background/ problems:

- Specialised post-industrial towns
- A polycentric structure
- Isolated places: (accessible problems)

Actions:

- 14 big ideas to change the fate- 10 regional link.
- Housing market renewal pathfinder (Elevate)
- Lobbying for transport link to hubs.
- Improving Education



Difficulties:

- Institutional reform (UA) led to disintegrated actions (in two groups)
- With ideas but without administrative power is still difficult.
- Generation spin-off (social reproduction)

4-2 West Coast Lancashire

Background:

- Blackpool, a resort town, is the main core town in this sub-region
- Was a popular leisure and tourist place.

Problems:

- Was well-served by rail but left out of electrification in 1960s, then not served directly under privatisation since 2001
- Deindustrialisation
- Travel abroad + Low-cost Air



4-2 West Coast Lancashire

Actions:

- Re-Blackpool URC founded.
- Campaign being served by direct rail service, but failed when the casino bid failed.
 - *“No plan B” from LA.*
- New tramway arrived in 2012 (from 2005).



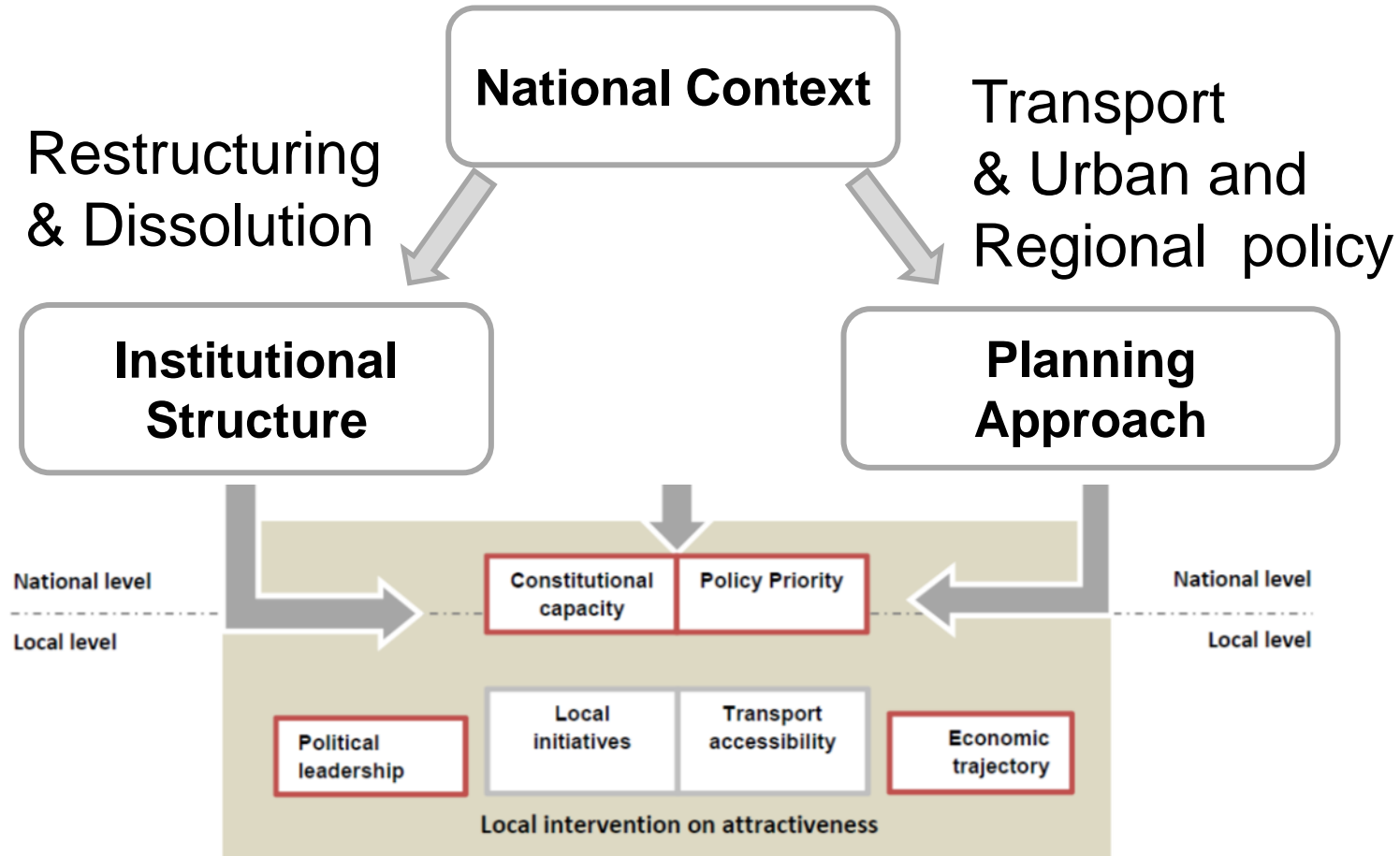
Difficulties :

- Institutional reform (UA) created the obstacle for integrated planning.
- A lack of strong political leadership
- Casino bid failed because of value judgment

Blackpool lost its Casino bid in 2005 because of the ideology from the state “regeneration benefits of the proposal before us are unproven” (Casino Advisory Panel, 2007).

To summarise

Factors underlying differential results



Conclusions

- **National context: a separate central-local relationship, a disadvantaged situation for local intervention and a city-led transformation**
- **Local intervention needs to play a role sensible to the national context, which involves improving local attractiveness (physical/education/environmental/connectivity...). It involves economic trajectory, sub-regional governance, leadership, and constitutional capacity and political priority.**

Conclusions (Ctd)

- **Capable cities took all and disadvantaged ones remained depressed. Manchester's strong leadership leads to solid revival in contrast to some sub-regions, further peripheralised without integrated improvement of transport link despite local regeneration efforts.**
- **A lack of an inclusive governance, regional consensus, and an intra-regional transport connectivity needs to be tackled for wider regional impacts.**

Lessons and Implications

- ***City relationships and transport need*** : An appropriate spatial scale for intervention:
 - Dynamic mega city-regional development or regional development ?
 - The integration of transport systems
- ***Resource and capacity***: The importance of public intervention
 - The ideological concern for inequality regarding weaker local authorities which need
 - The assistance and public resource the most.
- ***Vision & governance***: Sub-regional governance and consensus, which could look beyond rivalry for wider benefits in a long term

Thank You

Any question or comment?

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