# REUSE OF INDUSTRIAL BUILT HERITAGE FOR RESIDENTIAL PURPOSES IN MANCHESTER (1) Nuran MENGÜSOĞLU\*, Esin BOYACIOĞLU\*\*

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#### INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the reuse of built industrial heritage has been a common practice in a growing number of cities in Britain as well as other cities around the world. This has become particularly noticeable in terms of recent and ongoing urban regeneration schemes. The gradual acknowledgment that 'culture can play a catalytic role in urban regeneration' has changed the perception towards industrial built heritage. As a result of the increasing competition between cities at the global scale, cities try to highlight their unique characteristics and establish a specific place identity to attract investment, tourists and residents. Heritage is widely used to construct and promote distinctive representations of a place. Culture (a big part of it is heritage) has been promoted as a major tool for 'the production of more variegated spaces within the increasing homogeneity of international exchange' (Harvey, 1991). Furthermore, there is also an increasing awareness that tourism has significant potential as a driver for economic growth. Therefore heritage has become a major resource for international tourism by providing visitors with authentic cultural experiences.

In consequence, built industrial heritage has become a valuable asset to be used to regenerate declining urban areas and promote a more desirable place image. Since historic buildings contribute immensely to the attractiveness, distinctiveness and identity of places. In addition to that while moving towards a more sustainable society, demolition of these culturally and historically significant buildings is now hard to be justified more than ever. Current urban polices strongly support the concept of preserving and reusing these buildings and their surroundings to create more sustainable, high quality, mixed use, high-density and historic neighbourhoods in a more continental style in contrast to the Anglo-American city model. Therefore reusing existing urban fabric and

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brownfield sites in preference to green ones has been the central focus of urban development in Britain since 1990s.

These typically simple-form, multi-storey and well lit buildings which are 'built to last' (Binney et al., 1990) and their surroundings provide an ideal ground for their reuse. In addition to their physical and material properties they also represent strong social and cultural values as the concept of intangible heritage is deeply connected with memory and identity of a place and its people. Graham et al. (2000) explains the social benefits of heritage referring Lowenthal's four traits of the past in his 1985 work, The Past is a Foreign Country. These traits are antiquity; the connection of the present to the past; a sense of termination; and the idea of a sequence. They claim that heritage provides meaning to human existing by conveying the ideas of timeless values and unbroken lineages that underpin identity (Graham et al., 2000). In this context, like other heritage materials, old industrial buildings provide people with a sense of belonging and also define the character of a community by providing a strong link with the past, present and future. In many old industrial cities in Britain, these buildings, the biggest and most visible symbols of the great industrial past, actually serve as monuments of social and cultural identities. There is also a strong tie between identity and memory. Hayden (1997) identifies the link between identity and memory; both personnel memories and the collective and social memories. She claims that urban landscapes storehouses for these social memories because they frame the lives of many people and outlast many lifetime (Hayden, 1997). As Ashworth and Graham (2005) remind us place identity is a social construct and something attributed to a place by people and largely based on the past. Industrial buildings, symbolic reminders of Britain's great industrial past act as a repository for collective memories of many ordinary people and factory workers because of the way they have been an everyday surrounding for their users. Therefore, reusing and preserving these buildings prevent the destruction of these social memories of a community.

However as Atkinson et al. (2002) argue there is potential for conflict between the roles of urban landscapes as a resource for social meanings and the needs of place-promoters to remake and re-image the city. The use of heritage in cultural led urban developments through city marketing campaigns and tourism industry gives way to the process of commodification of the past. This is because of the nature of 'heritage being a both cultural and economic good and being commodified as such' (Graham et al., 2000). This process can result in a loss of authenticity and historical significance of the cultural resource as well as trivialising the intangible aspects of a heritage property. Many industrial cities now experience the same kind of reuse schemes converting former industrial buildings into places of living, leisure and consumption. This usually results in changing the preexisting character of these cities and transforming these old urban landscapes of production into new landscapes of consumption (Atkinson et al. 2002, Bianchini and Schwengel 1991, Hubbard 1996, O'Connor and Wynne 1996). In the process of conservation and reuse of industrial built heritage, another issue which proves contentious is the phenomenon of gentrification. Since, the historical and aesthetic qualities old industrial buildings such as mills and warehouses and their closeness to city centre attractions draw people to live and work in these buildings. These new residents (often affluent, professional and young) and their housing preferences, lifestyle and consumer choices pave the way for gentrification. Because of the nature of

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residential use being a highly private use comparing to other reuse schemes such as museums, art galleries and cafes, there is a greater potential that these schemes may cause gentrification, inequality, spatial segregation and social exclusion. Since these luxury and over-priced residential schemes are only affordable for middle class not for low income groups of the society. Similarly there is an issue regarding the accessibility of these schemes. These buildings are now homes / private properties with strictly-controlled entrances and only accessible to a small group of the society. Inevitably this prevents other wider groups from gaining access to these buildings.

Against this background this study focuses on exploring the way unused industrial built heritage has been refunctioned for residential purposes examining the pros and cons of this process taking Manchester as a case study. Manchester, the world's first industrial city, has been a deliberate choice. The way the city has dealt with the large scale of the visual legacy of dereliction in its centre over the recent years is quite exemplary. It will be explored how these buildings from the past are being used as resources for the present and future. This study revolves around the reuse of the cotton mills and warehouses which are the most characteristic type of historic buildings in the city's urban landscape. The primary focus of this study is to analyse and interrogate these residential reuse schemes and their positive / controversial outcomes in the context of urban regeneration, conservation, sustainability and gentrification. An extensive literature review and on-site observations were conducted to investigate the changing perceptions and attitudes about these buildings and values placed upon them over time.

#### LOSS OF FUNCTION

Global shifts in the nature, scale and organisation of production (discussed at length by Harvey (1991), Fainstein (1990) and Lever (1991)) have resulted in fundamental changes in many developed countries. The widespread economic restructuring and the long recession of the 1970s led many industrial cities into the era of de-industrialization characterised by severe economic decline and loss of employment in manufacturing industries such as mining, engineering and textile. In many industrial countries such as Britain, traditional manufacturing industries went into decline or vanished while the service industries have grown. Alongside the changes in economic structure the changes in urban structure also made dramatic social, economic and environmental impacts (Lawless, 1989; Couch et al 2003) on cities. The suburban expansion had caused the decentralization of production, commerce and people from the core of urban areas.

In consequence, the role of the centres of industrial cities as hubs of production, commerce and transport during the period of industrialization declined sharply. The physical infrastructure of these cities mainly lost their function and became obsolete. The legacy of abandoned and underutilized built infrastructure associated with the UK's traditional industries became a major and highly visible symptom of economic decline and urban blight. Derelict buildings and their environment had a negative impact upon economic as well as social aspects of well being causing loss of sense of pride and belonging for community members.

Manchester, our case study was no exception. Considering Manchester maintaining its role as a centre of textile manufacturing (mainly cotton), trade and commerce throughout the era of industrialisation and for much of the 20th century, the scale of dereliction in the inner area of the city was immense. Cotton mills, warehouses, canals, wharves, railway stations, merchants' offices and department stores lost their function and became abandoned or underused. The solution to this dereliction was usually demolition and redevelopment with the enthusiasm for the ideals of post war modernism. The aim was to sweep away the city's obsolete Victorian infrastructure and replacing it with the new buildings and structures (usually shopping centres, offices and roads) of the twentieth century. Therefore the physical symbols of the Industrial Revolution became associated with the negative aspects of the past such as unhealthy and poor living / working conditions, over-crowdedness and pollution. Old industrial buildings were seen inefficient to meet the standards of modern buildings. They were also in a state of decay and suffering from low maintenance and vandalism as well as becoming hot spots for criminal activities. In the process of post-war reconstruction and comprehensive redevelopment of the 1960s and 1970s, they were the first buildings to go. It was clearly indicated by Parkinson-Bailey (2000) in his book that these buildings seen as 'commercial slums' did not have much favour in the eyes of the members of the city council and faced the constant threat of demolition.

#### CHANGING ATTITUDE TOWARDS INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS

The attitude towards these buildings as well as other historic buildings began to change in the 1970s. It was a time of growing public antipathy to the results of post-war planning policies mainly concerned with demolition and large scale (and often highly zoned) redevelopment (Pearce 1989; Tiesdell et al. 1996). With the Civic Amenities Act of 1967 and the 1974 Town and Country Amenities first conservation areas, 'areas of special architectural or historical interest' were designated to stop the destruction of historic urban fabric. In these areas, all buildings would require consent for demolition (Cullinworth and Nadin, 2002). The focus of conservation gradually shifted from preserving particular buildings (often religious or related to national history) to the conservation of whole areas with relatively more ordinary buildings such as industrial and commercial buildings. The year 1975 was crucial for the recognition of industrial heritage. The Council of Europe declared 1975 the European Architectural Year in order to raise public awareness of the need to protect architectural heritage. In addition 'Save Britain's Heritage' was established in the same year by a group of historians, architects, journalists and planners. Their aim was also to bring people's attention to the increasing destruction of the

As Pearce (1989) points out that a new argument for conservation has come out since 1975. Rather than preserving buildings just for their architectural quality and historic interest, the new concept of conservation was concerning the need to preserve buildings as documents of social history and as evidence of the way of life of those labelled 'ordinary people' (Pearce, 1989). The other new argument in conservation was the concept of 'adaptive reuse'. Unlike the previous preserving policies concerned with accurate restoration and limiting change, this new concept supports the idea of change. With this new approach, an old building would no longer be considered as an art object; instead it has become the product of a whole socio-economic system (Cantacuzioni, 1989). Although the conservation of industrial built heritage increased substantially through listing procedures,

these procedures did not stop buildings falling into disrepair and decay as a result of the obsolescence of their original use. It was gradually accepted that if these buildings are to be preserved then alternative uses must be found

In the 1970s there was also a growing interest in Industrial Archaeology whose development had already increased significantly during the campaigns to save the 'Euston Arch from demolition in 1961-2' (Buchanan, 2000). The investigating, surveying and recording work of industrial archaeologists has contributed enormously to the conservation of industrial heritage.

It is not surprising that the argument of preserving and reusing existing urban resources came out in the 1970s as they were the years of economic recession. Planning authorities and developers could no longer afford to sweep away everything in order to build brand new modern cities. But instead as Berman (1988) states that the 1970s' modernists had to learn to come to terms with the world they had, and work from there. The economic climate of the 1970s put pressure on them 'to discover new sources of life through imaginative encounters with the past' (Berman, 1988). As Hewison (1987) argues that the disruption caused by the post war period of modernisation and economic recession made 'the past' seem a pleasanter and safer place. It also created a new industry called 'heritage industry' as an attempt to dispel the climate of decline.

## URBAN REGENERATION AND INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

Although the shifts in urban planning and conservation policies in the 1970s significantly halted the demolition of industrial built heritage, the recognition of cultural, social and economic values of industrial buildings rose to prominence in the concept of urban regeneration in the 1980s.

Like Manchester many cities around Britain have undergone unprecedented changes in the process of urban regeneration. It was giving cities different roles and duties to be able to compete in the global market (Couch et al 2003; Fainstein, 1990; Jones and Evans 2008; Judd and Parkinson, 1990; Hall and Hubbard, 1998; Hubbard, 1996). The main aim for this new concept was to reverse the cycle of economic decline which had become more evident in many inner city areas in the 1970s. A crucial reorientation in British urban policy emerged after the Conservative Party had taken power in 1979. The focus shifted from social welfare schemes to private sector and property-led approaches. The new government blamed the public sector for the cause of the problems of inner cities and the private sector was defined as the solution (Judd and Parkinson, 1990). This new management strategy was called urban entrepreneurialism. Hubbard, Hall (1998), and Harvey (1991) describe the principals of this new urban governance in a more as risk taking, inventive, promotion and profit motivated. It was mainly focusing on improving the prosperity of the city and its ability to create and attract jobs and investment.

One major consequence of urban entrepreneurialism is the concept of city marketing which goes hand in hand with the construction of a new city image. In this process of 'image reconstruction' (Paddison 1992; Miles and Paddison, 2005), cities have been increasingly 'commodified, packaged, advertised and marketed' (Short and Kim, 1998). They have begun to promote their identity using their special social, cultural and environmental characters with a strong emphasis on locality, place identity,

- Such as hotels, convention centres, indoor shopping malls, museums, theatres, concert halls, cultural districts, prestigious office buildings, residential complexes and mixeduse developments.
- **3.** Such as Baltimore's Harbour area or Boston's Quincy Market.
- 4. Earlier projects through reusing industrial heritage in America such as Lowell, Massachusetts, Fulton Market, New York, Fisherman's Wharf, San Francisco provided an inspiration in many British cities for similar regeneration landscapes based on waterfront development and heritage. Cities such as Liverpool, London, Bristol and Manchester experienced the same kind of projects based on the reuse of industrial heritage.
- 5. English Heritage is public body of the British Government responsible for conservation and reuse of historic buildings. They express their view in favour of the reuse of industrial heritage in the context of urban regeneration as follows.
- "As the popularity of certain styles wavered in past decades, buildings such as Victorian terraces or the warehouses that saw the birth of the industrial revolution were seen as symbols of decline and social deprivation. More recently, the true cultural, social and economic value of buildings such as these has finally been recognised. Using the historic environment as an asset, and giving it new life, has been one of the cornerstones of the economic and social revival of our towns and cities" (English Heritage, 2006)

history, vernacular traditions, distinctiveness of the place and culture. However this was a very selective process and made by 'accentuating the positive and eliminating the negative aspects of the city' (Atkinson et al., 2002). For many northern post-industrial cities in Britain, like Manchester, with a series of negative images of dereliction, the transformation of derelict industrial buildings and sites into places 'that will act as a lure to both capital and people 'of the right sort' (i.e. wealthy and influential) (Harvey, 1991) was crucial. They had to replace their 'smoke stack' image with a more desirable one to have a better chance to compete in the global market.

The reuse of industrial heritage has become highly connected with the attempts to create new urban landscapes which can nurture cities' new economy. This new economy is what Zukin (1995) calls 'symbolic economy' based on finance, knowledge, media, entertainment, tourism and culture. New flagship schemes (2) 'symbols of renewed dynamism and confidence' (Bianchini and Schwengel, 1991) have been created to 'provide previously industrial cities with a new economic infrastructure (Hubbard, 1996). These highly prestigious schemes (new build and/or reuse of historic buildings) have transformed old urban landscapes of production into new landscapes of consumption (Bianchini and Schwengel 1991, Hubbard 1996, O'Connor and Wynne 1996). The idea of this 'conscious and explicit' (O'Connor and Wynne 1996) shift centred on the reuse of industrial heritage and other historic buildings was drawn from the early initiatives in the US (3).

Harvey (1991), Zukin (1995) has similar views on how culture and historic preservation can be important elements of a new postmodern or symbolic economy in which cultural strategies drive the production of commercialised urban spaces towards entertainment and tourism. In Zukin's words 'sometimes it seems that every derelict factory district or waterfront has been converted into one of those sites of visual delectation – a themed shopping space for seasonal produce, cooking equipment, restaurants, art galleries and an aquarium' ( Zukin, 1995). The transformation of former industrial spaces into new urban spaces of cultural consumption has played a central role in the economic revival of declining industrial areas in many British cities as well.

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century industrial buildings were no longer seen as something to be torn down; instead their aesthetic and historical values have become something worthy to be preserved and repackaged. As Powell (1999) stated that although the Industrial Revolution had been exported from Britain to America, the recycling revolution followed the opposite direction. Britain have learnt a lesson from America to reuse redundant factories, warehouses, mills, market buildings and railway stations as an effective strategy for urban regeneration (Stratton 2000, Maitland 1997) (4).

The potentials that old industrial buildings can offer in reuse schemes were highly recognised not only by planning officials and developers but also by conservation bodies as well. English Heritage emphasises the contributions that the reuse of industrial built heritage can make to future economic growth and community well-being (5).

The powerful body in conservation of industrial heritage, Save Britain's Heritage, mentioned above, also strongly support the idea of adaptive reuse of industrial buildings. In their influential book published in 1990, they encouraged to developers, architects, surveyors and local

authorities to consider reusing redundant warehouses and factories. They identified the advantages of these buildings for adaptive reuse and urban regeneration as being well built, easily adaptable and having surroundings with unexpected potentials (as many are by water or surrounded by open land). Another advantage highlighted in their book was the profit side of reuse schemes. That was put in these terms;

'...restored industrial buildings and industrial areas that have been transformed can develop an enormous cachet. Flats in warehouses now sell at a premium...' (Binney et al., 1990).

These statements clearly indicate how the perceptions associated with these buildings have changed and how far they have come from being eyesores to being assets. The attitude towards these buildings has become totally different as reuse schemes have turned them into profitable prestigious commodities. Their potential has been realized as a means of revival of urban areas.

The potential opportunities linked to reusing industrial heritage came to the fore more than ever in 1990s as urban sustainability was gaining a significant place in British urban policy. European Council was recommending that the priority should be given to unused or underused industrial land instead of creating new development on greenfield sites (Elkin et al, 1991). It has become crucial to use land - the main resource of urban fabric- carefully and efficiently.

There was a restructuring in British urban policy after the election of New Labour Party in 1997. In contrast to the Thatcher's property-led regeneration strategies mainly focused on economic growth and physical renewal, the 1990s new urban policy in terms of 'urban renaissance' was more interested in reinvigorating urban areas to make them both desirable and environmentally sustainable. It was also interested in social inclusion and improving society and community (Jones and Evans 2008, Lees 2003). Urban Renaissance: the Urban Task Force report prepared by Richard Rogers, in the request of the government. This can be seen as a manifesto of 'a new vision for urban living' that is described as 'compact, multi-centred, live/work, socially mixed, well designed and connected, and environmentally sustainable' (DETR, 1999). One of the main recommendations in the report to create that kind of urban living was to upgrade the existing urban fabric. To achieve that, derelict and brownfield sites in cities was advised to be used more efficiently.

With this new orientation more towards urban sustainability, brownfield sites and vacant buildings have become the key targets to develop more housing and create more compact and ecological cities. 60% of new housing is planned to be built on brownfield sites including derelict industrial sites (Jones and Evans 2008). Residential use as well as mixed use developments has been regarded as key factors to create a more sustainable urban living. The new policy which is closely related to the New Urbanism movement and the concept of smart growth, favours walking, cycling and public transport to reduce car dependency and development on greenfield sites.

The emphasis on residential use alongside commercial and leisure uses or mixed uses (preferably) (Coupland, 1997) has grown to make city centres more desirable and attractive. The introduction of a mix of uses - and a complementary mix of users and activities is considered crucial to bring people back to these areas to live, work and socialise. Mixed development where housing is a major component contributes significantly to the

target of transforming urban areas into diverse, vibrant, compact, safe, sustainable and attractive places. This also stimulates the evening/weekend economy, and prevents 'dead' office zones. Conditions provided by Jane Jacobs (1994) in her book first published in 1961 to revitalise American cities have been reconsidered for the revitalisation of British cities. Residential use and historic buildings have become the key elements for this new vision of urban living in a more 'European city' mode.

# URBAN REGENERATION AND REUSE OF INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE **IN MANCHESTER**

Manchester was one of the cities labelled by Thatcher Government (1979) as symbols of 'British disease' (O'Connor and Wynne 1996), because of its social, economic and environmental problems which became more visible in the late 1970s. With the new management system, revolving around entrepreneurial strategies, the transformation of Manchester's city-centre rapidly began with a series of place-marketing strategies and high-profile image enhancement campaigns to promote the image of the 'new city'. In Mellor's (1995) words what Manchester had was 'heritage' and 'space for recreation'. The process of relandscaping the city-centre began with a number of high profile flagship projects mainly centred on heritage, culture, retail, leisure, sporting and tourism to strengthen the economic base of the city.

The railway stations were converted into museums, the canals were cleaned up and waterway events started. Mills and warehouses have been converted into high quality flats, shops, cafes, bars and even a cinema (Great Northern Railway Warehouse). Cultural quarters such as Millennium and Northern Quarter, Whitworth Village, Gay Village and Chinatown were either created or helped to develop. New civic and shopping spaces like The Triangle, Cathedral Gardens and Exchange Square were created. New iconic landmark buildings such as Urbis-city museum were built. Large scale cultural events were staged such as 1994 City of Drama and 1995 British Art Show. In the process of bidding for Olympic Games (1996 and 2000) and hosting 2002 Commonwealth Games, a number of new sports facilities were developed. The intention throughout these projects among many others, has been to change 'the perception of Manchester as a grimy industrial place and project Manchester as an international city of repute: the ideal city in which to live, work and play' (RIBA, 2004).

In this process of urban relandscaping and re-imaging of the city, industrial heritage, the city's biggest historic, cultural and social identity, has taken important roles. New functions which can nurture the new types of economic activities have been given to the redundant industrial buildings and sites rather than demolish and redevelop as would have been the case in the 1960s and 1970s. Castlefield, the country's first Urban Heritage Park designated in 1982, was the first target. The first reuse project in this area was the conversion of the Liverpool Road Passenger Station terminus into the Museum of Science and Industry. Its first phase was completed in 1984, soon after; the Lower Campfield Market was turned into the Air and Space Gallery. In 1986 Central station was converted into an exhibition centre- G-MEX. These successful and award winning projects were the first schemes of reusing industrial buildings in the area in the partnership with the City Council and private sector bodies.

Meanwhile there was another reuse movement emerging spontaneously. In the 1980s in some areas of the city centre, an alternative lifestyle was flourishing with the newly emerging gay and lesbian population and also an increasing number of musicians as a result of Manchester's booming music industry. These original pioneers of city-centre living and their lifestyle are closely linked to the reuse of industrial buildings as they were the first 'organic entrepreneurs spotted the aesthetic value and potential of 'ugly' property' (Allen, 2007). The disused, rundown and cheap warehouses and factories in the city centre (Oldham Street, Hulme and Gay Village) were first used as recording and rehearsal places by pop bohemians and converted into cafes, bars and flats by gays and lesbians (Milestone 1996, Allen 2007, Kidd 2002). For these alternative people, city centre living was offering a liberal atmosphere and an alternative lifestyle which they can not have in the suburbs. It was also offering spaces that could be rented and purchased at lower prices than those in the suburbs. The reason for that was that these disused industrial buildings and their surroundings were in a state of decay. They didn't have any amenities normally used by a residential population. Just like the first New York Loft users in the 1960s, the first countercultural residents 'were willing to accept the real and imagined discomfort of city centre living in order to enjoy the lifestyle and homes with larger spaces, better construction and more interesting design than those in the suburbs' (Hudson, 1987). Soon after, the potential of these buildings - first spotted by 'local, small scale, first time and part time developers' (Allen, 2007)- have been recognised by the City Council, other stakeholders of urban regeneration, private developers and real estate agencies. Within Manchester city centre, these first modest reuse schemes have pioneered loft living which was already taking off on a small scale in London during the 1970s and the 1980s as a new kind of living space of 'the eccentric, the creative and the rich' (Banks et al., 1999). This new form of urban living originally came out as a 'natural choice' for some of the pioneers (the countercultural members of the new middle class) (Allen, 2007) of city centre living. Over time, loft living has gained enormous popularity and turned into a trendy and luxury contemporary living with an appreciation for the past. In many respects this process of transition in Manchester is very similar to the one in New York. Like in the SoHo area of New York, the increasing popularity of lofts and their owners' distinctive lifestyle have attracted the interest of investors and real estate developers. As a result of this, 'economic and aesthetic virtues of loft living have been transformed into bourgeois chic' (Zukin, 1989).

After the arrival of the Central Manchester Development Corporation (CMDC) (6) in 1988, the pace and scale of the reuse movement increased substantially. With the work of the CMDC in partnership with the City Council, government agencies and private developers, there was a rapid growth in introduction of new functions and activities to the old industrial buildings and areas. New uses such as commercial, housing, entertainment and tourism have been found for them rather than simply converting them into galleries and museums. For example, the former cotton warehouses in the city centre such as Granby House, Orient House and Sam Mendel's old warehouse were converted into apartments in 1989. Following on giving examples, a 19th century furniture manufactory was converted into an office complex called Eastgate building by Stephenson Bell Architects in 1992. Merchant's Warehouse, the oldest extant canal warehouse in the city, was turned into offices in 1997 by Ian Simpson Architects with the grant from the CMDC, English Heritage and the EU Regional Development

**6.** This semi-autonomous body established by the central government in 1988 as part of Urban Development Corporations having the following goals;

- Bringing back land and buildings into effective use
- Encouraging the development of existing and new industry and commerce
- Creating an attractive environment Ensuring that housing and social facilities are available to encourage people to live and work in the area (Jones and Evans, 2008)







Figure 1. Early warehouse conversions Orient House, on the left. Sam Mendel's old warehouse now called Chepstow House, in the middle. Granby House, on the right. Photos by Nuran Mengüşoğlu.

Fund. These high profile projects were both developed by the same property developer, Jim Ramsbottom, one of the most influential people in the development of Castlefield. Middle Warehouse, now called Castle Quay, another former canal warehouse in the same area was converted into luxury flats, offices, retail units and a café. Not only warehouses and factories were converted into the spaces of the new lifestyle but also railway viaducts were restored and reused as cafes and bars (Barça Bar, Nowhere Bar and Deansgate Locks Bars built under railway viaducts)...

The CMDC was disbanded in 1996 but in eight years it built 2583 housing units, provided 97,904 m2 of office space and created thirty-eight leisure schemes (Parkinson-Bailey, 2000). After The CMDC's high quality reuse projects, celebrated by public, media and conservation bodies, every artefact of the city's previous industry has been a valuable asset. The first professional developers like Jim Ramsbottom were followed up by new and even more influential developers like Tom Bloxham from Urban Splash to turn these rundown buildings into luxury living, working and entertainment spaces.

Figure 2. Middle Warehouse, now called Castle Quay (Right) (Photo by Esin Boyacıoğlu). Merchant's Warehouse (upper left), Deansgate Locks Bars, built under railway viaducts (lower left). Photos by Nuran Mengüşoğlu.











Figure 3. Some new built housing examples in the city centre. Apartment blocks by Urban Splash (above). Photo by Esin Boyacoğlu. The Beetham Tower, the tallest residential building in Europe, designed by Ian Simpson (below). Photos by Nuran Mengüşoğlu.

7. The founder of Urban Splash, Tom Bloxham, the biggest name at pioneering the concept of city centre and 'loft' living in Manchester explains why they focus on urban areas as follows; 'We were tired of being told by the property industry that people didn't want to live in cities. We knew that not everyone's vision of an ideal home was a newly built house on a cul-de-sac in the suburbs with front and back gardens. We were sure that innovative, well-designed properties with good facilities on their doorstep would be attractive to younger homebuyers' (Alexander and Burdekin, 2002).

The city centre has been reinvented in a model of a European city with pedestrianised streets, public squares, cafes, bars, stores, clubs and various cultural activities for the purpose of creation of a '24 hour living city'. The expansion of residential sector has been a key feature to establish a vibrant residential community, similar to exemplar cities, such as Barcelona, with residential populations in their central areas.

Manchester is now a symbol of city centre living with a certain lifestyle of 'young, high-earning professionals, the DINKYs (dual income, no kids yet)' (Parkinson-Bailey, 2000), university students, young single males (gays and heterosexuals) as well as 'successful agers' (Allen, 2007). The growing scale of residential population in the city centre has been a challenge to the traditional English suburban ideal. The city centre, left with less than only 1000 inhabitants (often poor, elderly as was also the case in other UK cities) in the late 1970s and early 80s, has seen an enormous increase in population for the first time in 150 years (Kidd, 2002). City centre living has gained increasing popularity as it reduces the distance between home and work, offers good employment opportunities and provides proximity to all sorts of activities that the city centre can offer.

There has been a massive housing investment in the city centre to accommodate the new residents and to attract even more into the area. The major part of this investment is aimed to develop around high density, multi-storey and mixed-use buildings. The conversion of old industrial buildings into residential or mixed use schemes by redevelopers such as Urban Splash (7) suits well.

In the case of Manchester, living in a converted city centre property has become a matter of 'taste' and 'distinction' for the emerging new middle class. Hence, with the support from the state and its partners, the conversion of old industrial buildings into high quality and luxury living spaces for the new professional residents has increased dramatically. This process has taken place thorough getting famous architects such as Stephenson Bell and Ian Simpson, designers and developers such as Urban Splash involved in the process to guarantee success.

Alongside positive outcomes of reuse schemes in terms of conservation, urban regeneration and sustainable urban development there have also been controversial issues emerging in this process such as gentrification, social and spatial equity. Recent British urban policy mainly concerned

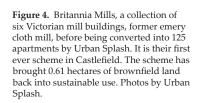












Figure 5. Britannia Mills. Images after conversion. Canalside elevation (left), photo by Urban Splash. Street corner (middle) photo by Nuran Mengüşoğlu. View from the central courtyard

about the revival of inner urban areas and bringing people back into the towns and cities appears to promote 'invisible process of gentrification as the saviour in troubled English inner cities' (Lees, 2003). When we look at the case of Manchester it is not difficult to read the process of gentrification in the urban core. There are very clear signs showing how this whole process has gathered significant momentum over time. A growing scale of residential population of young, high-earning professionals, single people and couples desiring to be closer to their jobs and activities in the city centre is the most visible sign among others. The large scale of



Figure 6. Britannia Mills. Views from the central courtyards. Unlike most loft apartments, Britannia Mills have got courtyards reused as communal areas for the resident not accessible to public. The scheme completed in June 2000. Photos by Urban Splash. (right), photo by Urban Splash.







Figure 7. Britannia Mills. Interiors. A bedroom and an atrium with all the features of the original buildings left exposed. Contemporary and industrial materials chosen for the new additions to the existing. Photos by Urban Splash.







Figure 8. Albert Mill, Grade II listed former cotton mill. The building before and after it was converted into apartments and offices (Left). Living space finished to high standards with original features left exposed (above). Photos by Urban Splash.

development of usually high-end residential units, along with offices, retail, restaurants, and other forms of entertainment spaces and employment in prestigious white-collar occupations in the service sector can be seen as parts of the gentrification process. The transition, experienced in the city centre from an industrial society to a post-industrial one verifies the arguments about gentrification made by Smith and Williams (1996). They see gentrification as part of a profound economic, social and spatial restructuring. Changes in family structure, the expansion of an educated middle class, changing consumption choices of this class and increasing primacy of consumption over production in urban development - all are some aspects of this new urban restructuring which has given way to gentrification (Smith and Williams, 1996). Manchester has experienced the similar urban restructuring in its centre. According to Allen (2005) and Quilley (1999) the regeneration and reinventing the city centre as a new urban landscape of high and middle cultural consumption with partners such as CMDC and Manchester City Council structured around concepts as liveability and gentrification.

However the largest criticism of gentrification which is the displacement of the redeveloped area's original inhabitants is not evident in Manchester's city centre as the majority of the current population moved to the area after urban regeneration had begun. On the other hand what has happened in the centre is the relandscaping of the urban realm according to the taste and needs of more affluent new residents. As a result of this, some retail chains, services, and social networks have been priced out and replaced with higher end retail and services. This aspect of gentrification has caused 'the exclusion of the poor and dispossession of those with the lowest consumer potential' (Mellor, 2003).

In the gentrification process, old industrial buildings as well as other historic buildings in the city have taken important roles. Their aesthetic qualities and location and housing demand for the new affluent population provide an attraction for the return of middle class residents.

Figure 9. Murray's Mill, a former cotton mill. This complex of buildings (the Old/Decker Mill and the New Mill with their associated engine houses and also a large canal basin, linked to the adjacent Rochdale Canal by a tunnel) arranged in a quadrangle was originally built between the years 1798 and 1806 on Murray Street within the Ancoats Conservation Area, also known as the Ancoats Urban Village, and within an area shortlisted for designation by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site. They had been Grade II\* listed in 1989 as buildings of special architectural or historic interest. Photos by Richard Murphy Architects.







Figure 10. Murray's Mill, during and after conversion. Ancoats Buildings Preservation Trust first started the work of repair and reuse of Murrays' Mills in 1996 with support from many partners such as the Ancoats Urban Village Company, Manchester City Council, English Heritage, the Northwest Regional Development Agency and Heritage Lottery Fund. Photos by Nuran Mengüşoğlu (left) and Ancoats Buildings Preservation Trust (right)





Figure 11. Murray's Mill. ArchitectsRichard Murphy Architects was appointed by the developers, Inpartnership and Burrell Company for the reuse development. A mixed use development scheme was preferred for the site consisting 112 apartments and 1700m2 of office space, a Textile Resource Centre/Fashion Centre and a 60-bedroom new-build 'boutique' hotel. Images by Richard Murphy Architects.





Figure 12. Murray's Mill. Richard Murphy Architects explains the design concept as follows; "The architectural vision for the re-inhabitation of Murray's Mills is to create an enclosed central space, and to make new architecture which clearly differentiates between the restored historic buildings and new insertions...Each mill has been developed with very differing residential strategies, neither utilizing the usual repetitive internal corridor solution with its inevitable single aspect flats. Instead, alternative options were considered to establish through-aspect flats so that the width and structural rhythm of the original warehouse could be appreciated" (http:// www.richardmurphyarchitects.com). Drawing by Richard Murphy Architects.

'The presumption throughout should be to preserve and adapt historic buildings to accommodate new uses and provide a focus for urban communities' (DETR, 1999).

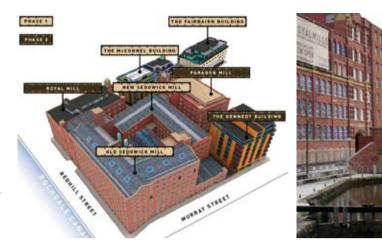
The terminology-'ripe for renovation', 'bursting with promise', 'original features', and 'period charm'- observed by Smith and Williams (1996) regarding historic buildings in the process of gentrification, is still in use when it comes to the development of historic buildings such as old industrial buildings. The aesthetic qualities and original features of these buildings are common selling points in estate agencies' and developers' magazines and advertisements. In Manchester the redevelopment of a large number of mills and warehouses into ultra chic loft apartment is seen by many scholars such as Lees (2003) as part of the gentrification attempts. She argues that these refurbishment projects promote the kinds of gentrified enclaves designed for consuming and spending middle classes.



Figure 13. Royal Mills (former cotton mills), Old Sedgwick Mill (1820), New Sedgwick Mill (1868), Paragon Mill (1911), Royal Mill (1913), Grade II\* listed, located next to Murray's Mill. In 2003 ING Real Estate started the conversion process of the buildings into apartments, offices, shops and leisure outlets. The redevelopment scheme consists of 125 historic and 73 new built apartments. Image by ING Real Estate, 2006.

REUSE OF INDUSTRIAL BUILT HERITAGE

Figure 14. Royal Mills. Street view over Rochdale Canal. Like Britannia Mills and Murray's Mill, Royal Mills also is a short walk away from the revived city centre. Their location is one of their primary selling points. This advantage is emphasised in their brochure as follows; "Given the proximity to the cosmopolitan city centre, the possibility to work, rest and play in the same area now exists at Royal Mills. The emergence of top quality stores, like Harvey Nichols and Selfridges, gives people the opportunity to shop in exquisite surroundings, while the wide spectrum of theatres, entertainment venues and nightlife sets the pace in this thriving city". Photo by Nuran Mengüşoğlu.



This is for the reason that they are expensive and only attractive to wealthy professionals without children because of their limited open space, high cost and lack of facilities for children. While good changes associated with the process of gentrification are happening such as decreased crime rates, enhanced physical environment and increased economic activities there is a need to consider the negatives impacts on lower income groups. To achieve the desired sustainable urban development it is crucial to promote mixed income and non-profit urban development that benefits the whole community such as non-profit public spaces and low income housing.

#### **CONCLUSION**

The reuse of the industrial built heritage in Manchester is a wider concept than simply preserving historic buildings and prolonging the age of the buildings. It actually goes a long way to the process of globalisation as the emphasis on the regional and cultural identity is growing as a reaction to this process. The reuse of the remnants and memories of lost industries in the form of so called 'heritage industry' acts as a key component in the process of re-imaging, marketing and selling of the city through the commodification of certain cultural aspects and the creation of tourist destinations with a specific set of characteristics. It both gives visitors

Figure 15. Royal Mills. The glazed atrium courtyard. This innovative design is an example for usage of high quality and industrial materials to combine with the existing industrial character of the buildings. Photo by Nuran Mengüşoğlu and images by ING Real Estate.









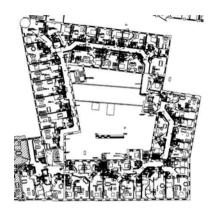


Figure 16. Royal Mills. Floor plan of Old Sedgwick and New Sedgwick Mill buildings. Existing regular and big windows and open plan layouts help create light and roomy spaces. Drawing by Manchester City Council





Figure 17. Royal Mills. Interiors from converted flats. Existing structure and features are kept, restored and reuse used along with new high quality materials. High floor to ceiling height allows the creation of Mezzanine floors in some flats. Industrial and contemporary materials which accord well with the existing industrial materials, are chosen in the design. Photos by ING Real Estate, 2006.

the most sought after essence of heritage tourism which is "authentic" experience and also defines and bolsters the city's image and identity. The reuse of old industrial buildings also plays a key role in the creation of a more regenerated, vibrant, attractive, mixed use and sustainable urban way of living in the city centre. Looking at the previous state and scale of the unused and derelict buildings it was impossible to preserve them all in their original use or convert them all into museums. If it was the case, these buildings and their surroundings would turn into dead, unsafe and unattractive places after opening times of the buildings. Refunctioning them for residential purposes offers a great potential to create autocontrolled (by residents), safer, 24 hour living urban areas. It also generates a return of people, business and investment to the urban centre. Manchester is now at the forefront of city centre living as well as loft living. The city centre population has risen up from less than 1000 in the 1980s to more than 15000 today.

However, the relandscaping of the urban realm according to the needs and taste of more affluent new users of the city centre has resulted in the transformation of these places from production spaces to places of consumption. This transition verifies the argument made, in the 1970s (Binney et al., 1979), by some of the original users of these buildings and community leaders who claimed that such buildings if renovated for a new use, would not be used by the citizens who had once lived or worked in them. This is due to the fact that all the converted buildings are now non-accessible with their strictly controlled entrances and only affordable for the affluent. They have turned into luxury enclaves of gentrifiers with a certain status and lifestyle.

The main commentary elicited by various scholars on the transformation of old industrial buildings where the primary function used to be manufacture goods rather than consume is also evident in Manchester especially for buildings reused for cultural and leisure purposes. What has been observed during this study is that the attempts to market the city as a site of leisure and consumption through commodification, marketing, and consumption of its heritage have actually elided the city's industrial past 'in favour of a sanitised vision of a post-industrial city' (Atkinson et al., 2002).

The other argument about the reuse of these buildings is the way the past has been represented following the packaging trend of history through heritage industry. As Ashworth and Graham (2005) remind us that heritage is that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes. This way of selecting only the desired and useful parts of the past for the purposes and the needs of today actually dilute and distort history. Hewison (1987) and Harvey (1991) have strong ideas about the superficial portrayal of the past and the past getting 'antiqued' or made the object of nostalgia through heritage industry. They describe the way of representation of the past using terms such as 'collage' or 'pastiche', or 'nostalgia' by pointing out the link they see between the heritage industry and postmodernism.

'Both conspire to create a shallow screen that intervenes between our present lives, our history. We have no understanding of history in depth, but instead are offered a contemporary creation, more costume drama and re-enchantment than critical discourse' (Hewison, 1987).

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In the case of Manchester, the selective reinterpretation of the past based upon contemporary values and ideas and the emphasis on nostalgia as a vehicle of commodification is quite visible in the consumer imagery that has impacted upon the sense of reuse. In almost every estate agency advertisement in the city, the aesthetic values such as red brick vaulted ceilings, exposed brickwork, wooden floors and impressive Victorian cast iron columns of the old industrial buildings appear to be the objects of nostalgia acting as the primary selling points for luxury lofts and offices. Addition to that, the process of sanitisation and domestification of these buildings has largely destructed the soul and atmosphere of an industrial and production space as well as the original production activity.

However, although there is a completely different function and lifestyle behind the preserved shell of industrial built heritage, nevertheless these buildings have managed to survive years of neglect and are still there serving their time as symbolic reminders of the distinctive history and identity of their city. As known that communities have much to gain from reusing historic buildings for social, economic and cultural reasons. The reuse of these buildings which are the most important symbol of the city's cultural and urban identity is particularly significant in order to bequeath them to future generations and to maintain collective memory, history and identity of a place. These reuse schemes reinforce local cultures and provide a greater sense of pride and confidence in a neighbourhood. It is also very important to promote a more sustainable urban development and achieve better use of natural resources. These schemes greatly coincide with many of the desired outcomes of sustainability such as putting minimal impact on the environment and reducing energy consumption in terms of use of transportation of materials, the manufacture of new materials and human resources. When combined with a philosophy of high quality restoration and bold, innovative and contemporary new design they can act as a catalyst to the regeneration of a neighbourhood. They can also encourage national or local officials, designers, developers and estate agents to target other areas for regeneration and to restore and reuse of other buildings. For example, in Manchester, districts, such as Castlefield and Ancoast with converted industrial buildings, cleaned canals, green, walkable and safe new public spaces set an example for other cities on transforming derelict urban land into lively urban areas.

This study is aimed to serve as an example for future studies in this field in our country. Manchester's method of finding new functions and financial solutions to reuse its large scale of industrial heritage as well as bringing together so many actors in a variety of disciplines from local governments, conservation agencies to architects and civil society organizations will shed some light on reuse schemes of the industrial heritage in Turkey. Comparing to the scale of the industrial heritage in Manchester, our country lacks an industrial heritage of this size. That makes our job easier to recognize, protect and reuse our industrial heritage which faces the threat of demolition and requires urgent action plan. Some of our industrial heritage whose location and structural characteristics are suitable can be considered to be refunctioned for residential purposes. The experience of Manchester can be useful in this regard. The new housing model created in a former industry space with innovative and original designs can be an alternative to the model of new-build homes. Reusing industrial heritage for residential purposes will contribute greatly to meeting the growing pressure of new housing development in our country.

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Anahtar kelimeler. Yeniden kullanım; endüstri dönemi yapı mirası; kentsel dönüşüm; kent pazarlaması; Manchester; soylulaştırma; loft; kent merkezi yaşamı

# MANCHESTER ÖRNEĞİNDE ENDÜSTRİ DÖNEMİ YAPI MİRASININ KONUT İŞLEVİ VERİLEREK YENİDEN KULLANIMI

Endüstri dönemi yapı mirasının yeniden kullanımı, İngiltere'de olduğu kadar dünyanın değişik yerlerinde birçok şehirde giderek yaygın hale gelmektedir. Bu olgu, özellikle hala devam etmekte olan kentsel dönüşüm ve kentsel sürdürülebilirlik kavramları çerçevesinde daha da önem kazanmıştır. Artık kullanılmayan, fonksiyonlarını yitirmiş ve terkedilmiş yapıların sayısal olarak çok olduğu kentler, bu konuda önlemler almaya çalışmaktadırlar. Bu yapıların özellikle kent çeper ve merkezlerinde terkedilmiş, içine girilmeyen alanlar yaratması, kentlerin bu konuyu öncelikli olarak ele almalarına neden olmaktadır. Diğer taraftan atıl durumdaki endüstri yapılarının korunması ve yeniden kullanımına bağlı kazanımlar, kentsel dönüşüm ve kentsel sürdürülebilirlik kavramlarının ana hedeflerini desteklemektedir. Bu hedefler, temel olarak kentlerin boşalmasını azaltmak ve iş olanaklarını, yatırımı ve insanları kent merkezlerine yeniden getirmek üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Ancak kentsel alanlardaki, ülkenin geleneksel endüstrisine ilişkin işlevini kaybetmiş veya kapasitesinin altında kullanılan yapıların oluşturduğu terkedilmişlik düzeyi, bu hedeflerin gerçekleştirilmesindeki en önemli engellerden

birisidir. Bu yapılara yeni kullanımlar kazandırılmasının önemi giderek kabul edilmiştir. Böylelikle, endüstri dönemi yapı mirasının yeniden kullanımı kentsel dönüşüm için önemli bir etken haline gelmiştir. Ayrıca, kültürel ve tarihi açıdan oldukça önemli olan bu yapıların yeniden kazanımındaki en temel sürdürülebilir çözümdür. Genel olarak basit biçimlere sahip, çok katlı ve aydınlık olan bu yapılar ve fiziksel çevreleri, yeniden kullanım olanakları açısından ideal bir zemin oluşturmaktadır. Fiziksel ve malzeme özelliklerine ek olarak bu yapılar, kolektif hafıza depoları ve sosyal / kültürel kimlik anıtları olarak hizmet ettiklerinden dolayı önemli sosyal ve kültürel değerleri temsil etmektedirler. Ayrıca, geçmişle önemli bir bağ kurulmasını sağlayarak bir toplumunun karakterini belirlemektedirler. Ancak bütün bunların yanısıra terkedilmiş yapıların korunma, dönüştürülme aşamasında bölgede ortaya çıkan soylulaştırma olgusu araştırılması, tartışılması ve eleştirilmesi gereken bir gerçek olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Bu çalısmanın amacı, endüstri dönemi yapı mirasının konut olarak yeniden kullanımına iliskin anlamlar, olumlu ve tartışmalı yönleriyle kentsel dönüşüm, koruma, sürdürülebilirlik ve soylulaştırma kavramları çerçevesinde incelemektir. Manchester, araştırma alanı olarak ele alınmıştır. Dünyanın ilk endüstri kenti olması ve kent merkezinde oluşan büyük ölçekteki terkedilmişliğin üstesinden gelme şekliyle örnek teşkil etmesi açısından Manchester, planlı bir tercihdir. Bu çalışma, kentin peyzajındaki en karakteristik tarihsel yapı tipi olan pamuk fabrika ve depolarının yeniden kullanımı etrafında şekillenmektedir. Geçmişe ait bu yapıların nasıl bugün ve gelecek için önemli bir kaynak olarak kullanıldığı, kapsamlı bir literatür incelemesi ve yerinde yapılan gözlemler ışığında incelenmiştir.

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