VivaCity 2020

WORK PACKAGE 2

The Generation of Diversity: Mixed Use and Urban Sustainability

MANCHESTER CASE STUDY

Contents

Introduction

Manchester has experienced inner city growth, to a greater extent than other north west and northern cities, including an increase to the inner city resident population - from little over 1,000 in 1990; 12,000 in 2001; to approaching 20,000 today. It has a reknown visitor economy - from football, dance and music clubs, international festivals and cultural venues. Outside of London boroughs, Manchester has densified more than any city in the rest of England (equal to Southampton, Bristol) - see table and map below. It has also been associated with a form of central city living in new and industrial re-used buildings and in city fringe regeneration sites such as Castlefield (below) and East Manchester.

Manchester has been home to housing and urban design experiments, notably Hulme[1], New Islington, and Urban Splash's apartment conversions which have been replicated in several other cities (e.g. Sheffield, Park Hill) with over 5,000 residential apartments mostly developed since 1996. The city centre retail quarter has also been the subject of a major makeover, following the rebuilding spurred by the IRA bombing of 1996.

Change in Ambient Density 2000-2004 - Largest 60 Urban Areas (Bibby 2005)

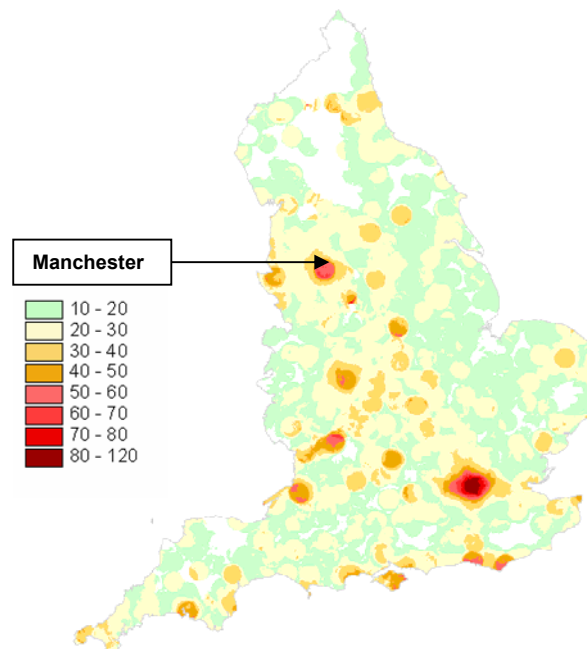| Urban Area	Stock 2000	Total area (Hectares)	Populated area 2004 (Has.)	Density pop. 2004	Overall density 2004	Change in Density 2000-4	Rank 1-60
Islington	76300	1500	1300	58.5	51.5	2.8	1
Manchester	**194900**	**10300**	**5600**	**34.7**	**19.0**	**0.5**	**19**
Sheffield	192300	11100	5300	36.3	17.3	0.1	49
Salford	37400	2100	1000	36.0	18.1	-0.6	-

**Fig.3 Site Density 2000-2004** (10 kilometre smoothing of density per hectare), Bibby (2006)

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[1] Hulme ('The Crescents') opened in 1970 a 'model' high rise public housing development, however it rapidly earned a reputation as a socially disastrous failure, with high crime and drug abuse. In Manchester, the early 1970s recession had hit hard. The estates were finally demolished in 1990. In 1992 Hulme Regeneration was established by the City Council, redeveloping the former estate into low rise housing, and subject again to intense study (see New Urbanism: Hulme Case Study www.vivacity2020.org).

1. Employment and Population change

Like many post-industrial cities, employment structures and inner, outer and suburban population change in Greater Manchester has been dramatic (charts below). The shift from manufacturing to services employment is evident (Peck & Ward, 2002), although residual manufacturing, including new economy production, also persists.
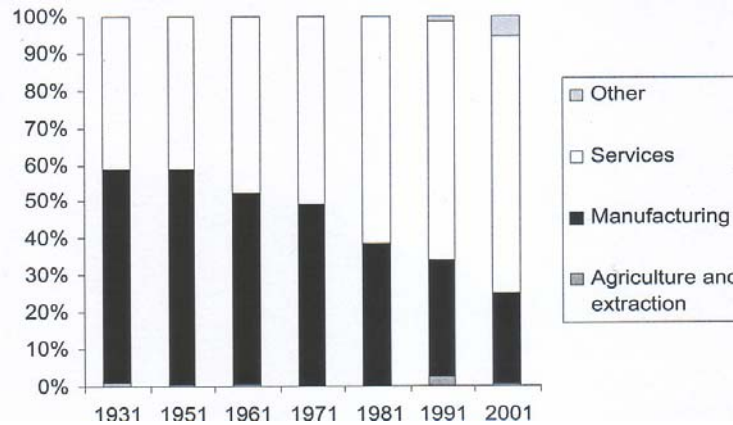
Source: Census' 1931-2001
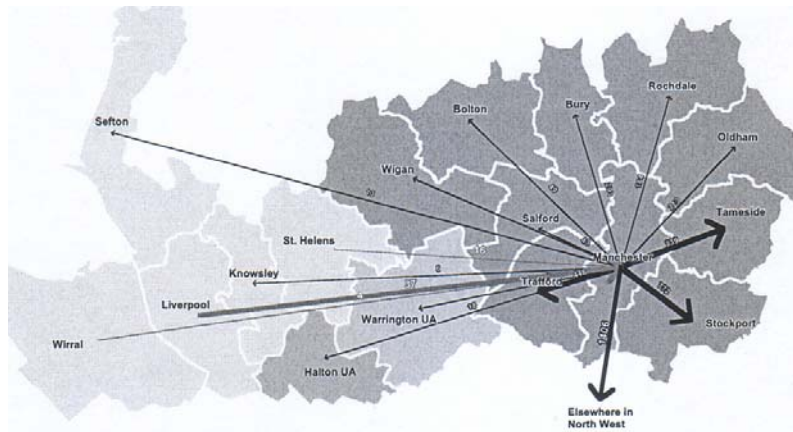
Net yearly migration flow between Manchester and surrounding districts (Census 1991)

Population change in inner Manchester also reveals considerable churn, with inflows of new residents of 33% but outflows of 30% in the same year (2000-1). The population profile confirms the largely younger, childless professional and student. At the 2001 census 62% were aged 18 to 34 years, 75% of adults were living as 'singles' and 42% of the working age population were students (39% of the adult population were also graduates), a similar 41% describing themselves as living 'professional lifestyles'. However 16% were on low incomes and household tenure was predominately rental based - 31% social, 38% private. In one year (2000-1) the inner city area saw a 64% *decrease* in children, a 223% increase of those of working age, but also an increase of pensionable age of 11%. Like our other case study areas (Clerkenwell, Sheffield) the new city dwellers (young students and professionals) mix with incumbent residents including those reaching pensionable age, with some new dwellers also retirees moving into the city, rather than retiring to the suburbs or outside of the urban area altogether.

2. Public transport and compact city

In Greater Manchester, a cultural and leisure-led 'renaissance' also required large-scale transport investment. In the 1970s and 1980s, decline in city centre employment was attributed largely to traffic congestion, inadequate parking and a slow, fragmented public transport system which offered a poor alternative to the car. Too much commercial property remained vacant; out of town developments a very real threat (Trafford Centre). In 1982, a feasibility study identified six corridors suitable for Light Rapid Transit (LRT) linked at the centre by tracks along fully or semi-pedestrianized streets. Ten years later, Metrolink broke new ground in the UK, with LRT services to Bury and Altrincham. An extension to Eccles opened in 2000, serving (journey time from central Manchester 15 minutes), the £98m *The Lowry* arts centre at Salford Quays, in addition to over £350m in site reclamation/redevelopment. The redundant Central Station was also converted into the GMex exhibition centre. Thus, the growing tram system has played a key role in the regeneration of East Manchester, kick-started by the 2002 Commonwealth Games. In terms of infrastructure, the Games were the catalyst for the widespread redevelopment of the east of the city, an area which had remained derelict since the departure of heavy industry some decades before.

A new commercial centre for East Manchester, based around the stadium was created, known as *SportCity*. Legacy sporting facilities include the Northern Regional Tennis Centre, the National Squash Centre, the City of Manchester Stadium for football, the Manchester Velodrome and facilities for athletics, as well as shops, supermarkets and new housing. Meanwhile, the 10-mile 'missing link' of the orbital motorway (planned nearly 50 years ago) was completed, and despite opposition from environmentalists, Manchester Airport continues to expand as an international gateway, with a second runway opened in 2001. One spur to the inner city office market (Manchester had retained its status as the 2nd UK financial centre after London) has been high rise developments with large floor plates (30,000-40,000 sq') attracting financial services and other firms, paying rentals of £27+ a square foot - high returns outside of central London.

A particular regeneration area is Castlefield. This was a depressing landscape of decay and dereliction. Businesses had abandoned the area, the canals had closed and had sometimes been filled in, and rubbish was everywhere. Since the mid-1980s the transformation of Castlefield has been dramatic, and it is now recognised internationally as a model of regeneration of an industrial landscape. The impact has widened to much of the rest of central Manchester. Canals have been reopened, factories and historic offices have been converted, open spaces have been created, and striking new buildings have been erected, including the Museum of Science and Industry. Mixed use developments have also been created such as Bridgewater Hall, a new concert hall for the Hallé Orchestra, built alongside two office blocks and a café/bar as part of the development of the canal basis to the west of the city centre. The Barbirolli Square won awards from the Civic Trust and the RIBA. A review using CABE's Urban Design Quality impact tool concluded that *The development..knits this once derelict site (a former public transport interchange) back into the urban fabric and creates a landmark gateway to Manchester.* However its mixed use balance has not been as successful, compared with say, Brindley Place Birmingham, or more commercially mixed areas of London. The extent of multi-use buildings, employment and visitor activity (entertainment, retail) and residential diversity has not been adequate to create or sustain a genuinely mixed-use neighbourhood.

Compared to the UK average, more than twice as many people in Manchester live less than 2km from their place of work. More than a third walk to work, although live-work is less than the UK average. Car ownership also remains high, even if not used

for travel to work, but even in Manchester a third still do so (Census 2001, in Nathan & Urwin 2005). Like the Clekenwell study car ownership is retained even where pedestrian or public transport is used for daily activities. The car is reserved for weekend, leisure and trips such as supermarket shopping. This still represents a key divide between those with and those without use of a car in terms of social and leisure access, including food shopping.

3. Nightime economy
Manchester had been one of the first cities (Edinburgh the first) to experiment with staggered and late night licences. The liberalisation of licensing hours and Sunday trading from the 1990s has fuelled an explosion of alcohol-based activity in city centre sites and streets. In Manchester city centre, licenced premises increased from 225 in 1995 to 430 in 1998, and by 2002 over 540, with 166 venues holding 'Public Entertainment Licences' with a total capacity of over 110,000 persons (GMPolice in Hobbs, et al. 2003), predominantly non-restaurant and non-night-club 'bars'. Friday and Saturday night young visitors trebled from an estimated 30,000 in 1992 to over 100,000 a decade later. Comments from residents, businesses and the police reflect this dominant city centre activity and impacts:

City centre residents
…there's many positive things happening in the city but one thing as a resident, we keep being assured that licensees are monitored and have strict rules that they must adhere to and yet in actual fact for the resident that is not the case, I'm constantly having problems with the bar that we live next door to and you know the processes are in place in the council to try and stop this bar from acting in this way, but that is a long process and its taken 6 months or so to get to the position we're at now, now licensees might have lots of rules and they might need to keep the terms of the licence but they're not doing, they're quite blatantly piling in stand up drinkers, selling shots and cheap cocktail pictures and whatever else which is great for the customer but its not great for the residents when you can pile them in, outside areas and after the pubs are closed, they pile out onto the street and they're just left to walk down the street or stand in the street till 3, 4, 5 o'clock in the morning and nobody really can do anything about it, I think it's a big problem for the police to have to manage with that and it's a big problem for the residents to have to live with it day after day, and its not just weekends its Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday pick any day you like.
Resident on Great Bridgewater Street

..I'm a city centre resident, I also sit on the Manchester City Centre residents' forum and as you know I work here, rather than just beat up on a representative of pub and club network, because obviously its all going to be focused on you, there is though the knock on effect from all of this, that you do have, you have all these kids around town sort of looking for places to go, trying to find taxis, and no public toilets, now I'm not a great supporter of zero tolerance or anything like that, but that whole concept of once you start to be disrespectful for things, then the disrespect carries on growing and I don't think you can quickly think of a greater disrespectful act really than the public urination, its tacky its messy, it makes the place stink, I wandered back from a club on Saturday night at about 2 o'clock and the sort of pavements are awash, and I mean I just feel its, its not something to be mentioned, I did have other points to make but I think Chris over there did make them far more eloquently than I could concerning the way that the bars are run and I do think dialogue with them works fabulously well and as I say we've had very, very positive experiences, but its this public urination, I think that's the one I'd really like to flag up

I'm a resident, I live the near the village, there are 2 bars underneath me and a restaurant and a gym and I think I know what I'm talking about about being a resident, I am also chair of the public voice in policing which is the body over this area which invites members of the public to come and meet their policemen…
I have to ask what is the value of the night time economy to this city at the moment. One excuse for the night time economy, for all its problems and all its issues and its really well under control incidentally, lets be absolutely clear about that as a person who operates in this area, its really well under control at the moment, the problem is, what does it contribute, 15,000 a number of employees and a 100,000 people come in at the weekend. Does it contribute as much as the evening economy, does it contribute as much as the day economy, what's it for, one thing it could be for, is if it was really creative, but it isn't creative any more, its entirely derivative and mostly highly commercial, now my view of the matter is that that is not what we should be standing for and we should go back to the idea that if we're going to have a night time economy it only makes sense if Manchester in all sorts of ways across the spectrum of popular culture, is the place to come to, if it doesn't then its not worth it.

I think there needs to be alternatives to the binge drinking culture, I would echo some of the things that Scott talked about, why don't we have Starbucks that open at 12 o'clock at night, why don't we have more centres, where people can go and do things other than drink, so I think what we've got to say is this, there's an awful lot to be proud of about this city, but I was actually quite shocked and pretty horrified by what I saw in that, in those 3 consecutive Saturday and I think as this speaker over here pointed out, we do have 3 different cultures in this city, we have the daytime culture, we have the evening culture and we have the night time culture and on Friday and Saturday I don't think it's a very pretty site, and I think its not something that gives me any pleasure to say this, but if we don't tackle this now and if we don't look for alternative ways for people to enjoy themselves in this city, it will have a negative effect on the image that we have, I know a lot of people who won't come in the city late on Friday and late on Saturday because of the very problems that I've seen in the early hours, that's why when people go to the Bridgewater Hall, when they go to the Opera House when they go to the Palace Theatre or they go to the MEN Arena, what do they do afterwards, they don't come into the city to enjoy the late night culture they go straight home because they're either frightened of what they will see

Police and Crime
I'm the superintendent operations for all of the north Manchester division, that's not just the city centre, but I take in Collyhurst and Grey Mare Lane and right up to New Moston, I'm a Mancunian born and bred and I'm absolutely staggered at the progress and the investment that's gone into the city since the bomb and the development that's taken place. Basically I'd just like to give you some facts and figures and a little bit of background to the crime situation in Manchester because I think it is portrayed wrongly sometimes in the press and people do get the wrong end of the stick. The city centre within the pubs the clubs, the hotels, purely within the city centre we've got accommodation for up to 260,000 drinkers on one night. On an average week the night time economy will see 250,000 visitors through the city centre. On a moderately busy Friday Saturday night we'll be dealing with 90 and 120,000 drinkers in the city centre. The police resources that we use to police that situation will vary between possibly 20 and 45 officer per night. As far as crime goes, comparing April to December last near with April to December this year, I've just got the most recent crime figures, serious woundings have seen a slight increase of 2.6% and equating that into figures last year we had 152 this year, we've had156 and when I say serious woundings I'm talking about injuries where people required stitches, where bones are broken, 156 equates to about 3 and a half a week. In relation to burglary dwellings, that's down 66 and half per cent on last year, burglary others is down 27 and a

quarter percent. Street robbery is down 37%, shoplifting is down just under 3% theft from vehicle is down 6.4% but I'd just like to qualify that and say that's on the back of significant reductions last year and the year before, theft or taking of vehicles is down nearly 17% fraud and forgery is down nearly 17%, and drug offences are down by 28%. If you put those figures in the context of the people that are visiting the city from my perspective, it's probably one of the safest cities in the country.

New resident and Venue
I'm the creative director of Urbis and I live in the Northern Quarter, I moved here 7 months, I've been based in the UK for 7 years and have lived and worked in a number of different cities around the world so I sort of come with a matrix of experiences and it has to be said I have a great love for this city, I mean this is why I moved here in addition to my job, I think what's really important, one thing I realised when I moved to the city centre, last year, was that, and this is kind of my response as a city centre resident in addition to our topic tonight, we I think need to shave the issue back a couple of notches, and all the discussion tonight has been on problematic drinking and how to deal drunken behaviour and how to deal with the issue of binge drinking and the issue of drunken behaviour but if we step back a couple of notches I think it is vitally important to pay attention to offering alternatives for a night out, lets not, lets not sort of be defeated by the only option is to go out and we'll have tents of thousands of people getting drunk on the evening, I think we need to look at ways that the kind of the business community the cultural, the kind of the community of Manchester itself can respond in different ways in offering different options now I realise that a huge responsibility sort of rests on people such as myself and I can say that since day 1 in the job and since moving to the city centre and realising that there aren't as many alternatives to just going out straight after work and hitting the pubs and clubs you know I've put a lot of working into researching late night opening at Urbis and there's a great probability that that will happen and happen very soon, Id like to encourage particularly cultural institutions to sort of do the same but also I mean businesses, Waterstones or Café Nero or anything you know, from the different cities I've lived in its wonderful to sort of just have the option and I think living in the city centre I don't feel that option enough I am great fan for going out and going to clubs but you know there's just some nights when Id rather not and Id like to have just a diverse offering on those nights that I don't want to go clubbing just as much as there is on offer, so Id just like to share that

Open forum meeting Manchester, 26th January 2004

4. City Centre Living

The following interview summary is drawn from ippr's survey of inner city residents of Manchester as one of three cities - Liverpool, Manchester and Dundee. This formed the basis of their *City Centre Living in the UK* report published in 2005. The focus group interview data has been provided with the kind assistance of Max Nathan, Centre for Cities (ippr). This study focused in city dwellers represented by young/professional workers, high education students and those on low incomes - who coalesced in the resurgent inner city area, albeit with a high level of transiency associated with these particular 'lifestyle' groups.

The lack of family and affordable housing, attention to the inner urban ring/fringe areas, problems of conflict of use with the night time economy, and dependence on booming economy, were all factors that the study highlighted. These were consonant with our Clerkenwell and Sheffield case studies, in the latter case also impacted by the buy-to-let property market which further undermines any notion of sustainable communities in these apartment ("loft") living environments.

City Centre Living Focus Groups (Centre for Cities, ippr)
Manchester
Students, young professionals, low income

Respondents

Students
Three of the students were from the Manchester area originally, while four had come from other parts of the UK. Five of the seven lived in the Hulme area while the other two lived right in the centre of the city. All were renting from private landlords (in one case, their parents). Five of the seven had cars. The majority had recently moved from Fallowfield. The students that lived in Hulme did not feel that they lived in the city centre, but they did feel like they had full access to the amenities of the town centre. All the students were white.

Young Professionals

Only one of the YP was in rented accommodation – the rest either were paying off their mortgages, or in one case had already done so. They were more scattered across the city centre than the students. They were more positive than the students about the area they lived in, the street they lived on, and the building they lived in – this was probably because they had had more choice when choosing their home. Only one had a child, and none had children of school age. Only one of the YPs was non-white.

Low income

All four Ds were in privately rented accommodation, while three of the Es were in hostels and one was living on the streets. The Ds worked in low-wage retail and service environments: shops, cafes and hairdressers. Two of the Es sold the Big Issue, while the others were unemployed. All bar one of the DEs were white. Three of the Es had spent some time in prison, and two were still under license.

What do people do in the town centre?

The focus in both the student and the YP groups was on the 'leisure' amenities of the town centre – bars, restaurants, shops that are good to browse in (Selfridges, fashion boutiques, record shops). Surprisingly, places like Selfridges and Harvey Nichols were mentioned as much by the students as the YPs. The students also talked about more affordable but still fashionable clothes shops like H&M and topshop. The range of bars was important – people felt that there was something to suit any mood. The students felt that different bars suited different groups sizes; they would go to more individual, unusual places in smaller groups, but 'played it safe' when going out with many friends. The YPs talked a little about more cultural activities, in particular easy access to music – the students didn't discuss these sorts of facilities.

The DEs also focussed on the social function of the town centre; though while the Ds felt fully able to take part, the Es felt they could only take part from a distance – for example by making use of the big screen by the Arndale centre. One of the Es strongly resented this sense of exclusion, while the other three were reasonably comfortable with it.

The majority of respondents in all the groups did all their food shopping in the town centre on a daily basis (rather than a single weekly shop). They used shops on their route to work or close to their homes. A couple of students and YPs used cars to do a single major weekly shop in either ASDA or Tescos – none of the DEs had cars.

None of the respondents in any of the groups had much contact with public services in the town centre apart from contact with housing services amongst the Es. Not a single YP, student or E was registered with a doctor in the town centre, and only one of the Ds was. Instead the YPs, students and Ds had stayed registered in the area they used to live or even in their parents' home towns. The Es tended to use A&E. None of the respondents had children of school age in Manchester – one the YPs had an 18 month old child in their flat, and several of the DEs had children that didn't live with them in Manchester.

The experience of housing services amongst the Es was of being pushed out of the city centre to fringe estates. There was also a sense that there is very little support for people when they are most vulnerable – particularly when leaving prison.

All the respondents worked in the city centre (apart from the two Es on JSA). They were all very positive about being able to walk to work.

Why did people choose to live where they do?

Students
For the students, Manchester's pull came largely from the entertainment facilities available in the town centre, combined with the reputation of the university/course people attended (which was hygiene factor and led to shortlist of universities from which they picked). Many of the students had considered going to London, but felt that it was too large, too expensive and that one could easily feel isolated. Manchester was felt to have a similar wealth of lifestyle opportunities, but to be far more compact and so more conducive to a vibrant social life on student means. For the students who had been brought up in Manchester, the social wealth of Manchester was combined with a sense of belonging. They felt safe and at home in Manchester in a way that they didn't in other towns – one had gone to university in Belfast originally then switched back to Manchester for this reason. All the students were from northern England or Northern Ireland, and there was a strong sense that being in 'the North' was important.

When deciding where to live within Manchester, the key factors were cost, ease of access to the university, and ease of access to the centre of town. Choice was also influence by group factors – people wanted to live near their friends. Those that lived in Hulme felt it provided the best possible balance between factors, though they had many reservations about it as an area (see below). The two respondents that lived in very centre of town were far happier with where they lived.

When choosing accommodation, key factors were:
- Price
- Security of home and street
- Double bedrooms
- A serviceable lounge and kitchen

The students aspired to warehouse conversion type homes, but saw these are well beyond their price range. Outside space was not a particularly important consideration (though it was desirable).

Young Professionals
The factors that brought the YPs to Manchester were, in many ways, similar to the students – a compact city with good social amenities. They were all originally from Northern England, and most from Greater Manchester or nearby towns and cities. A couple of the YPs had tried living in London but found the city to be expensive, the people to be 'cold' and life to be isolated. Only one of the YPs had moved to Manchester in order to get a specific job, the others had decided to live in Manchester first; then set about finding a job.

Many of the YPs had previously lived in suburban Manchester and had actively chosen to move into the town centre. The key drivers of this were considerations around time and lifestyle. Living in the centre was felt to save time as it:

- Shortened journeys to and from walk, which could now be walked in minutes rather than driven in hours

- Shortened and eased journeys to and from entertainment; for example by removing the need to queue for taxis on nights out (several of the YPs talked of the pleasure they get in walking past taxi queues!)

- Removed the need to plan social life and shopping as everything was within very close reach.

Lifestyle considerations were both rational:

- it is easier to go out, and there are more choices living in central Manchester, than for example, in Prestwich

And emotional:

- there was a sense that living in the city centre was part of the zeitgeist, a 'cool' way of living when you are young

When choosing specific accommodation, the YPs had far more choice than the students. Given their higher income and more defined aspirations around city centre living, it was far more important for them to live bang in the centre of town. Having made that decision, the specific building was important. They often preferred living in converted industrial spaces, or somewhere with a sense of individuality and history. Resale value was also important, so people often wanted to be a little ahead of the market curve. One respondent had made his decision to live in the city centre almost purely on the investment value of the property; while for the others this had just been one factor amongst many.

<u>Low income</u>

There was a big difference between the reasons for city centre living between the Ds and the Es. The Ds (whether they came from Greater Manchester or further afield (Scunthorpe, Bolton)) had chosen to move to central Manchester for the lifestyle benefits of city centre living. These benefits were the same as those diagnosed by the students and YPs: access to bars and pubs, not having to queue for taxis home, walking to work, a buzz at the end of your road, etc.

The reasoning was somewhat different for the Es. One had moved to Manchester for similar reasons, but two had always lived in and around the area they are living in now, and one had had no option when coming out of prison.

The Ds had had much less choice about where they live in the city centre, and the Es had had no choice. For the Ds, the key issues were proximity to good places to go out, security, and price. They were less focussed on the specifics of the building than other groups.

Good things about city centre living
The good things about living in the city centre have large been covered above. The students, Ds and YPs have found the lifestyle, and amenities they were looking for. Even the Es, who aren't able to use the social amenities of the city centre, found city centre living to be convenient, sociable and exciting.

Bad things about city centre living

"I just want to live somewhere with stairs. I don't know why, but it's important" - Student

For the students living in Hulme, the main issue with city centre living was security. Women in particular felt that crossing the bridge into Hulme was like crossing the Rubicon; it was another world. Both men and women were uncomfortable leaving cars on the street and walking through the area after dark. They felt that they were singled out as students and as white people in a predominantly black area. This fear was less strong amongst people who had lived in Manchester all their lives and seen the changes in Hulme. The other main drawback was noise, though this varied street by street. The two students who lived right in the heart of the city could see very few drawbacks at all. That said, all the students except one felt that city-centre-living was a time limited activity; something to do while you are young and to stop when you have children. There was also a sense that apartment living was very much a compromise, and that houses were far more desirable.

This concern about space for children had become severe for the YPs. Those in long term relationships or with children were actively looking to get out of the city centre. This was driven by:

- lack of/cost of space. People felt that children needed a lot of space and that the city centre was too expensive for that to be realistic

- The perceived lack of public services. They felt that there was little or no nursery provision, and that the state schools were very poor – living in the city centre meant having to use private schools. The perceived lack of GPs was also critical; it was fine for adults to stay registered in distant practices, but this was felt to be totally unworkable for children

- Pollution and dirt was a factor for the YPs who weren't planning children, but was much more important when children were brought into the picture

- Apartment living was felt to be somehow inappropriate for children, over and above issues around space and play areas. There were rational concerns (for example dragging bags of shopping up the stairs from the car park with kids in tow) but the overarching concern was more emotional – it was it was just "not the done thing".

When asked to focus on life now (ie ignore issues around children), concerns focussed around noise and lack of space (especially outside space). There was also a sense that life could become a little claustrophobic as they lived, worked, and played in the same square mile. The majority had cars and used those to get out of the city into the countryside or to see friends and family just about every weekend.

"you move to the city centre for a lifestyle – so you can go out easily and so on. But when you have children, you can't go out anyway, so what is the point" – Young Professional

Like the students, the YPs saw city-centre living as a lifestyle choice that became inappropriate when your lifestyle changed. That said, about half of them were not entirely closed to the idea of long-term city-centre living if the obstacles could be overcome. They had no faith that the obstacles could be overcome. There was also some awareness that apartment living and city centre living with children were normal in other countries, and this knowledge softened people up to the possibility of it being a sensible place to live even with children.

While at least half of the students felt that they would probably leave Manchester to follow work (all of the Manchester borne and bred students planned to stay here, plus one other); the YPs were much less likely to move to a different city to get a different/better job.

"What we need is more security. More CCTV and police on the beat. They need to stop the young lads because these days they've got knives" Homeless person

The DEs had similar concerns to the students and YPs with two key differences:

- Cost of living was much more of an issue, and was the dominant issue for the Es. That said, the Ds did feel that they got value for money living in the town centre, in part because they socialise a lot and feel they save a lot on taxis. There was a sense that there was more temptation living in the centre, so while things are not necessarily more expensive, you spend more money as you use them more.

- While the Ds felt safe in the very centre of the town (but less so near home for those that lived on the fringes of the town centre); the Es felt much less safe in the town centre.

This issues around space, children and so on, were much less significant for the DEs than either the students or the YPs – in part because they were more settled into their lifestage than the other groups and did not expect change in their near future. That said, there was a consensus that the very centre of a city is no place to bring up children – as with the YPs and students.

Where would you move to if you were to stay in and around Manchester?

Students

The single most popular destination in all groups was Didsbury by a clear margin. Other areas people talked about spontaneously were Prestwich, Chorlton, Denton and areas into Cheshire. None of the Housing Market Renewal (HMR) areas were spontaneously mentioned. As discussed above, moving out of the city centre was felt to be a lifestyle choice, just as moving into the city centre had been. There was little sense that they could have the best of both worlds, particular once they had children.

When discussing the HMRs, three factors were key for all three groups:

- Security – this was the most significant issue by far. All the areas were felt to be deeply insecure. All the groups were divided as to whether this would ever change, and what changing this would involve doing (this is discussed in more detail below under "attitudes to regeneration".). Some places were felt to have better prospects than others: Blackley, Cheetham and perhaps Ancoats and parts of Broughton fared best).

- Proximity to the city centre – only Ancoats and New Islington was seen to offer the full benefits of city centre living, as it was the only area people felt was close enough to walk into the heart of the city. Once you had to drive, get a taxi or get on public transport, it made no real difference if a place was 3 miles out of the centre or 8 miles.

- Space – These areas were only worth considering if you could get a lot more space for your money; ideally in the form of a house with a garden.

"*I wouldn't pay £20 000 for a brand new three bedroom house with a garden in Beswick. It's just not worth the risk*" Student

For the students, the most appealing HMR area was Ancoats and New Islington. This area was felt to offer the full set of lifestyle benefits of city centre living. It was also seen to be the area most able to be regenerated as it bordered the city centre directly, so people could understand why someone might actively want to live their. The students found it much harder to understand why people might want to live in Harpurhey, Blackley or Beswick. These were felt to be essentially no-go areas. Cheetham and some very particular parts of Broughton were more attractive as they were felt to border on, or have, functioning communities with shops, bars and so on. Of these two areas, the parts of Broughton near Prestwich were the most appealing.

Across all the areas, proximity to somewhere that is generally regarded as independently desirable was key to people's understanding of the desirability of a development. Respondents who were not from Manchester originally had much less strong associations with the HMR areas, and had not heard of some of them. However, this impressionability meant that the discussion amongst more knowledgeable respondents quickly led to strong opinions that those places were not worth considering. One of the respondents who originated in Manchester was more open to some of the areas, particularly Beswick as he had lived in Ardwick previously and found it be less intimidating than he had feared.

Young Professionals

The YPs were marginally more positive about the prospects for the HMR areas, but the pattern of responses was very similar to the students. They had very mixed responses to Ancoats and New Islington. On the one hand they felt that there would be no point moving there given where they live now; they either wanted to move out of the city centre or stay where they were. On the other hand, they were more optimistic that the space they required could become available in New Islington and Ancoats than that it could in the city centre. If this space was available, and their concerns around security, public services and amenities were met, then this area was the most attractive of the HMR areas (perhaps alongside the parts of Broughton that border Prestwich). This response is deeply caveated – essentially they were saying that, if Ancoats, became like Didsbury, then it would be okay. The YPs were more able to believe that the places might change than the students or DEs, but had no interest in moving out of the city centre while able to enjoy the lifestyle, and no interest in living in the city centre once they had children and could not enjoy the lifestyle any more.

Low income

The DEs had stronger associations with the HMR areas than the other groups. They were very open to Beswick and Blackley – both of which they thought were already being developed. They were universally very negative about Harpurhey and Broughton – though on probing, it became clear that while the issues around Harpurhey tarred the whole area, there were parts of Broughton that were actually quite desirable. However, the Broughton brand was driven by its worst parts. Ancoats got a very mixed response – with the Es extremely critical of the area, while a couple of the Ds felt that its proximity to the heart of Manchester

meant that it had a good chance of being successfully redeveloped. Unlike the other groups, at least half of the DEs could imagine bringing up kids in Blackley, Cheetham, and parts of Broughton. Beswick was more worthy of consideration that in it was in the other groups. Like the other groups, the key criteria were security, space and amenities; though the DEs demanded less change than the students and YPs.

<u>Overall</u>

In all the groups, a fairly shallow understanding of the brand of an area was critical for people without much experience of an area. There was a sense that moving to Salford was a problem both in terms of what it said about someone who lived there, and to the prospects for an investment in property there – there were similar issues for Ancoats and Harpurhey in particular. Even if all the security, amenity and public service issues were addressed, the brand was still a major obstacle for virtually all the respondents.

Those who had lived in or near one of the HMR areas previously tended to be far less hostile to that area.

Attitudes to, and awareness of regeneration

"The bomb was the best thing that ever happened to Manchester. There are a lot conspiracy theories you know…" YP

There was a lot of awareness of regeneration both in the town centre and in areas like Ancoats and Ardwick. In particular, Urban Splash was widely discussed and broadly approved of. Many people thought that Ancoats had been renamed 'New Islington' and felt that this was somewhat absurd. At the same time, it was seen as symbolic of change, and a way of tackling brand issues and so improving resale value.

Amongst the YPs, students and Es there was concern about the methods of regeneration – a concern largely absent amongst the Ds. The concerns were very different for the Es as against the YPs/students.

<u>YP and student concerns</u>

The attraction of places like Prestwich and Didsbury came to a great extent from the existence of a broad range of social facilities (bars, cafes, restaurants, etc); and a sense that they are 'real' places with history and stable communities. There was some concern that regeneration was not producing equivalent places, but instead dividing communities as gated, exclusively privately rented or owned developments came to sit on streets that were the sites of significant deprivation. The concern was that two communities were being produced – the haves, and the have-nots – and that this didn't address two key issues:

- Security for the 'haves' as they walked out of their block onto the street
- Issues around deprivation for the 'have-nots'.

The majority of the YPs, but only half of the students and half the DEs felt that these issues were addressable over time. The majority felt that current expectations of new developments were somewhat inflated and people thought they would change areas quicker than was in practice possible.

There was some antipathy to developers. The YPs objected in particular to Irish developers who were seen to be packing in as many flats into a plot as possible and taking 'unfair' advantage of low interest rates in Ireland to rake in money. Many of the students had a less focussed concern about the use of money – one whispered concerns about *'globalisation'* under his breath.

<u>E concerns</u>

The Es were largely very supportive of the regeneration of Manchester. They felt it was a much better place to live now compared to five years ago, and they appreciated the increased 'buzz' of the town centre, even if their involvement was more marginal than for other people. However, they felt that they had been deliberately excluded from the bricks and mortar redevelopment and that there was a plot to move them out of the centre of the city to somewhere where they wouldn't cause offence to the new city centre residents.

<u>D concerns</u>

The Ds were probably the most positive about the regeneration of Manchester. They felt that their city-centre-living would draw to a close when they had children, but in the mean-time they felt surprised and pleased that they could afford the lifestyle they had right in the heart of a town as prosperous and big as Manchester.

There was some concern amongst a minority that crime had not actually been reduced in regenerated areas like Hulme, but instead the gangs had just been managed so as to reduce their impact on incomers – people on the estates were felt to be little better off.

Conclusion

The consensus in all the groups was that bricks and mortar was not going to be enough for the HMRs. The key issue was security, but provision of local amenities is key, as is the quality and availability of public services like schools and doctors. More nebulous, but significant concerns were around the brands of the areas; and for the YPs and students in particular, a sense of stable community.

Moving out of the city centre was just as much a lifestyle choice as moving in. People expected to choose to leave the town centre when they wanted to settle down in life. After having kids, they felt they would want to move to places that facilitated and symbolised the mature (but still aspirational) lifestyle that they wanted to bring their children up in. For the respondents, this meant moving to houses with gardens, ideally in established and stable communities like Prestwich or Didsbury. Further, once people had children, they felt there was little point living somewhere where it is easy to go out, because they did not expect to be able to go out much anyway.

The HMR areas (with the possible exception of Blackley and perhaps Cheetham) at present symbolise a different, more complex and strife-ridden lifestyle than they want – though this effect was much less strong where people had some experience of living in one of the areas. The rational benefits of bigger homes in those areas are very weak against these concerns, particular when balanced against the rational dis-benefits of more distant suburban living in general (the need to drive to work or take public transport, lack of choice of social activities within walking distance, etc). When combined with the rational dis-benefits of these particular areas as they are currently perceived (high crime, poor public services, few amenities) price becomes a very weak incentive to move there.

For the YPs (who are able to afford to live in areas like Prestwich or even Didsbury), it is hard to identify reasons that would make them choose to live in the HMR areas once they have children. It appears that attitude to risk changes markedly when people have children. For the DEs of a similar age, a couple of the HMRs were more appealing as places to bring up children.

While people are single or living with a partner, city centre living is much more appealing, and there was much interest across all the groups in staying in the town centre. That said, they could see little point in moving to any of the HMRs apart from Ancoats, because they were felt to be too far away to offer the real benefits of city centre living.

James Morris
Research Fellow, ippr

What is your postcode?

Students	M14	M1	M15	M14	M15	M15	M1	
YP	M15	M3	M1	M4	M4	M4	M15	
DE	M4	M4	?	M4	M3	M1	M3	M18

How long do have you lived where you live?

Students	1 week	2 months	1 month	2 years	2 weeks	2 months	2 years	
YP	2 years	3 years	3 years	½ year	½ year	2 weeks	1 year	
DE	2 years	½ year	1 year	2 years	½ year	2 ½ years	½ year	

Where did you live before?

Students	Fallowfield	Fallowfield	Fallowfield	Denton	Fallowfield	Fallowfield	Bury
YP	City cente	Worsley	Chorlton, Sheffield	Prestwich	Prestwich	Chorlton	London
DE	Prestwich	Dundee	Prestwich	Bury	Scunthorpe	On the streets	City centre

	Semi-detached house	Flat in purpose built block	Flat in converted block	Other
Students	3	3	1	
Young Pros		5	2	
Low income		4	2	1 (street)

	Rent from private landlord	Rent from social landlord	Rent from university	Own home and still paying mortgage	Own home and have paid mortgage	Other
Students	6					1 (rent from parents)
YP	1			5	1	
DE	4	3				1 (live on street)

	Own a car	Don't own a car
Students	5	2
YP	5	2
Low income		8

What do you think about the area you live in?

	Love living round here	Like living round here	Don't mind living round here	Don't like	Hate
Students	3		5		
YPs	4	1			
DEs	4	2			

What do you think about the street you live on?

	Love	Like	Don't mind	Don't like	Hate
Students	1	2	3	2	
YPs	1	4			
DEs	1	2	2	1	

What do you think about the home you live in?

	Love my building	Like my building	Don't mind my building	Don't like my building	Hate my building
Students	1	5	1		
Young pros	4	1			
DEs	1	3	1		

How long do you think you will live in the centre of this city? (years)

Students	2	5	1	1.5	1	1	1
Young pros	1.5	1	DK	¼	10	DK	DK
DEs	1	DK	1	As long as possible	3 ('til I marry)	weeks	

City Centre Living Focus Groups
Manchester – 2nd student group.
19 September

Respondents
The group was well recruited. There were an even mix of Manchester-area natives (from Prestwich and Bury) and non-Mancunians (from Somerset, London, Rochdale and the Wirral). The group was ethnically mixed, (with four white respondents (one of whom was half-french), two of south Asian origin, and two of Afro-Caribbean origin). Two lived in homes purchased for them by their families, while the rest rented. All respondents had lived in Manchester for at least a year. The majority of respondents were at Manchester Met (this reflects the quota on respondents brought up in the Manchester Area as Manchester Met has a higher proportion of students who fit this criterion), though there was also a medical student studying at Hope hospital, and an architecture student from Manchester University.

What do people do in the town centre?
"You can go out at night, walk home, then in the morning it's a short walk to university or work or whatever"

This group of students were absolutely typical of students we have found elsewhere. The city centre is the focus of their social life, and their social life is the focus of their life.

They felt that there is a good range of options for nights out, and a good range of restaurants. They tended not to go out in the city centre on Friday or Saturday nights as prices went up and the atmosphere in bars and clubs was less friendly than the student dominated week nights. Instead they would either stay in, or see friends in Fallowfield or other student areas. Those who worked tended to work at weekends, and so went to bed earlier on Friday and Saturday nights so they could get up for work. There was some dissatisfaction with the fact that it is hard to go out for a quiet drink after midnight, and very hard to go out at all after 2am. They were aware of changing licensing laws and, led by a respondent who had just spent 6 months in Barcelona and one who spent a lot of time in Paris, they were hoping for (but not expecting) change in the next couple of years.

A couple of the students who were brought up in Manchester tended to go out with friends who lived and worked in the city rather than with students.

"You can get a good outfit quite cheaply, or if you want to spend a bit more there's Selfridges"
They were very satisfied with shopping options in Manchester. A couple of respondents were very into their clothes and particularly liked the boutiques in the Northern Quarter. Others appreciated the range of price options – from Primark and H&M through to Selfridges and Harvey Nichols. The majority did their food shopping in Tesco or Sainsbury Metro stores. Only one respondent regularly shopped out of town – the medical student who passed a large superstore on the way to the hospital. Despite the relatively high car ownership (5 of the 8 owned a car), the others only shopped out of town occasionally. This is in part because a couple of the car-owners were Manchester natives who kept their cars out of the city centre.

None of the respondents were registered to doctors or dentists in the town centre – instead all were registered at their family homes. Two of the eight worked in retail in the city centre, while one went home to Rochdale at weekends to work there.

Why live in Manchester?

The Manchester 'natives' chose to stay in Manchester out of a desire to stay close to their families and their network of friends. They were used to living in a big city, and did not want to go somewhere smaller. A couple had considered London but felt it was too large and too expensive to deliver a good student experience.

The students who came from outside Manchester were attracted by their specific courses (Hope Hospital, a specific course in fashion buying, the architecture course) and the vibrant life of the city. The respondent from London had wanted to move away from home, but wanted somewhere that could offer a similar level of social and other opportunities.

Why live in the centre of Manchester?

"If you want to live the typical student life, you go to Fallowfield. If you want something a bit better you live in the city centre."

"I don't know why people live in Hulme. You only save £50 a month, but you'll spend some of that on bus fares and it's not a good area"

"It sounds weird, but I think the buildings are better in the centre"

Like other city-centre residents, the most significant factor was convenience; in particular for socialising. The vibrancy of city centre living was also very important. People felt that there student dominated districts like Fallowfield also offer a sense of vibrancy, but that this was less sophisticated. There was also a strong sense that the city centre is safer than Hulme and Fallowfield, though not as safe as some of the areas that respondents came from originally. The main crime people were concerned about was mugging – people felt that they were relatively unlikely to be burgled and that much of the drunken violence on the street could be avoided.

Other, less important, benefits of living in the city centre rather than other student areas included proximity to university and higher quality of buildings.

Do they plan to stay in Manchester?

The respondents were very satisfied with Manchester life, however all the students who came from outside the area expected to leave. The medical student and the fashion-buying student expected to leave to pursue job opportunities. The respondents from Rochdale and London expected to go back to the areas they came from because they wanted to go back to places they felt at home in.

The Manchester natives all felt that they would probably stay in Manchester for most of their lives, largely for the same reasons that kept them in Manchester as students – Manchester feels like home.

Do they plan to stay in the city centre?

"I was brought up in a suburb. It wasn't the countryside but I could ride my bike around. I would my child to be able to do that"

"It would be good for them [children] to live in a city to toughen them up. Some people on my course are from the countryside and they all got mugged in the first year. Talking on their phones down dark allies. You don't do that if you are brought up in a city"

"To be honest, it's a bit selfish of the parents to bring their children up in a city centre"

"I don't mean to be funny, but you want them [children] to be able to go to the shops without tramps everywhere"

"If you don't mind never knowing your neighbours then it's okay. In the city people move all the time"

The usual concerns about long-term city centre living arose. People saw it as a phase that was ideal for single life but unsuitable for family living. They felt that children would lack space both in and around the home and in parks and in the streets, that it would be noisy and chaotic, that there would be constant risk of crime, that communities would be unstable, schools poor, and so on.

There was a little more optimism amongst a couple of respondents who had spent time in Barcelona and New York. They felt that in the long term, city-parks and other facilities might be built and it just might make a difference, but that difference was for someone else, not them.

What about the HMR (Housing Market Renewal) areas?

The response to the HMR areas was in line with previous groups. Respondents from out-of-town had few associations with several of the areas (esp Gorton and Bewick). Those from the city were aware of improvements in some areas, esp Hulme, and Salford Quays (but not Salford as a whole) and to a lesser extent Ancoats.

- Salford as a whole was seen as a very unattractive place to live, largely because of crime and low environmental quality; however the Quays were seen as desirable.

- While most were very negative about Ancoats (and like the previous groups picked out a club called Sankey's as a particular den of iniquity), one saw it as an up and coming area as old buildings are refurbished.

- Having rejected living in Hulme already, the students were loathe to consider living there. That said, one was moving in that direction as his father had bought him a house there ten years ago. He was very pleased to have it (it had gone up in value by £93 000), but would not have moved there otherwise.

- Gorton and Bewick were not recognised as place names by all the Manchester natives, let alone the incomers. However, those that did recognise the names saw them as particularly un-pleasant, crime-ridden areas that do not offer the lifestyle people enjoyed in the city centre.

The only reasons people could think for living in the HMR areas were financial, and these focussed on Ancoats, Hulme and Salford. Some felt that one should get on the property ladder as soon as possible and so it was worth compromising living standards to buy in these areas earlier than would otherwise be possible – especially given the general rising trend in property prices around Manchester. However, even those that proposed this reason as sufficient to live in these areas became less sure of it as they discussed it and thought more about moving away from the convenience and security of their rented property in the city centre.

The direction of Manchester

The consensus was that Manchester had improved dramatically since the bombing. This view was held most strongly by the Manchester natives who have seen the city centre rebuilt. Those from outside Manchester also felt that the city is on the up. The arrival of the BBC was seen as a further step in the right direction.

While some had reservations about the Triangle and the Next building, overall the reaction to the architecture of new buildings was very positive. The main area of the city centre that people were concerned about was around Picadilly Gardens, but otherwise the centre was seen to be as safe as might be expected, to be attractive and to offer a good range of services.

What is your postcode?

M3	M1 6HP	M3 5AS	M1 5QF	M1 2AR	M1 5BB	M1 2AR	M1 5QF

How long do have you lived where you live?

6 Months	9 months	18 months	12 months	10 months	2 months	9 months	12 months

Where did you live before?

Prestwich then Hulme	Northern Quarter	Prestwich with parents	Fallowfield	Rochdale w\parents	Fallowfield	Prestwich w/parents	Wilmslow park

Detached house	Semi-detached house	Flat in purpose built block	Flat in converted block	Other
		7	1	

Rent from private landlord	Rent from social landlord	Rent from university	Own home and still paying mortgage	Own home and have paid mortgage	Other
3	1	2	2		

Own a car	Don't own a car
5	3

What do you think about the area you live in?

	Love living round here	Like living round here	Don't mind living round here	Don't like	Hate
Students	3	4	1		

What do you think about the street you live on?

	Love	Like	Don't mind	Don't like	Hate
Students		5	3		

What do you think about the home you live in?

	Love my building	Like my building	Don't mind my building	Don't like my building	Hate my building
Students	3	3	2		

How long do you think you will live in the centre of this city? (years)

Students	Always around Man., but maybe just outside or back at home	3yrs	3-4yrs	4-5yrs	1yr	2yrs	always	2 yrs

Executive summary of focus groups
24 Aug 2005

This summary note outlines the key similarities and differences between population segments and cities across the 9 focus groups and 4 in-depth interviews conducted. Attached are the individual notes for each city, which provide a more detailed description of the issues in each city.

Key Similarities between groups and cities
Perhaps the most striking thing about the groups was the wide-ranging consistency of opinion between different population segments and cities on a range of key issues:

- **CCL is seen as a phase**. Virtually every respondent in every group felt that it was a fantastic way to live as a young single person; and a deeply inappropriate way to live when you have a family and children. The key issues around children were:
  o Lack of space - especially play space both within a property and in terms of parks
  o A chaotic, dirty and noisy environment
  o A sense that living in flats is not 'the done thing' for families
  o Issues around convenience, especially of parking, and dealing with larger volumes of shopping
  o Issues around access to public services (especially in Manchester)

- **Children were the critical trigger for moving out of the city centre**, but there were also significant numbers of respondents in each social segment and each city, who felt that they would want a more sedate lifestyle before they had children. Areas like Lark Lane in Liverpool, the West End or Broughty Ferry in Dundee and Didsbury in Manchester were particularly attractive to these people – though only the students and YPs thought they could afford to live there.

- **The most attractive aspects of city centre living are convenience and 'the buzz'**. Convenient access to work, shops, and socialising was a very rational benefit of city centre living – it meant that people didn't have to waste time travelling and could be very spontaneous in deciding how to plan their days and weeks. The sense of 'buzz' was a more emotional benefit; people enjoyed 'being at the heart of things'. While the rational benefits of convenience were universal, the emotional benefit around 'buzz' differed from place to place. Virtually every respondent in Manchester (including Es living in temporary accommodation) had a sense of buss. It was nearly universal for people in Liverpool (it was weakest amongst some of the DEs). In Dundee, it was only really felt by people originally from very rural areas and some of the students; while many respondents thought that Dundee lacked social vibrancy.

- **There are three key issues for inner-urban fringe areas** (HMR areas in Liverpool and Manchester):

  1. **Security**. The HMR-type areas are largely ranked by possible residents in terms of perceived levels of crime and anti-social behaviour. Several areas in each city were considered to be essentially no-go areas.

  2. **'Walkability'.** Being able to walk home from a night out in a city's most vibrant areas is the defining feature of a city-centre-living lifestyle. HMRs that cannot offer this cannot compete with the city centre on the basis of offering that lifestyle.

  3. **Facilities for children.** City centre living was a lifestyle choice, and children are seen as a contradictory lifestyle choice which brings different priorities. In particular, being in walking distance of the city centre stops being seen as a particular benefit. Instead, distance is measured through the lens of time at the wheel of a car and it makes little distance if the area is a 5 minute drive or a 15 minute drive from the city centre. Inner-urban areas have to compete against suburban areas (which generally offer more child-friendly amenities and properties – bigger gardens, more parks, perceived better GPs, etc). This means that even the most attractive inner-urban areas – like Hope St – are relatively unattractive for people considering children.

- The HMR-type areas we looked at were very different one from another, but there were some **key themes around what makes an area attractive**:

  - **Housing stock**. In general, older, characterful buildings with large rooms and, ideally, outdoor space, were the most attractive sorts of properties. Several of the HMRs had such properties.
  - **Proximity to a very desirable area** with good, but relatively sedate nightlife. The most attractive HMRs were in Liverpool – either Canning and Hope St which is itself a vibrant area; or areas near Lark Lane. The West End of Dundee and Broughty Ferry had similar benefits.
  - **A sense of community**. The area needs to have working shops, public services and so on; but also benefits where people have a sense that life is not fractured and you can know your neighbours.

- **Experience of living in an HMR-type area reduced the barriers to that area.** This was not entirely universal, but was a robust pattern. People who had lived in a particular area tended to see that area as more secure than people without that experience. That said, most of these people had actively chosen to leave the areas, and were loathe to go back. Further, there was no 'halo' effect – living in one HMR area reduced fear of that area, but not of other HMR areas.

- **Bigger was rarely seen as better.** The students, DEs and most of the YPs compared their city favourably to larger cities (esp London). They all thought their city was easier to go out in, more friendly and more fun.

- **Respondents felt that their city was 'on the up'**. However, there was universal concern about deprived areas surrounding the city centres. People felt that regeneration had not helped those areas sufficiently (though there were exceptions in Liverpool and Manchester), and was too focussed on housing stock rather than people.

- Virtually everyone thought that city centre living prompted them to spend more on going out.

- There was very little tension between groups in all the cities – though there was some concern about people from outside the cities buying up property, especially in Liverpool and Manchester.

- Most of the HMR areas suffered from a brand effect over and above the rational concerns people had. Respondents were often aware that they were objecting to a place for brand reasons (for example Southsiders rejecting the North side of Liverpool), but this did little to attenuate the rejection.


Differences between cities
- While people in Liverpool and Manchester thought they lived in 'big cities', and were attracted by the diverse range of options that big city living brings; people in Dundee felt that they lived in something more like a 'large village'. While for some in Dundee this was a problem, for others it was boon – they did not want the complexity of bigger-city life.

- Half of the students and most of the YPs in Manchester assumed that a suitable job would become available in the city, and that they could happily stay in the Manchester area indefinitely from a career point of view. In Liverpool, this attitude was much less widespread and people felt more likely to have to leave Liverpool. In Dundee, people assumed that outside certain very specific industries, it would probably be necessary to leave Tayside at some point (though they might return). The low income groups had similar views about the availability of jobs, but placed less emphasis on their job.

- Mancunians were the most confident about their city. Many people from Dundee and Liverpool felt that their cities had negative images which were exaggerated but justified.

- City-centre redevelopment in Manchester was seen to be a virtually unqualified success. However in Dundee and Liverpool there were big questions over the architecture, with concerns in Liverpool about it being identikit, and in Dundee about it being outlandish.

Differences between groups

- While YPs are indifferent or slightly hostile to the presence of students in an area outside the city centre that they are considering living in; low income respondents saw students as a good thing. They felt that they made areas safer. This is in part because the YPs and the DEs were considering different sorts of areas.

- YPs were the most likely to have cars and do the bulk of their food shopping weekly in large supermarkets

- Students were the group who felt least likely to stay in the city they were living in long term, but they expected to live in the city centre the longest.

- The low income groups were the warmest to the HMR areas – especially areas they had experience of living in. However they tended to have deeply entrenched negative views about some of the areas.

- The Ds, and especially the Es, were far less likely to have actively chosen city centre living. Instead, they were often either brought up in the city centre or assigned (sometimes temporary) housing there. Those brought up in the city centre were by and large the most positive about city-centre-living and the only respondents who were warm to the idea of bringing up children in the centre. Conversely, those assigned housing later in life tended to be the most negative about city centre living.

- Students were much more likely to expect to leave the city and its surroundings in the near future. The other groups by and large doubted they would stay in the centre for a long time, but did expect to stay near the city. This was clouded slightly in Dundee, where a significant proportion in all groups expected to leave Dundee soon. People expecting to leave cities, often thought that they would come back at some point.

- The DEs, and to a lesser extent the students, tended to live in parts of the city centre where they were concerned about crime; while the YPs didn't. The very centre of the cities was seen to be fairly safe, particularly in Manchester and Liverpool.
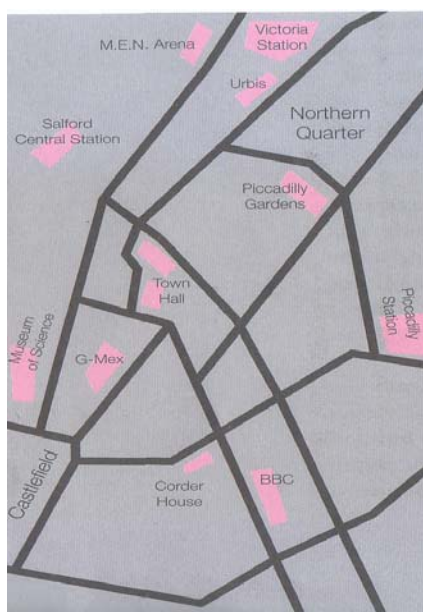
Study area (Nathan & Urwin, 2005)

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