Spaces of demarginalisation: Processes, policy and politics in addressing territorial stigma in Middlehaven, Middlesbrough

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Abstract

Middlehaven, Middlesbrough, is the site of a major regeneration project led by the local authority. The regeneration project involves attempts to transform the site from a territorially stigmatised space – known locally as ‘Over the Border’ – into a digital and creative hub. Drawing upon current understandings of marginality and the mobilisation of territorial stigma in the justification of regeneration projects, this thesis sets out to consider how demarginalisation is manifested in process and policy in Middlesbrough. Using a mixed-methods approach, this research illustrates how Middlehaven has been stigmatised as 'Over the Border', and how this stigma is maintained through use of the label in local media, documents, and everyday conversation. This thesis argues that the 'Over the Border' stigma has a dual role in the regeneration: The territorial stigma is framed as an obstacle to growth, and thereby used as a justification for demolition of a stigmatised estate in the Middlehaven area via a discourse of necessity and security, while the stigma simultaneously plays a key role in the positioning of the site as a space ripe for urban pioneering owing to the construction of the space as a 'wilderness'. The governance of Middlesbrough in the context of urban regeneration is examined, and it is argued that an entrepreneurial approach which attempts to minimise risk for investors while encouraging calculated risk-taking within the council is central to the regeneration strategy. It is argued that creativity is an important factor in the regeneration of Middlehaven, both in that the project aims foster a hub of creative and digital industry in the area, and also in the approaches to governance of the site. By focusing on the space affected by territorial stigma in Middlehaven, this thesis provides a detailed analysis of the tactics employed to remove the constraints of stigma from space.

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List of Figures, Tables and Boxes

List of Abbreviations

CPO – Compulsory Purchase Order

HCA – Homes and Communities Agency

LEP – Local Enterprise Partnership

RDA – Regional Development Agency

TDC – Teesside Development Corporation

TVCA – Tees Valley Combined Authority

UDC – Urban Development Corporation

Statement of Copyright

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1. Introduction

1.1. Middlehaven

On the south bank of the River Tees, where the river meanders in a large, wide arc, a large-scale regeneration scheme driven by the local authority is underway in the area which has come to be called Middlehaven. The Middlehaven area is located to the immediate north of Middlesbrough's main shopping streets in the town centre, and has already seen around £200 million of investment (Invest in Middlesbrough, 2019). However, the area earmarked for regeneration has a history of being perceived in a negative light by the general public. It is such that it is known by many people in the local area as 'Over the Border', a label which is often used in a somewhat derogatory manner, and so the Middlehaven regeneration project aims, through a range of planned and already existing developments, to improve both the physicality of the area and its image in public consciousness. Just a short walk from the town centre, a large triangular area planted with grass and saplings, and broken up by zig-zagging paths (see Figure 1), tapers purposefully toward the water's edge, where the Transporter Bridge, painted in a rich cobalt blue, straddles the river. This is the new urban park – part of Middlesbrough Council's attempt to regenerate and demarginalise Middlehaven by altering public perceptions of the area and producing a space amenable to private sector investment (Middlesbrough Council and HCA, 2012).

The park exemplifies the use of space in the projection of a shiny new image for the area, and is just one of a number of pathways and 'walks' (outlined in the Council's Middlehaven Development Framework) which connect Middlehaven with the rest of Middlesbrough via pedestrian routes. These are intended to reduce the sense of spatial isolation, and lead the eye to some of Middlesbrough's landmarks, including the Transporter Bridge itself (Middlesbrough Council and Homes and Communities Agency (Middlesbrough Council and HCA), 2012). This use of space as a means of creating place will be examined throughout this thesis, but it also raises questions with regard to the need to remake place through a re-rendering of space. Drawing on Wacquant's (1996a; 2007; 2008) theory of advanced marginality and territorial stigmatisation in conjunction with Florida's (2002; 2007) widely critiqued (see Leslie, 2005; Peck, 2005) creative class theory, here I will set out to analyse the ways in which the stigma of place paves the way for regeneration, and will consider the ways in which

demarginalisation can occur, or — importantly for an area marred by negative perceptions — be seen to be occurring.

Figure 1. A photograph of the urban park in Middlehaven looking towards the Transporter Bridge, taken during fieldwork in 2018.

The Middlehaven regeneration area is situated between the River Tees to the North and the elevated A66 dual carriageway and a railway line to the South. The area, shown in the satellite image in Figure 2, incorporates former industrial land, as well as a dock, and the site of the former St Hilda's housing estate, which bears the brunt of the territorial stigma of the area. While it is important to avoid taking boundaries for granted in light of the implications of the 'Over the Border' label, and while care will be taken in the discussion presented in this thesis to denaturalise this stigma, it remains important here to identify the boundaries of the regeneration site. Indeed, these boundaries are officially defined and have real implications for the ways in which the regeneration proceeds in terms of the economic and political decisions which shape the transformation of the site. This will be discussed in detail later in the thesis. Figure 2 indicates the locations of most major elements of Middlehaven which are referred to throughout this thesis, and therefore provides a sufficient orientation to the location of the study area here. Figure 3 shows the location of Middlesbrough and Teesside more broadly in relation to the rest of the UK.

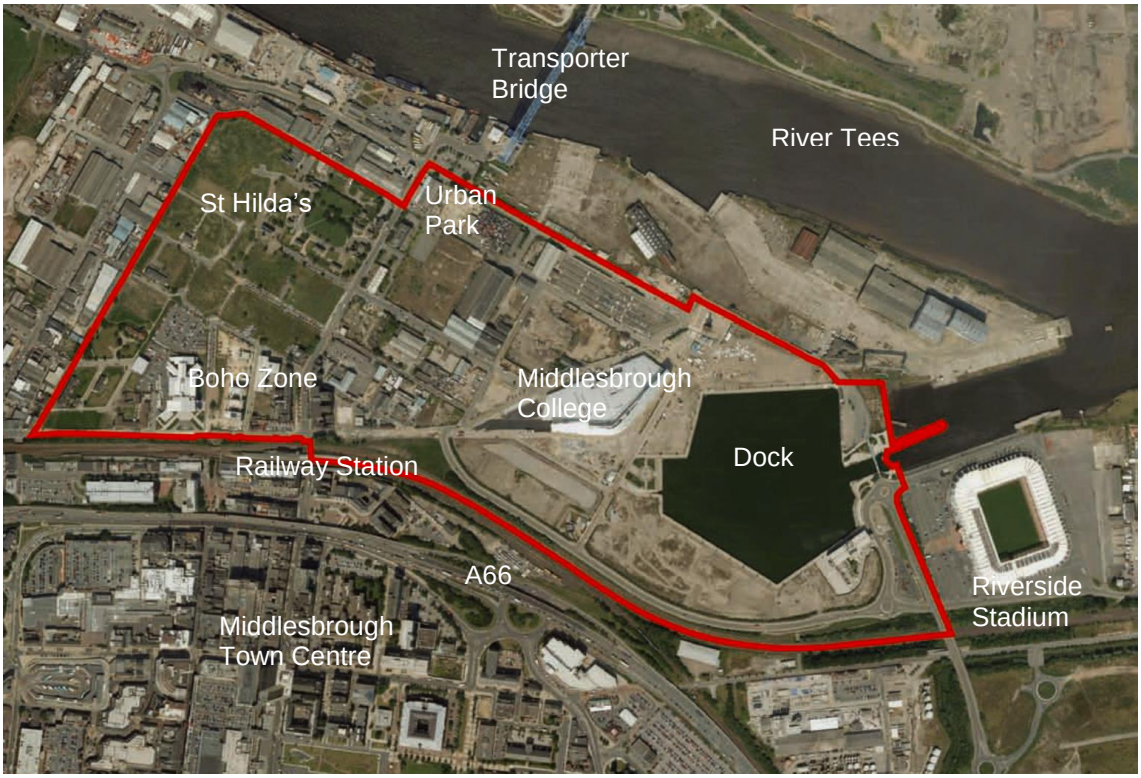


Figure 2. A satellite image showing the boundaries of the Middlehaven regeneration area, as defined in the Middlehaven Development Framework. Key areas and landmarks are labelled. Adapted from: Middlesbrough Council and HCA (2012).

Figure 3. A map showing the location of Teesside. A larger-scale map of Teesside showing the local authority areas (including Middlesbrough) which form the Tees Valley Combined Authority is inset. Source: Tees Valley Combined Authority (n.d.).

In order to access the area from Middlesbrough town centre, pedestrians and vehicles alike must cross under the imposing infrastructures of rail and road, or else drive around the perimeter and access from a point further away from the town centre. This line of steel and tarmac forms the 'border' between the town centre and the Middlehaven area, known to local people as 'Over the Border' (Gazette, 2010a). It is the embodied act of crossing this so-called border which repeatedly invokes in public consciousness the 'Over the Border' label. By stepping beneath the railway bridge and emerging on the other side of it, people transport themselves 'over' the threshold between Middlesbrough town centre, and a space which is immediately recognizable as not the town centre; a space of transition which resonates with Farley and Symmons' (2011) understanding of 'edgelands'. In this thesis, I will examine the implications of this understanding of Middlehaven as 'Over the Border' with reference to Wacquant's (2008) conceptualisation of territorial stigma, and interrogate the ways in which attempts are made to shed the territorial stigma from the area in relation to this label.

The 'Over the Border' label is one which conjures myriad negative connotations associated with it, which reinforce the territorial stigma attached to Middlehaven every time the label is uttered, but also one which is routinely used in everyday conversation, and which is given as directions to help people find their destination. As Kallin and Slater (2014) assert, regeneration and territorial stigma are often closely linked, with regeneration following a prolonged process of active and deliberate stigmatisation (which in the case studied by Kallin and Slater (2014) was performed by the state). Indeed, according to Wilson (2004), it is such disparaging terms which "prime sites and people for neoliberal redoing. Before spaces and people can be accepted as objects for restructuring, it is asserted, they must be symbolically readied (i.e., stigmatized)." (Wilson, 2004: 773). In this thesis, then, the complexities of territorial stigma in Middlehaven will be discussed in relation to the theoretical framework outlined in the literature review, and given the importance of historical-geographical context for understanding urban governance in specific places (see Peck, 2017), the way in which this stigma has been constructed and maintained over time will be assessed, along with the implications this has had for the area.

Indeed, the St Hilda's area has long been stigmatised, to the extent that Middlehaven is still known as a 'no-go area' by many local people. Following claims

that the St Hilda's area was an obstacle to redevelopment of the area (see discussion in chapter 8.1), the houses were demolished and the small community living there displaced. The area which was cleared of housing is mostly now grassland, with just a few potholed roads radiating from the boarded-up Old Town Hall (see Figure 4), and is used primarily as a car parking area by professionals working in other areas of Middlehaven or Middlesbrough. At the time of writing, plans exist to expand the Boho Zone into this area (Middlesbrough Council, 2019).

Figure 4. A photograph of the Old Town Hall in the St Hilda's area of Middlehaven, taken during field work in 2017. The sign above the doors to the left reads "Under the Clock Community Centre", though the building is not in use.

The Boho Zone is the name given to an area of Middlehaven which has been touted as a digital hub, and more generally as a centre of innovation and creativity (Middlesbrough Council, 2018). The Boho Zone is a mass of brightly cladded buildings housing digital start-up companies and a few live-work units, along with a number of refurbished historic buildings converted for similar uses (see Figure 5). The area is also supported by DigitalCity, an initiative set up by Teesside University to support the creation of digital businesses on Teesside (Teesside University, 2018). Throughout Middlehaven, this creative ethos is reflected in the architecture of some of the buildings which - though limited in number owing to financial constraints and difficulties in attracting investors - draw inspiration from the bright and somewhat outlandish designs which architect Will Alsop (2004a) set out in a masterplan for the site around fifteen years ago. This attempt to attract what Florida (2007) calls creative capital, and the

associated ‘creative-class’, has emerged against a backdrop of decline of much of the heavy industry on which Middlesbrough’s economy was built.

Figure 5. Photographs of buildings in the Boho Zone. Boho 5 (top) is purpose built, while Boho 4 (bottom) occupies the restored Gibson House.

1.2. Historical Context of Regeneration in Middlesbrough

Consideration of the broader historical economic context of Middlesbrough makes clear the impetus behind the regeneration of Middlehaven at this time. The steel industry has suffered a notable decline in Teesside, having once been central to the local economy (Warren, 2018). Middlesbrough was first established as a port town in the early 1800s, and its location meant that it had relatively easy access to iron ore from the Cleveland Hills and coal from Durham, and so it followed that the town began to manufacture iron and steel, and thus experienced rapid growth (Pailor, 2002). This growth continued for much of the twentieth century, with the exception of a depression following the Wall Street Crash in 1929 (Beynon et al., 1989). During this period, Teesside, along with much of the North, suffered industrial decline and associated high levels of unemployment. It was this aspect of life on Teesside which stood out to JB Priestly during his visit to Stockton in 1933, whereupon he witnessed the effects of unemployment in "depressed and defeated fellows, sagging and slouching and going grey in their very cheeks" (Priestly, 1934, quoted in Beynon et al., 1989).

The effects of the recession in the late 1920s and early 1930s was felt across the UK, and it was such that national government implemented a series of regional policies designed to relieve economic hardship, which was largely concentrated in the North. The 1928 Industrial Transference Act encouraged the relocation of unemployed workers from areas suffering industrial decline to more prosperous areas in the South and South East (Martin, 1988). This approach was replaced in 1934 with the Special Areas Act, which instead aimed to relieve struggling industrial areas through a series of grants and support aimed at boosting industrial employment in those areas (Martin et al., 2016). Industry on Teesside did recover from this economic downturn, and in the post-WWII period was boosted by the opening of a new Imperial Chemicals Industries (ICI) chemical plant at Wilton, to the east of Middlesbrough (Beynon et al., 1989). This coincided with the introduction of the 1945 Distribution of Industry Act, which placed limitations on industry in the South East with a view to promoting growth elsewhere in the UK (Martin et al, 2016). It is therefore in the context of national support for regional industries that Teesside's industrial economy survived throughout the mid twentieth century. Indeed, as Martin (1988: 413) asserts, "markets do not operate in a vacuum, but are shaped and mediated by a range of institutional and policy structures".

Between 1945 and the late 1960s, growth in manufacturing across the UK was strong, and unemployment levels generally low. However, much of this growth was concentrated in the South East, and unemployment rates in peripheral industrial areas measured twice that of the South and East (Martin, 1988). Meanwhile, Teesside's economy relied largely on the fates of a few major corporations, including ICI and Dorman Long, which was incorporated into the British Steel Corporation (BSC) during periods of nationalisation in 1951, and again in 1967 (Beynon et al., 1989). This is, in part, due to the deliberate failure to attract other industries to the North-East during the late 1940s and the 1950s, in order to ensure that coal mines and other established local industries would not have to compete with new industries for already scarce labour (Massey, 1995; Beynon et al., 1989). And while growth in Northern industries was not at the same levels as those in the South, there was optimism on Teesside in this regard. Even in 1969, when a land-use plan known as the Teesplan was produced, the area's population and industry were forecast to experience continued growth, with an expected 120,000 new jobs by 1991 (Sadler, 1990).

However, this plan did not account for the changes in the global economy, nor in the national political climate, in which policies became increasingly neoliberal in nature, and Teesside's steel industry declined rapidly from the late 1970s onwards. The role of the state cannot be overlooked in the decline of Middlesbrough's industry, which must itself be situated in its broader economic and political context. A North-South divide, understood to refer to the inequalities between the South East of England and the rest of the UK (Lewis and Townsend, 1989), is well documented, and notably widened during the early 1980s following the introduction of a range of government policies designed to respond to the economic downturn of that era (Martin, 1988). The dominance of London in the UK economy is centuries old, given that London was established as an internationally important financial centre as early as the 1700s, owing to demands of government and businesses based in the capital for financial and banking services (ibid.). Given Britain's imperial history, and the importance of its (mainly Southern-based) financial services, the financial sector in the UK has typically focussed investments in international projects, rather than domestic industries (Cunningham and Savage, 2015). As Massey (1995) argues, this has meant that there has long been a separation between the financial sector and the domestic industrial economy in the UK, with the financial sector able to perform well even in spite of industrial decline. This

separation is of particular relevance in light of the approaches taken to economic recovery following the recession of the early 1980s.

As Hudson and Williams (1989) demonstrate, economic policy in this era was intended to ensure the continued international relevance of the UK economy, and as such focused on expanding its already competitive financial sector (predominantly based in the South), at the expense of (largely Northern) manufacturing industries. The ideological pursuit of 'freedom' in the Thatcher years saw the privatisation of various industries, including BSC, which was floated on the stock market in 1988 (Beynon et al., 1994). This was both intended to increase market freedom, and to reduce taxes, since the understanding of freedom held by Thatcher's government included "freedom to spend one's money as one wishes, that is, free from government intervention" (16), such that taxes to fund welfare provision were understood as detrimental to personal freedom (Hudson and Williams, 1989). In addition to this privatisation, which was justified through the notion that markets would deliver services and products more efficiently than government, the 1980s saw vast regional inequalities in public spending. Indeed, while regional aid was distributed to those areas deemed to be struggling with industrial decline, in 1989, the North, Scotland and Wales still received only one third of the amount spent in the South East. Indeed, the South East received approximately half of the defence budget in that year, which was seven times the total allocated for regional aid (Martin et al., 2016). It is such that decline in northern industries, including on Teesside, was not adequately addressed by national policy.

It follows that despite BSC's 1973 forecast that demand for steel would continue to grow at an annual rate of 4-5%, productivity declined significantly (Beynon et al., 1989). This is in part due to a reduction in domestic demand for steel in other declining industries, such as ship-building and car manufacture (Beynon et al., 1994). Following privatisation, BSC's profits plummeted from £733m in 1989/90 to £254m the following year, and to £55m in the year after that (ibid.), and employment in the steel industry on Teesside fell by 22,000 from 1971 to the late 80s. This period also saw labour strife in the steel industry, including the three month national strike which occurred at the beginning of 1980 as part of a pay dispute (McGuire, 2017). Heightened global competition and moves toward enhanced efficiencies – which saw the closure of Teesside blast furnaces in order to focus on increased outputs at Redcar – during the tenure of a political administration which believed in the freedom of market forces thus resulted in major industrial decline on Teesside (Warren, 2018).

However, despite this well documented decline of many of its major industries, to refer to Middlesbrough simply as a post-industrial town would be to overlook both its history, and some key contributions to the local economy. Historically, this is evident in the fact that high levels of investment throughout much of the twentieth century from then world-leading companies such as ICI and BSC, along with the area's high levels of productivity in the 1970s which saw Cleveland ranked as the county with the fourth highest GDP per capita in the UK in 1977, put Teesside at odds with much of the post-industrial North (Beynon et al., 1994). It is this that led Beynon et al. (1994: 3) to argue that "whilst Teesside might be *in* the North, it was most certainly not *of* the North, and it would be dangerous and wrong to regard it as somehow typical of some Northern malaise" (emphasis in original).

More recently, there are developments emerging in Teesside that counter the post-industrial narrative attached to many Northern towns. For instance, the planned expansion of Teesside Advanced Manufacturing Park just outside of Middlehaven, which is set to contribute to the renewable energy industry as well as other engineering and manufacturing industries (Invest in Middlesbrough, 2018), represents part of the adaptation of Middlesbrough's industrial sector to changing global demands. Yet while developments of this sort may be seen as indicating a resurgence of manufacturing industries on Teesside, there is an appreciation within Middlesbrough Council that in order to 'keep up' with intensifying interurban competition, and to continue to provide citizens with services in a difficult political climate in which local authority budgets are continually tightened, it is necessary to diversify the local economy. The knowledge economy is seen as integral to such a move. It is such that while this thesis aims to consider the approaches to governance taken in Middlesbrough in this context, Middlehaven as a digital hub stands out as a space which deserves particular attention.

As noted in the preceding section, despite its close proximity to Middlesbrough town centre, Middlehaven has for many years been considered in local imaginations to be a peripheral part of the town owing both to the physical barriers formed by the road and railway line and to the territorial stigma which afflicts the area. However, this has not always been the case. The St Hilda's area of Middlehaven, which is the area most affected by the 'Over the Border' stigma, and which has been subject to demolition as part of the regeneration project, is the oldest part of modern Middlesbrough. While records show that a settlement by the name of 'Mydilsburgh' existed in the area even in the Saxon era – so called because it was a midway point on a route taken by pilgrims

between Durham and Whitby (Warren, 2018) – the town did not begin to develop as an urban settlement until the 1800s. It was in Middlehaven in 1829 that Joseph Pease laid the foundations of Middlesbrough as a port town, and in 1841 that Henry Bolckow and John Vaughan established Middlesbrough's reputation as a town of steel and iron-making (Sadler, 1990). As the UK's steel industry began to decline, and the dock closed, the St Hilda's area suffered depopulation and increasing levels of dereliction. As one former resident attests, St Hilda's and its residents were afflicted with a territorial stigma:

> "We had, it was a stigma which was 'Over the Border'. You know, as soon as you put your postcode down, TS2, to an employer, it was looked at negatively. It was virtually put on a scrap heap. As I said earlier, we would target some industries to make money, to thieve off them, but them employers then wouldn't touch us. Yet they used our facilities, our services. So we used to look negatively at those, but they also looked negatively at us. It was something that wasn't quite right. We were blamed for having a lot of prostitutes. A lot of prostitutes that operated in that area didn't actually come from St Hilda's. They came from out of the area, in. And that was a lot of the culture that was going on, but we were taking the blame and the flak for the problem that was in St Hilda's." – Steve, former St Hilda's resident (interview provided by Savita Sathe)

It is such that 'Over the Border' is understood by many people in the local area as "the wrong side of the tracks" (Amin et al., 2002: 56). It is worth noting that Steve believes that the community in St Hilda's changed in the 1980s, which coincides with Middlesbrough's late twentieth century industrial downturn:

> "I noticed a big change in the early 80s. It would seem to be when a drugs culture started to kick in in St Hilda's. The St Hilda's that I knew, it was run by the older people. And they commanded respect, and they got respect from people... But then it started to change." – Steve, former St Hilda's resident (interview provided by Savita Sathe)

As such, the decline of the industries which St Hilda's was built on appears to have had a major impact on the local community. As Peck (1996) highlights, local labour markets are often located within a specific place for extended periods of time, enabling local amenities and institutions (such as community groups and schools) to form. "Once established, these outlive individual participants to benefit, and be sustained by, generations of workers. The result is a fabric of distinctive, lasting local communities and cultures woven into the landscapes of labour" (Storper and Walker,

1989, quoted in Peck, 1996: 12). It follows, then, that changes to the local landscape of labour associated with deindustrialisation, and the entailed job losses, result in difficulties in maintaining the beneficial local amenities and institutions previously sustained by workers, and hence cause changes within affected local communities.

As Steve, the son of a former dock worker, remembers, "life did change" following his father's redundancy from the dock shortly before its closure; and he remembers seeing "the difference in him when he stopped, because he'd lost all that social that he had with his fellow colleagues, and the getting up and going on shifts and things." It appears, then, that the winding down of Teesside's industries preceded the growth of the territorial stigma which persists today in Middlehaven. Indeed, Wacquant (2016) argues that "the emerging regime of marginality in the city… is *fed by the fragmentation of wage labour"* (1082, emphasis in original): Where once working class populations could find steady full time industrial work, the decline of such industries has led to the emergence of a 'post-industrial precariat' which faces reduced employment opportunities, which are themselves often poor in terms of pay, career development, and reliability of hours.

However, the roots of St Hilda's 'Over the Border' label can be traced much further back than this: Iron-foundry and dock workers in early Middlesbrough lived in houses on damp reclaimed marshland (Brown, 2009). As Gordon (2008) asserts, since the onset of the industrial revolution, when a high proportion of migrants from Wales, Ireland and South West England settled in Middlesbrough to work in the iron and steel industries, living conditions for the predominantly working class population were poor. It is such that in 1900, 600 homes in St Hilda's were identified as suitable for demolition. Indeed, the area has faced repeated 'slum clearances' and regenerations since then (ibid.). The cyclical nature of these 'regeneration' attempts in Middlehaven will be considered in the analysis sections of this thesis, and the shifting discourses surrounding them assessed as the justifications for demolition in Middlesbrough are interrogated.

The stigma attached to Middlehaven is therefore well ingrained in the history of the area, and it is such that overcoming this stigma (through improving public perceptions and crafting a positive image for the area) is considered necessary for the success of the regeneration scheme, according to the Middlehaven Development Framework (Middlesbrough Council and HCA, 2012). Indeed, drawing on Leslie's (2005) assertion

of the importance of the symbolic economy in urban boosterism following the decline of local manufacturing industries, this thesis will pay due attention to the area's image and the attempts made through the course of the regeneration scheme to tackle the stigma associated with the area. It will also consider in detail exactly what image is being sold to investors in Middlehaven, and how such an image is actively manufactured or constructed.

1.3. Justifications for Research and Research Questions

I was born in Middlesbrough, and grew up in Stockton-on-Tees, and so have been familiar with Middlesbrough for as long as I can remember, and have visited the town centre frequently throughout my life. I have always considered Middlesbrough's town centre to be the main shopping destination in Teesside, and have visited it far more often than any other town centre in the area, despite living approximately the same distance away from both Stockton and Middlesbrough town centres. It is perhaps surprising, then, that until I began conducting research in Middlehaven for my undergraduate dissertation in 2015, I had never been there, and had only a vague idea of what was actually there. I had always admired the Transporter Bridge from a distance, but the A19 Tees flyover meant that I had never had any real need to use it, and so I never did. I had some awareness of the Middlesbrough Football Club being somewhere near the river in that part of the town, it being called the Riverside Stadium, but never had the inclination to see it for myself. And so whenever I visited Middlesbrough town centre prior to 2015, I never went further north than the railway line or A66 road which separate the centre from Middlehaven, and strangely never really thought about what lay beyond those infrastructures. Perhaps this is understandable, given that my parents and grandparents were familiar with the area's reputation as a place rife with criminal activity. However, this lack of awareness highlights the marginality of the Middlehaven area both as an area which is stigmatised, and therefore thought of in a negative light by many; or perhaps simply not thought of at all.

As Wacquant (2008) notes, research and the language used within academia and the media are not neutral nor merely descriptive, but can actively work to symbolically construct the very things they purport to be describing, or at the very least contribute to a symbolic economy which affects public perceptions. Thus, it makes sense that in the context of the circulation of the label 'Over the Border' in both everyday conversation and in the local media, the Middlehaven area, and particularly the area formerly known as St Hilda's, has historically been viewed negatively by many local people. Additionally, this considered, it is no surprise that Middlesbrough itself has for many years been battling an image problem: On the evening of Monday 12th September 2016, ITV's Tyne Tees News ran a headlining segment which fervently declared that Middlesbrough is the worst place in the UK to be a girl. Shocking statistics of Middlesbrough's apparently high teenage pregnancy rates and a life expectancy which leaves something to be desired flashed across the screen before a spokesperson for Plan

International UK — the charity which carried out the research — asserted that the purpose of the report was not to single out particular places as being the worst, but to highlight the need to tackle gender inequality.

But Plan International UK's announcement was not the first damning report to cast its very public shadow over Middlesbrough: In 2007, Channel 4's 'Location, Location, Location' named Middlesbrough as the worst place to live in the UK, and was cleared by Ofcom — who was asked to investigate the claims by Middlesbrough's then Mayor Ray Mallon — of making remarks unfair to the Middlesbrough community. Website ilivehere.co.uk (2015), which uses readers' votes to come up with "our definitive Top 10 of the worst god-awful hell holes in England", ranked Middlesbrough as number 2, describing it as "a bit like Newcastle but without the style and sophistication, imagine that!" Tongue in cheek or not, there is no way of telling who has voted Middlesbrough into this position, or whether they have actually even been to Middlesbrough. It is more than plausible that perceptions of Middlesbrough in the public eye, as influenced by the mass media, may have resulted in this ranking, which itself perpetuates the stigmatisation of Middlesbrough from the outside.

Indeed, this relates to the way in which particular locales, usually on the scale of parts of a city, such as social housing estates, are stigmatised such that they come to be viewed as spaces where (often morally coded) urban ills concentrate (Hancock and Mooney, 2013), which in turn removes the burden of such ills from the wider urban imaginary. A clear example of this is the routine labelling of Paris's Quatre mille as "the garbage can of Paris" (Wacquant, 1996b: 238), as this invokes the notion that the rest of Paris is free from the negative connotations 'dumped' in Quatre mille. It is plausible that this same phenomenon may occur on a wider scale, such that Middlesbrough, and other non-major urban centres in the UK, become scapegoats for regional or even national problems.

Thus, Middlehaven, the site of Middlesbrough's flagship regeneration project, is afflicted by a territorial stigma which is doubled by the fact that it is the stigmatised place of a town already the subject of negative media coverage and associated public perceptions. In considering the historical stigma which the Middlehaven area has experienced, it is therefore important to also explore the ways in which this localised image is situated with regards to the positioning of Middlesbrough as a whole in public consciousness. Indeed, interrogation of the processes and practices of demarginalisation

at the scale of Middlehaven must also take account of how these processes work in relation to the wider Middlesbrough and Teesside area. With these considerations in mind, this thesis addresses the issue of how Middlehaven has come to be stigmatised, and how regeneration is subsequently justified by various groups and organisations involved in the area's governance. And given the way in which attempts are being made (as indicated previously) to remake place in Middlehaven, transforming it from a territorially stigmatised space to a 'designer landscape' (Alsop, 2004a), this thesis considers in depth the (spatial and socio-political) processes which accompany this transformation in order to reveal the form(s) which approaches to demarginalisation take in Middlehaven, along with the associated approaches to local governance involved in this transformation.

While much attention has been afforded in the social sciences literature to the processes of marginalisation and the phenomenon of marginality, some of which will be discussed in the literature review to follow, there has been relatively little work conducted focusing on how such spaces can be 'demarginalised', and on the processes and organisational structures which determine the paths forged toward demarginalisation. It is also notable that Middlesbrough has not been paid a great deal of attention in the urban geography literature, despite its position as a fairly major urban centre in the North East of England. This study therefore proposes to address these gaps in the literature in the context of Middlesbrough, with a particular focus on the regeneration of Middlehaven, and takes the following research questions as a starting point to this end.

1. What are the origins of the 'Over the Border' label in Middlehaven?

This thesis engages with the concept of territorial stigma, particularly in relation to the construction of Middlehaven as 'Over the Border', and so it is important to interrogate what forms this stigma may take in Middlehaven. By using historical testimony (given in interviews, and available in secondary data sources) and documentation to trace the origins of the stigmatising 'Over the Border' label which has long been used to disparage the space of Middlehaven, I aim to denaturalise the stigma, and avoid taking its existence for granted.

2. What is the role of creativity in the Middlehaven regeneration scheme?

Given the focus on the appearance of the redeveloped landscape of Middlehaven in planning documents (including, among others, the 2004 Alsop Masterplan), as well as the creative nature of many of the start-up businesses located in the Boho Zone of Middlehaven, this question considers the importance of creativity to the regeneration project. In asking what role creativity might play, this question also necessitates consideration of what 'creativity' itself means to the various actors involved in the delivery of regeneration. Given the displacement of the population of St Hilda's and some businesses in the area which have occurred since the onset of redevelopment, and the so-called 'designer landscape' (Alsop, 2004a) which is a key part of the initial plans for the area, this research project also seeks to consider the relationship between creativity and marginality in Middlehaven.

3. To what extent is the regeneration of Middlehaven contingent on the production or mobilisation of a territorial stigma?

This research considers how and by whom territorial stigma is produced and mobilised in various ways to both justify the regeneration project (and its associated impacts), and to market the area to so-called 'urban pioneers' understood to be seeking an 'authentic' or 'different' experience. The extent to which these so-called 'pioneers' actually fit this characterisation will also be interrogated. This question is aimed toward reaching an understanding of whether regeneration in Middlehaven happens because of, in spite of, or regardless of territorial stigma (or anywhere in-between). In seeking to answer this question, the relationship between regeneration and territorial stigma will be analysed closely, and the implications of territorial stigma for the Middlehaven redevelopment project considered. Indeed, this question is of importance for exploring the justifications behind the regeneration scheme, as well as for revealing the conditions of urban change in the local area.

4. What does it mean to be positioned on the margins of regeneration in Middlehaven?

While quantitative studies in other urban areas have used GIS to map the margins of gentrification (Parker and Pascual, 2002), this is a question which qualitative studies have tended to overlook. Answering this question will involve consideration of the way in which particular land uses and population groups are marginalised in the planning process, of the issuing of Compulsory Purchase Orders (CPOs) and other means of reducing possibilities of survival of uses which are do not fit with the Council's vision for the area, and of the implications for businesses of existing on the periphery of a major redevelopment scheme. Indeed, as Cheng and Fotheringham (2013) reveal in a quantitative study of the Ireland/Northern Ireland border, the effects of the presence of the border are tangible (on rates of employment either side of the border, for instance). The location of borders has been shown, therefore, to matter for the outcomes for those people and places surrounding such a border. The margins of gentrification are understood here in both a physical sense (taking into account the locations of the boundaries of the regeneration site as set out in the Middlehaven Development Framework), and in a social sense (in alignment with Wacquant's understanding of marginality and stigma). With this in mind, the research will also consider how marginality is manifested within Middlehaven as it undergoes a process of 'demarginalisation'. Undoubtedly, what it means to be positioned on the margins of gentrification differs for different groups and individuals, and as such this thesis will seek to recognise difference in the experience of marginality within the same space.

5. How (and to what ends) does urban power operate in the governance of Middlehaven?

This thesis aims to ask who governs in Middlehaven, and how urban power operates in such a setting. In seeking to establish how the governance of Middlehaven can be characterised, this research project will consider the adequacy of the various concepts employed in current understandings of urban governance. Given the serious implications of regeneration in Middlesbrough for many people both directly and

indirectly affected by changes to the space (for instance, those whose homes have been demolished in the name of regeneration), it is of critical importance to consider in depth how power operates in the town, and how such major decisions are made and justified. Also of importance here is the extent to which the governance of Middlehaven is oriented toward demarginalisation, and if indeed this is the case, how demarginalisation itself is understood by those in a position to deliver it.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

Having introduced the general theme of the research and the questions which this document sets out to address above, this thesis sets out in Chapter 2 to present a review of relevant literatures which are drawn upon in the analysis included in this thesis. It is useful to begin a study of demarginalisation with an understanding of what it means to be marginalised, and the literature review will therefore consider the ways in which the concept of 'marginality' has been applied in the social sciences. Since this study is focused on demarginalisation in the context of the regeneration of Middlehaven, the literature review will pay particular attention to conceptualisations of marginality in relation to gentrification, though since marginality encompasses a broad range of ideas, the discussion will not be limited to gentrification. While the concept of marginality is deployed frequently in the social sciences literature, Lancione (2016) asserts that it remains often ambiguous and intangible. In the literature review section of this document, then, I will attempt to outline current academic thought on the concept of marginality in order to provide a framework for thinking through demarginalisation — after all, without intending to resort to a simplistic dualistic approach which pits opposites against each other, it is impossible to make any claims about demarginalisation without considering what it is that is being 'undone' in this process.

This is not to say that demarginalisation is the simple opposite of marginalisation: Wacquant (2008) goes to great lengths in explaining that marginality is a heterogeneous urban condition, owing to the fact that 'marginalisation' is a term which encompasses an array of structurally embedded processes which vary greatly depending on the context (on a range of scales from international to local, and across time), and so it follows that demarginalisation ought also to vary greatly in terms of process and politics contingent on the local context. Indeed, following Lancione's (2016) assertion that it can be useful to not have a clear definition of the concept of marginality when exploring life at the margins so as to avoid excluding *a priori* certain ideas which may emerge as salient, I aim in the literature review not to concretely define marginality, but to outline an understanding of the concept in which a discussion of demarginalisation may be grounded later in the thesis. In doing so, I will set out a framework for understanding the issues explored throughout the thesis without prescriptively defining the precise mechanisms of the process(es) of demarginalisation. This framework can therefore be subsequently useful for drawing conclusions regarding

marginality and demarginalisation which take account of the specific context of Middlesbrough, and of Middlehaven.

The literature review is followed by a reflection on the methodology (Chapter 3) used for collecting the data presented in this thesis. This takes the form of a discussion of interviews, document analysis, ethnographic walking, and social network mapping. Each method is outlined briefly and put into context, with a discussion on how it was used as part of this research. The methodology section also includes reflection on how each method worked (or at some stages didn't quite work) in practice during the course of the collection of the data presented in this thesis.

The analysis undertaken during the course of the research project is then presented in five main analytical chapters, each split into subsections. The first chapter of analysis (Chapter 4), 'Overcoming Territorial Stigma: From No-Go Area to Designer Playground?', considers how territorial stigma has been produced and maintained in Middlehaven, and grounds the process of stigmatisation in the historical trajectory of the area before illustrating the ways in which this stigma has been mobilised prior to and during current regeneration/demarginalisation efforts. The chapter considers the important question of how the displacement of previous residents is justified by various actors in the name of security, and an economic imperative, and through the construction of a moralistic discourse. And given that this thesis sets out to consider the role of creativity in the demarginalisation of Middlehaven, the focus on aesthetics and creative expression in both the physical landscape and image of Middlehaven is examined.

The second chapter of analysis (Chapter 5), 'Designing a Commercial Landscape: Image and Investment in Middlehaven', aims to consider further the role of territorial stigma in the regeneration of Middlehaven. Through a discussion of crime, and changing perceptions of the area, Chapter 5 unpacks the meanings of the 'Over the Border' label for different individuals and communities with some form of attachment to the space. The chapter also pays attention to the ways in which space itself is put to use in the demarginalisation of Middlehaven, through the construction of particular narratives presented in the landscape via the preservation of historic landmarks which provide a distinct impression of Middlesbrough's industrial past, while at the same time, buildings and uses which may indicate the area's stigmatised history are removed. Finally, this chapter pays attention to the (numerous) areas of Middlehaven which have

yet to see investment, and in which the atmosphere of suspicion and fear associated with the 'Over the Border' label has so far failed to be swept away by the tide of innovation and demarginalisation in Middlehaven.

Next, Chapter 6, 'Governing towards Demarginalisation: Policy and Politics in Middlesbrough', is concerned with how the regeneration area is governed, how decisions around the project emerge and become legitimated, and who is involved in these decisions. The entrepreneurial approach taken to governance on the part of Middlesbrough Council is explored, and the extent to which such an approach facilitates demarginalisation is considered. The politics of governance in Middlesbrough is considered, both in terms of the council's internal relationships, and with regards to the different interests surrounding particular decisions involved in 'regeneration' or demarginalisation. Also of importance here is the notion of a perceived economic imperative to attract private investment to the town. Through a discussion of common sense neoliberalism (Keil, 2002; Hall and O'Shea, 2013), Chapter 6 considers in detail how particular ideas emerge as common sense, and pays attention to the steps taken by the local authority to produce itself as a business-friendly institution. The chapter concludes with a reflection on how governance might be suitably characterised in Middlesbrough.

The fourth chapter of analysis (Chapter 7), 'Crafting Consensus: Neoliberal Governance in Regeneration', takes an in-depth look at the political intricacies of governing a marginalised space. Given the fact that the current regeneration at Middlehaven involved the demolition of several homes on the St Hilda's estate, and thus caused the displacement of residents from the area, it is important to consider the governing logics which underlay such techniques of regeneration. Critical here also, in the midst of increasingly post-political neoliberal governance, is the extent to which the decision to demolish properties in Middlesbrough, and the approach to those demolitions, can be considered to be post-political. In order to unpack the question of how politics (or post-politics) is manifested in Middlesbrough, the chapter considers in depth the politics of demolition in Middlehaven and Gresham - another area of Middlesbrough which experienced state-led regeneration - and aims to discuss the extent to which the post-political narrative is challenged (or not) by these cases. The discussion in this chapter is then concluded with an in-depth consideration of the way in which the operation of Middlesbrough Council and the manifestation of politics in Middlesbrough are affected by wider neoliberal values and broader constraints in

national policy and economy which influence decision-making at the local level. This discussion encompasses debates around marketization and the discursive tactics employed by both the private and public sectors in the construction of justifications for the approaches taken towards regeneration (and demolition) in Middlesbrough. And given the focus on the aesthetics of landscape, which is outlined in Chapter 5, the way in which particular uses for the Middlehaven site are constructed as suitable or otherwise is examined.

The fifth and final analytical chapter (Chapter 8), 'Open for Business: The Role of Private Enterprise in Shaping the Governance of Middlesbrough', considers how despite the major role of the local council in the planning and delivery of the development, business interests are of key importance in the changes seen to be occurring in Middlehaven. Touching again on post-politics, this chapter demonstrates that business interests are often presented as apolitical, and as simple common sense, and in this way gain traction in influencing the approaches to redevelopment in Middlehaven. The recognition by the council of the need to attract business to Middlesbrough in the context of a continual tightening of local authority budgets under austerity is also considered, and the impacts of this context on the council's approach to governance assessed.

Finally, the conclusions of the research project are presented in Chapter 9, with a view to providing answers to the research questions set out previously. And although Middlehaven is an area which – given the nature of regeneration projects of this scale – is still in a state of constant change and uncertainty, I will attempt to draw conclusions surrounding the logics underlying the processes of demarginalisation in the area. Indeed, in an area such as Middlehaven which has seen continual cycles of regeneration and change over its history, appreciation of this transitory state is integral to understanding the processes which occur in the area, and the approaches to regeneration taken.

2. Literature Review: A conceptual framework

2.1. The 'Blemish of Place': Advanced Marginality and Territorial Stigma

Wacquant's theory of advanced marginality provides a useful entry point into thinking about the processes involved with demarginalisation (although Wacquant himself doesn't broach this subject per se). Through a comparison between the Southside 'ghetto' in Chicago, USA, and the la Courneuve 'banlieue' in Paris, France, in his influential book 'Urban Outcasts', Wacquant (2008) argues that while current forms of marginality in France and the USA are not evidence of transatlantic convergence (which would see the emergence of 'ghettos' marked by segregation in France and the rest of Western Europe), they do point to the emergence of a new configuration of marginality which has been sprouting on both sides of the Atlantic: that of advanced marginality (Wacquant 2008). For Wacquant (1996a; 2008), advanced marginality has six distinct features: The structural entrenchment of the precariousness of wage labour for marginal groups; the disconnection between short term growth in the wider economy and economic conditions in the area of advanced marginality (which tend not to benefit from such growth); territorial stigmatisation; the loss of a sense of place in marginalised areas; the loss of support networks; and the weakening of class relations. As Wacquant (2008) asserts that "advanced marginality tends to be concentrated in isolated and bounded territories increasingly perceived by both outsiders and insiders as social purgatories" (p.237), it is important here to further consider the ways in which marginality and associated "taint of place" (p.238) are spatially manifested.

Wacquant's (2008) analysis of marginality has been critiqued as overly structural, and Lancione (2016) argues that structural explanations of marginality preclude an in-depth understanding of everyday life for the populations affected by it. However, it is important to note that Wacquant (2008) does not claim to analyse marginal life itself, but rather "examines not the substance but the *substrate* of the racialized urban tensions that have manifested themselves" (Wacquant, 2008: 135, emphasis in original) in Chicago's and Paris's marginalised districts. Indeed, any explanation of marginality which does not at the very least acknowledge the broad structural factors which have led to the emergence of a particular manifestation of

marginality in a specific locality, cannot purport to understand its causes. And unless the causes of marginality are understood, there is little hope of overcoming it.

Indeed, consideration of the issue of territorial stigmatisation reveals that while the issue affects clearly demarcated spaces within defined boundaries, the persistence of such stigma must be maintained both internally and externally to the affected space. It is thus important to appreciate the value of structural approaches to understanding marginality as well as their locally-grounded counterparts. While Draus et al. (2014) argue that Wacquant's structural analysis is a top-down explanation of marginality which suggests local interventions in marginal spaces must be limited in their effectiveness since they don't alter the larger scale structures which produce marginality, there is also an argument which suggests that Wacquant's understanding of advanced marginality is not an exclusively top-down view. Indeed, Slater (2015) suggests that by wedding the thinking of Bourdieu and Goffman, Wacquant executes an analysis of marginality which works both "from above and below" (Slater, 2015: 5) by considering the notion of 'place' in relation to Bourdieu's understandings of the diffusion of symbolic power produced from above and imposed upon and adopted by marginalised people, as well as Goffman's understandings of how individuals cope with stigma (Wacquant et al., 2014).

Consideration of Bourdieu's work reveals something of the way in which territorial stigma results in the marginalisation of people living in these stigmatised spaces. Bourdieu (1999) explicitly addressed the issue of the role of symbolic violence in space when he argued that "there is no space in a hierarchized society that is not itself hierarchized and that does not express hierarchies and social distances, in a form that is more or less distorted and, above all, disguised by the *naturalization effect* produced by the long-term inscription of social realities in the natural world" (*ibid*: 124, emphasis in original). It is useful here to consider Bourdieu's earlier work on social class and habitus, which underpins his (1999) arguments on 'site effects'. Bourdieu (1984) discusses the way in which a set of principles, which includes "schemes of perception", are unified and unifying for people who are grouped together on the basis of sharing these principles (Bennett, 2007). This set of principles is named by Bourdieu (1984) as the habitus, which underlies certain tastes and preferences which come to distinguish the social group they belong to. It is this habitus, then, which determines an individual's place in social space, as the schemes of perception through which people experience the world around them is both imposed from external sources (through the circulation of

symbolic goods in the media, for instance (Bourdieu, 1991)) and reinforced from within the social group. Given that "an agent's position in social space is expressed in the site of physical space where that agent is situated" (Bourdieu, 1999: 124), which is in relation to the situation of other agents in social and physical space, it becomes clear why living in a stigmatised place can affect one's position in social space.

Savage et al.'s (2005) discussion of 'elective belonging' is useful here in further unpacking the relationship between social space and people's places of residence. Elective belonging, as Savage et al. (2005) define it, refers to the way in which people who are able to exercise mobility, and are thereby able to choose a particular place in which to live - rather than living somewhere simply because they have always lived there, or because their job or other commitments necessitate their residence in a particular place - tend to feel more 'at home' in their place of residence than those who did not actively make a choice to locate themselves there. The people who exercise this choice tend to be those with relatively high levels of cultural capital. In making a choice to live in a particular place, middle class people with the capacity to relocate and make a home for themselves in a space which is symbolically important to them beyond its function as the place in which they live and work, attempt to claim moral rights over that place (Savage, 2014). Conversely, Savage (2014) argues that those who experience fixity in one location speak of their belonging in terms of historical dwelling and family connections to the place, rather than in terms of attachment to the place itself in its own right.

It is such that Savage (2014) notes Bourdieu's identification of "the tension between the mobility of the powerful and the fixedness of the disadvantaged" (50), which arises when belonging as choice is pitted against belonging due to historical links. This understanding of belonging therefore illuminates the way in which physical space becomes an expression of the social positions of those who occupy it, as space becomes imbued with social significance as people attach particular meanings to their place of residence as a reflection of their own social position (and subsequently make moral claims over that place). Indeed, in places affected by territorial stigma, the notion that living in such an 'undesirable' location implies that residents would not have chosen to live in such places undermines the moral claims which can be made over the space by residents.

The notion that the physical location of a person and their position in social space are linked is echoed in Tyler's (2013) assertion that individuals living in stigmatized territories internalize their stigma. Indeed, Bourdieu (1984) suggests that marginalised groups are complicit in their own domination, as "dominated agents, who assess the value of their position and their characteristics by applying a system of schemes of perception and appreciation which is the embodiment of objective laws where their value is constituted, tend to attribute to themselves what the distribution attributes to them, refusing what they are refused… defining themselves as the established order defines them" (473). It is this characteristic of territorial stigma, argues Wacquant (2007; 2008), which results in the erosion of a community for support, and ultimately the erosion of place and the break-down of the proletariat: The scenario conveyed by Wacquant (2008), in which people living in marginalised areas "join their voices to the dominant chorus of denunciation of deviant and delinquent categories… as if they could (re)gain value by devaluing a little more their own neighbours and neighbourhoods" (183), is replicated in stigmatized neighbourhoods in various locations. Sakizlioglu and Uitermark (2014) find that this same phenomenon of neighbours disparaging one another emerges in both Amsterdam and Istanbul, despite the differences in the causes of marginality in each of these places, while Pereira and Queirós (2014) observe the same in Portugal. Similar processes of demonization of particular racialized categories of residents by others living in territorially stigmatised areas were identified in Los Angeles (Contreras, 2017), and in Bat Yam, Israel (Cohen, 2013), where residents attempt to deflect some of the stigma they are afflicted with onto an 'other'.

Race is an important consideration in Wacquant's (2008) study of advanced marginality in Chicago and Paris, and so it is important to think about how race might factor into the manifestations of advanced marginality in Middlesbrough. Indeed, the symbolic boundaries which are drawn between different racialized categories in the 'othering' of neighbours, and which are central to moral claim-making within stigmatised spaces in Chicago's 'ghettos', are also apparent in de-industrialising North Eastern English urban spaces (Nayak, 2003). Nayak (2003) explains how different white subcultures have emerged among the North East white working class in ways which enable boundaries of 'white respectability' to be drawn between youths from families traditionally engaged in skilled labour, and those whose families are long-term

unemployed, to the extent that the youths from long-term unemployed families (known as 'Charvers') are locally understood to be "a 'white trash' underclass" (320).

Shilliam (2018) observes similar differentiations made by the so-called 'left behind' white working class of post-industrial areas in the lead-up to the 2016 EU referendum, wherein 'Englishness' became understood by many voters as 'deservingness', such that non-English white working class people were classified as less deserving. This suggestion that "those who might be considered part of a "white working class" constituency did not vote Brexit (if they did) from a class interest but to defend a melancholic racialized nationalism" (Shilliam, 2018: 161) is important to bear in mind here in light of the fact that 65.5% of voters in Middlesbrough voted to Leave (McNeal, 2016). As discussed previously, an individual's position in social space is connected closely to their position in physical space, and so race and constructions of 'whiteness' are evidently important considerations in spaces of advanced marginality – such as Middlehaven – even where racial segregation is not a factor.

Indeed, the break-down of neighbourhood relations which Wacquant (2008) argues occurs as a result of the devaluing of neighbours is apparent in the gentrification literature: In his Marxist analysis of gentrification, Bridge (1993; 1994) asserts that the physical environment is crucial for class formation, as the physical space facilitates community interactions, which spawns community consciousness, and in turn can elicit class consciousness. Bridge (1994) asserts that gentrification breaks up communities, thus preventing class consciousness and curtailing possibilities of working class revolt against the capitalist system. However, in light of Wacquant's (2008) arguments, it appears that in the age of advanced marginality, the breakdown of communities which occurs as a result of the territorial stigma with which they are faced renders the path to gentrification clearer still. Indeed, Wacquant et al. (2014) suggest that place is crucial to the symbolic violence described by Bourdieu which divides social space, as this fragmented social space necessarily *takes place* in physical space, and it is in this place that group identity will be made or unmade, validating or invalidating claims over space.

In this sense, it becomes clear that social distance can translate into physical distance, and social categories become thought of as embodied, as people wear on their bodies the styles of dress associated with their particular habitus, and express through their use of language their position in the social hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1991). At this

point, it is helpful to return to the term 'stigma', which, as Erving Goffman (1963) recalls, has its origins in the Greek language, and was used to denote visible bodily markings inflicted by a cut or burn which identified those they branded as having deviant morals, and distinguished them as a slave or criminal (Slater and Anderson, 2012). These individuals were thereby easy to avoid, and were thus ostracised. Unlike Alice Goffman (2014), whose ethnographic study of policing and surveillance networks in the neighbourhood of '6th Street', Philadelphia, is deeply rooted in space, in his analysis of stigma, Erving Goffman (1963) pays little attention to the issue of place and territorial stigma. He suggests that characteristics which mark individuals as stigmatised do so because they disrupt our notion of what that person ought to be given our notion of where they sit in society and which group they are a part of. Thus, a characteristic which causes one individual to be stigmatised might be the qualifying characteristic which affirms another person's membership in a particular group (Goffman, 1963).

Had Goffman (1963) included the stigma of place in his exploration of the phenomenon of stigma, he may not have made such an observation. This point can be effectively illustrated through consideration of Arthurson et al.'s (2014) discussion of the stigma attached to living on a public housing estate in Australia and the associated derogatory label 'Houso'. This label provided the title for the television series 'Housos', which aired in Australia in 2011, despite petitions against it from individuals living in a social housing estate in Sydney (Arthurson et al., 2012). In the television series, the fictional social housing tenants are depicted as lawless, immoral characters, and the term 'Houso' "is a proxy for an 'underclass' that is explicitly spatialised through clearly recognisable signifiers which identify residents of specific urban spaces" (Arthurson et al., 2014: 1335). This provides a challenge to Goffman's (1963) lack of attention to space (outlined above), for the 'underclass' is a fully stigmatised category for all whom it names. It is precisely belonging to this group – and the space which this group is perceived to occupy – which infers stigma upon a person. So an entire group is stigmatised, not on account of fitting into the stereotype or of deviating from the 'norm', but on account of living in a particular place and subsequently being stereotyped. And given that people living in stigmatised territories frequently view themselves and their neighbours through the dominant discourse and devalue their neighbours accordingly (Wacquant et al., 2014), the traits associated with this localized underclass cannot be considered to be a 'qualifying characteristic' (see Goffman, 1963) within any group.

However, in her detailed ethnographic study of St Ann's, a stigmatised social housing estate in Nottingham, McKenzie (2015) reveals that for residents of St Ann's who feel 'socially excluded' or 'looked down on' by residents of wealthier areas of Nottingham owing to the fact of their residence in St Ann's, belonging to St Ann's or 'being St Ann's' becomes very important in order to gain a sense of identity and status which is often unattainable outside of the estate. As such, belonging to the stigmatised group (on account of living in a territorially stigmatised space) is the source of the stigma itself, and is also that which necessitates and facilitates a sense of 'being St Ann's' in a positive way. And so while Goffman's (1963) lack of attention to territorial stigma means that his assertion that a characteristic which causes one individual to be stigmatised might be the qualifying characteristic which affirms another person's membership in a particular group is limited, it does remain a useful way of thinking about stigma. Indeed, McKenzie's (2015) discussion of St Ann's reveals a characteristic of stigma which is similar but nonetheless distinct from Goffman's (1963) claim: that a characteristic which causes an individual to be stigmatised (in this case, residence in St Ann's – as distinct from the associated territorial stigma itself) can be the qualifying characteristic which affirms *that same person's* membership in a particular group.

Wacquant (2008) asserts that it matters not that perceptions of an area of advanced marginality may be wildly different from the realities there, as the perceptions themselves lead to a cycle of denouncement of the locality from within and outside, the justification of revanchist urban policy (which will be discussed in more detail in the following section of the literature review), discrimination in the labour market and in social relations, and the erosion of place. Thus, it is evident that the imposition of a label on a group inhabiting a place can have concrete effects. It follows that the language used to denote a place, and by association the people who live there, does more than descriptive work (Wacquant, 2008). Drawing on J.L. Austin's speech act theory, Butler's (1993) account of performativity has it that the use of particular terms produce what it is that they name as an identity category by citing established conventions which gain legitimacy through their continual repetition. Indeed, Butler (1993) asserts that the identity category of 'queer', which was initially (though not exclusively, as will be discussed later) used as an insulting term, became established through the constant repetition of the term which "binds the speakers as if they spoke in unison across time" (18). The performativity of language works to produce territorially stigmatised areas as lawless zones which are beyond redemption simply by naming

them as such and repeating this claim such that it appears legitimate (August, 2014; Wacquant, 2007; 2008) (though the nature of performativity is such that this constructed meaning is never fixed, as will be discussed later in this section).

This construction of a place as a lawless site has serious repercussions for the areas affected: As part of preparations for Glasgow's 2014 Commonwealth Games, Compulsory Purchase Orders (CPOs) were used to move working class people from their homes (Gray and Porter, 2015). By framing the working class estates as exceptional spaces where typical approaches to governance were not viable, the issuing of CPOs was then justified as a necessity. Indeed, necessity "is not the law itself, nor does it suspend the law; rather, it functions as a moral concept to release a particular case from the application of the law… Only by virtue of emphasis on the "common good" does the exception have the force and reason of law" (Gray and Porter, 2015: 385). Indeed, in an economic system – that of neoliberal capitalism – where the right to property is held above all else (Harvey, 2003a), it is only by producing the estates in Glasgow as exceptional that exceptional measures to breach this right could be justified. Thus, the performativity of language can condemn a place with significant effects simply by naming it.

However, as Butler (1993) asserts, the performativity of language can be subversive, and thus need not wholly place the fates of marginalised populations in the hands of the politicians and media outlets which dominate the field of the circulation of symbolic goods (Bourdieu, 1991). Butler (1993) effectively illustrates this point through tracing a genealogy of the term 'queer': Owing to the need for continual repetition, performativity is only ever provisionally successful. Thus, through repetition, the term 'queer' has been democratized from its prior insulting use, and is now used as a positive identity category by the LGBTQ community in the USA (Butler, 1993). Indeed, while the rhetoric of stigmatised neighbourhoods as beyond redemption is routinely used as a justification for regeneration (Kallin and Slater, 2014), the notion that stigma necessitates regeneration can be contested. For instance, in Villa Pagadov, a stigmatised Barrio in Bolivia, marginalised residents perform in an annual carnival, thereby attesting their claim to national culture and strengthening their community identity (Goldstein, 1997). This approach sees residents themselves rearticulating the stigmatised space – and thus their own identities – rather than the state intervening to attempt to remove the stigma from the place by displacing its population.

As August (2014) asserts, the notion that territorial stigmatization necessarily leads neighbours to disparage one another, leading to a break down in community ties, is not universal, as she notes that residents living at Regent Park – a territorially stigmatised district of Toronto, Canada – are generally optimistic about their homes, and feel a strong sense of connection to other low-income residents. However, the fact that the state did eventually lead a programme of gentrification in Toronto's Regent Park supports Wacquant's (2007) suggestion that the way in which life is experienced within the marginalised space is irrelevant once a rhetoric of stigma has taken hold, as it is the stigma – not the actually existing situation – which spawns numerous detrimental effects and can be used to justify regeneration. The following section therefore considers existing understandings of the effects of such stigma in areas targeted for regeneration.

2.2. The Call for Regeneration: From Territorial Stigma to Gentrification

The way in which territorial stigma can be used as a justification for regeneration is well documented in the urban geography literature, and is worth exploring in more detail here. Regeneration is a term which Slater (2006) suggests is simply a less provocative name for 'gentrification', which Neil Smith (1996) famously described as a 'dirty word'. Regeneration, then, can be defined as the process by which an urban landscape which is predominantly made up of working class households is gradually remade into a middle class area, which involves both the displacement of working class people, and a change to the physical landscape (Glass, 1964; Davidson and Lees, 2005). While Boddy (2007) argues that regeneration which involves the demolition of working class residences to be replaced by new-builds for commercial or mixed use (which can include housing, community facilities, and commercial uses) is not gentrification-proper, given that the same shift along the class scale occurs in this instance as in traditional forms of gentrification (in which individuals buy low value homes and undertake remediation work often with the intention of living in them which, intentionally or not, enhances their value (Smith, 1996)), it is not unreasonable to consider such projects under the umbrella term of 'gentrification' (Davidson and Lees, 2005).

It is useful here to consider how regeneration can become positioned as the logical solution to territorial stigma, as has been documented in numerous studies (for instance, Uitermark, 2014; Kallin and Slater, 2014). As Kallin and Slater (2014) assert in their discussion of the demolition of two public housing estates at Craigmillar, on Edinburgh's periphery, stigmatisation and regeneration are "two sides of the same policy coin" (1351), as the state plays an instrumental role in perpetuating the stigma which then becomes the basis for regeneration. Notable in this case, and similar to the situation in St Hilda's, Middlehaven, is the fact that the population of the Craigmillar area was entirely displaced in order to shed the stigma (ibid.). This is unsurprising, as associated with areas of advanced marginality are a host of morally loaded labels and stereotypes – such as 'unemployed', 'deviant', 'criminal', and 'apathetic' – which place the blame for urban marginality on those enduring it (Uitermark, 2014; Jones, 2012). It follows that regeneration projects in which the perceived 'problem' residents are displaced emerge as a seemingly viable solution to marginality, resulting in a response

which does not sustainably address its causes (Hastings and Dean, 2003; Chatterton and Bradley, 2000).

This notion that efforts to demarginalise a place often involve the displacement of marginalised population groups suggests that such efforts are not aimed at improving living conditions for marginalised people, but at improving conditions in the spaces inhabited by these marginalised people (in which the social positions of their inhabitants are expressed (Bourdieu, 1999)). Indeed, in his consideration of marginality in Western Europe, Uitermark (2014) asserts that the moral coding of marginality often leads to the justification of revanchist policies. From the French for 'revenge', revanchism incorporates policies and techniques designed to 'reclaim' the city from the urban poor using punitive tactics (Smith, 2001) which are not aimed at alleviating poverty, but at reducing the effects of urban poverty on the urban middle classes. This sentiment was echoed by Charleston's Chief of Police, Reuben Greenberg, when he suggested that "urban problems are not caused by poverty, but by the concentration of poverty" (cited in Duany, 2001: 36), as while Duany (2001) understands this statement to be praise for gentrification (as Greenberg likely intended), it reveals something of a revanchist ideology: There is nothing to suggest that those who live in poverty don't see their situation as a problem, as Wacqaunt's (2008) analysis of urban marginality corroborates. In dismissing the problems of individuals living in poverty in areas where such poverty is not concentrated, it is implied that urban problems *for the middle classes* are caused by the concentration of poverty. Indeed, following Weber's understanding of a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence as vital to the maintenance of the state (Dusza, 1989), Uitermark (2014) asserts that marginality poses a problem for institutions of the state (such as the police), as the violence of such areas (symbolic or physical) challenges the state's monopoly on violence and is thus perceived as a threat to state sovereignty.

Of note here is that Ray Mallon, in his role as Cleveland Police Chief shortly before becoming the Mayor of Middlesbrough and working on the redevelopment of Middlehaven, was renowned for his 'zero-tolerance' approach to policing, which earned him the nick-name 'Robocop' (Asquith, 2008). Mallon's approach to policing was not his own innovation: it was imported from New York, where Mayor Rudy Guiliani had implemented the now infamous Police Strategy number 5, which saw the 'sanitizing' of New York City through the removal of oppressed groups in order to 'reclaim' the space for the middle classes (Smith, 1998). Revanchist approaches to urban governance have

been emerging around the world as cities try to attract the wealthy middle classes and compete for investment on an international scale (see Miraftab, 2007; Swanson, 2007; Schinkel and van den Berg, 2011). The context of zero-tolerance policing thus serves as the backdrop against which the regeneration of Middlehaven, which features the new Middlesbrough District Main Police Station, is set, and so it is important to bear in mind throughout this thesis.

These revanchist policies are informed by the same set of values which position property as the highest and most sacred asset (Harvey, 2003), and which are designed to favour the upper and wealthier middle classes. These values can be grouped under the category of neoliberalism: Producing spaces which are attractive to the wealthiest echelons of society, and which are attractive to businesses and private investors, has become increasingly important as the neoliberal model of capitalism has been propagated, and cities adopt policies which their competitors have implemented, regardless of whether or not they actually work, if only to be seen to be keeping up (Leitner, 1990). This approach to urban management will be discussed in more detail along with a consideration of neoliberalism in the following section of the literature review, but here it is important to consider the neoliberal economy as part of the impetus behind the regeneration of territorially stigmatised places. Indeed, in a discussion of the property market in Copenhagen's West End, Shultz Larsen (2014) asserts that the state had a significant role in stigmatizing public housing estates such that it became justifiable to replace public housing with privately rented property. Thus, while it appears that the 'free market' favours private property, in fact, the state in Copenhagen has had a significant role in producing this tendency toward private property (Shultz Larsen, 2014). Thus, it is important to consider the role of the state in marginality (and demarginalisation), even where neoliberal values appear to preside.

Indeed, in the age of neoliberalism, despite the dominant ideology that markets should be free from state influence to ensure their most effective functioning toward the goal of economic development (Soja, 2000), states have not relinquished control: Brenner and Theodore (2002) assert that state control has in fact intensified during the transition to neoliberalism in order to ensure (through coercion and discipline) the adoption of neoliberalism throughout society. As the state's role has shifted from one of welfare-provision to providing support for private markets (Kananen, 2012), individuals are increasingly encouraged to take responsibility for services previously provided by the state (Jenkins, 2005), and new forms of control have emerged to enforce this

responsibilisation. Indeed, in his consideration of what he terms 'roll-with-it neoliberalisation', Keil (2009) contends that as neoliberal society becomes naturalized and taken for granted, neoliberal practices and the neoliberal ideology are becoming increasingly ingrained in everyday life, which includes obeisance of the 'conduct of conduct'.

Foucault (2008) introduces the concept of the 'conduct of conduct' to show how certain forms of capillary power – which filters throughout society – work to encourage individuals to be self-regulating subjects who behave in accordance with norms of acceptability, as set out by dominant discourse. In the case of neoliberal society, this works to produce subjects who regulate themselves to become self-reliant and individually responsible citizens (Weninger, 2009). This is clearly important when considered in relation to the construction of particular forms of socialization within marginalised places as immoral, as such conditions of subjecthood (such as unemployment and subsequent dependency on state benefits) are contradictory to the established neoliberal norms of individual responsibility, which enables the stigmatised stereotype of a resident in a marginalised area to be maintained. Thus, it is important to consider how broad structures of power are imparted on marginalised spaces, and to consider the effects of such power on marginality in a neoliberal context (Sites, 2007).

Given that Harvey (1989) asserts that the urban landscape is shaped by capitalism, it is worth considering here the implications of neoliberal capitalism for territorially stigmatised areas. Indeed, capitalism produces classes, and so identity (at least in part) is inherently class based in a capitalist society (Redfern, 2003). However, as discussed above, capitalism in the neoliberal era is producing increasingly individualistic identities as people are encouraged to self-govern, and individual responsibility becomes valued and morally coded as essential to good citizenship (Kananen, 2012). This individualistic conceptualization of citizenship has led Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) to assert that class is no longer a meaningful lens for analysis. However, despite the shift in focus from the collective to the individual, when drawing on Bourdieu's (1984) understanding of classes as social groups unified by a shared habitus, it is evident that class persists, as people are split into groups based on the extent to which they can form an individualistic identity (Atkinson, 2007). The ability to form such an identity in a capitalist era where identity is informed by material possessions varies between richer and poorer groups, so the middle and upper classes become individually defined through their consumption of goods (and in doing so

reaffirm their class identity), whereas people living in marginalised spaces become defined by their lack of means to participate in consumer culture and form the individualistic identity associated with self-responsibilisation, and therefore are labelled as morally deficient (see Wacquant, 2008).

This understanding of individualistic identity can be helpful in understanding the phenomenon identified by Wacquant (2008) in which neighbours in territorially stigmatised areas disparage one another (as discussed in the previous section): The evolution of territorial stigma results in a situation where territorially stigmatised groups – who do not have the means to craft themselves an individualistic identity using material indicators of social class – are disposed to devaluing their neighbours in order to distinguish themselves as not identifiable with that group, and therefore as identifiable as a unique individual, which is important in order to be recognized as a good citizen in a neoliberal society (Weninger, 2009). Alternatively, Wacquant (2008) asserts that such individuals may resort to theft and the informal economy in order to acquire the possessions which mark them as citizens in a neoliberal society. This breaks down class cohesion, and thus prevents class consciousness from arising, ensuring the maintenance of the status quo in which one class dominates another, which is complicit in its own domination (Bourdieu, 1984). And while the scope of this study of Middlehaven does not extend to considering whether or not this phenomenon is occurring in Middlesbrough, it is nonetheless important to consider here in relation to how regeneration can occur in the midst of territorial stigma, and how the justification of regeneration can occur via the construction of a discourse which frames marginality as immorality.

While it has so far been made clear that the proliferation of territorial stigma can serve as a justification for regeneration, this in itself would not lead to regeneration occurring. It is therefore important to consider how territorial stigmatization actually makes regeneration possible, or conversely, precludes that possibility. Among the most prolific of Neil Smith's important contributions to research on gentrification, some of which will be explored here, is his rent gap theory (Smith, 1987; 1996). This is the premise that gentrification will occur only when the potential rent achievable from a property or piece of land if it was it put to its highest possible use significantly exceeds the ground rent value of the property in its present state (Smith, 1996). This rent gap, which can be closed through the process of gentrification, is produced historically through "a complex pattern of investment and disinvestment in the built environment"

(Smith, 1987: p. 463), and given that territorial stigma results in disinvestment in the locality as those who can afford to move away (including businesses) do (Lupton, 2003), the environment becomes degraded and the rent gap is opened up in areas of advanced marginality (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014). Thus, it would seem that territorial stigmatization enables gentrification by enhancing the potential for profit-making.

However, as Slater (2015) notes, Smith's (1996) rent gap theory has obvious limitations when applied to spaces of advanced marginality where territorial stigma has taken hold: While gentrification does occur in devalorised areas of a city where the rent gap is sufficient to enable developers to profit, increasingly, gentrification is not occurring in the areas of cities where the rent gap is highest owing to territorial stigma, which acts as a deterrent to potential gentrifiers and corporate developers (Slater, 2015). However, it is important to recognize that, like Wacquant's (2008) argument that marginality is not a single homogenous condition, Smith himself did not claim that the rent gap thesis would reveal homogenous urban processes when indiscriminately applied to everywhere: In his critique of Ley's (1986) understanding of the rent gap, he retorts that "the whole point of the rent gap theory is not that gentrification occurs in some deterministic fashion where housing costs are lowest… but that it is most likely to occur in areas experiencing a sufficiently large gap between actual and potential land values. This is a fundamental distinction. Areas such as the central and inner city where the rent gap may be greatest may also experience very high land values and housing costs despite disinvestment from the built environment and the consequent rent gap" (Smith, 1987: 464). Thus, a more comprehensive consideration of how the rent gap is operating in territorially stigmatised areas is required.

Indeed, it is worth considering the possibility that some territorially stigmatised areas have smaller rent gaps than similar physical environments which lack this stigma, as the stigma not only lowers present values, but limits the value that could be achieved owing to the way in which the stigma persists: As Goffman (1963) asserts, when a person attempts to remove the blemish for which they are stigmatised, "where such a repair is possible, what often results is not the acquisition of fully normal status, but a transformation of self from someone with a particular blemish into someone with a record of having corrected a particular blemish" (Goffman, 1963: 9). Thus, it does not make sense to dismiss Smith's (1987) rent gap theory without a consideration of why the most devalorised urban areas often evade gentrification, and indeed, how such areas

(including Middlehaven) might end up being gentrified in spite of their stigma. It is useful, then, to consider how entrepreneurial governance can pave the way for gentrification by artificially producing a rent gap large enough to entice developers or gentrifiers. Entrepreneurial governance will be discussed in depth in the following section of the literature review, but here it suffices to say that in working to facilitate investment into their jurisdictive area by private companies, local governments operating via a mantra of entrepreneurialism often provide subsidies and tax breaks to businesses, thus enhancing the potential for those businesses to profit from investing there (Leitner, 1990). Thus, in the age of entrepreneurial governance – which is a reflection of neoliberal values (Harvey, 1989) – local governments can artificially widen the rent gap to enable regeneration in places which otherwise would be left untouched by the processes of gentrification.

So, it is clear that gentrification can occur in spite of territorial stigma, and is indeed often justified by it. In addition, it is also important to consider how territorial stigma goes further, by not only justifying redevelopment, but by making it possible in the first instance. In "The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city", Neil Smith (1996) elucidates the concept of the 'urban frontier', in which imagery of an urban 'wilderness' replete with 'savagery' is employed to create the notion that a yet-to-be-gentrified area is an arena in which so-called 'urban pioneers' – the first gentrifiers in an area who envision themselves as pushing against the frontier to conquer the 'wilderness' – can "make liveable space out of an unruly and uncooperative nature" (Smith, 1996: XIIII). The notion of 'urban pioneering' and 'urban frontiers' is thus likened to colonialism by Smith, who asserts that it is "as arrogant as the original notion of 'pioneers' in that it suggests a city not yet socially inhabited. Like Native Americans, the urban working class is seen as less than social, a part of the physical environment" (Smith, 1996: XIV). Indeed, the notion of 'terra nullius' – the colonial idea that areas of land were 'empty' and thus available to be justifiably colonized and developed (Geisler, 2012) – appears to be pivotal here, as devalorised places are commoditised to be sold to 'urban pioneers' as clean slates on which they can make their mark (Smith, 1996). The way in which territorial stigma constructs places as urban wildernesses where no-one with a choice would deign to go, thus has implications for producing an urban frontier and paving the way for gentrification. The construction of an urban frontier in relation to marginality will therefore be considered in the analysis to follow.

2.3. ‘Imagineering’ a Creative Urban Landscape: Boosterism and Creativity

The ‘Masterplan’ for Middlehaven, which was drawn up by architect Will Alsop in 2004, imagined the Middlehaven dockside as a ‘designer landscape’, complete with impressive and flamboyant buildings in the shapes of space invaders to house a digital museum, an office block modelled on ‘Marge Simpson’s hair’, and a hotel in the guise of champagne flutes (Porter, 2011). And while this Masterplan has largely remained a dream, the Middlehaven Development Framework still draws on the aesthetic imagined by Alsop, and states that “the key to Middlehaven’s success will be to transform it into a place where people want to be… A place that is open to different ideas and aspirations, a place for experiment, a place with a ‘coolness factor’, and where change happens” (Middlesbrough Borough Council and HCA, 2012: 88). Clearly, then, a consideration of creativity is important in a discussion of the strategies of demarginalisation through regeneration in Middlehaven.

The creative cities debate has been most heavily influenced by Florida (2002), who claimed that creativity is the main source of competitive advantage that a location can pool, and that cities who fail to attract the so-called ‘creative class’ risk significant decline. Indeed, according to Florida (2002), the creative class do not decide where to live based solely on the availability of jobs, but seek out diverse and tolerant places which feed their creativity. Thus, while Smith (1996) provides the example of how artists moving into brownstone properties on New York’s Lower East Side led to gentrification as such individuals were seeking ‘authentic’ spaces which they could make their mark on, city governments the world over are increasingly orchestrating creativity within the urban landscape in order to attract creative individuals whose talents can be commoditized (Scott, 2006). However, there is concern that attempts to produce creative cities simultaneously produce exclusionary space, both in terms of the ways in which residents may be excluded from the planning process, and the subsequent exclusion from high-end leisure facilities and cafes which charge prices unaffordable for the masses (Leslie, 2005; Peck, 2005).

As Lees et al. (2008) contend, while decay and dereliction do not make for vibrant cities, nor do exclusive spaces which cater to the needs of the wealthy creative class at the expense of others. Indeed, whether or not such spaces actually attract creative people in the intended way is worth considering. For instance, Coleman (2003)

discusses the way in which street vendors and street performers were expelled from Liverpool's public space as part of an effort to securitise and sanitise the city centre in preparation for the city's role as European Capital of Culture 2008. Similarly, Miraftab (2007) describes how marginalised individuals working in Cape Town's informal economy were physically removed from the city's Business Improvement District and transported by security vehicles out of sight of the wealthy clientele the area aimed to attract. Exactly how the production of glossy, exuberant buildings and the expulsion of marginalised populations from public view works to create the diversity and tolerance which Florida (2007) maintains is highly valued by the creative class remains open to question.

Returning here to the notion of the individualistic nature which identity has taken on as neoliberal mindsets have propagated (as discussed in the previous section of the literature review) is important for understanding Florida's (2002) conceptualization of the creative class. Indeed, Florida (2002) states that "where people once found themselves bound together by social institutions and formed their identities in groups, a fundamental characteristic of life today is that we strive to create our own identities. It is this creation and re-creation of the self, often in ways which reflect our creativity, that is a key feature of the creative ethos" (7). This individualistic aspect of identity is key to the formation of neoliberal subjectivities, which Larner (2000) links to the way in which "economic identities have come to be posited as a new basis for political life, usurping those associated with social citizenship" (19). Thus, it appears that the creative cities movement is inextricably linked to neoliberalism.

Creative communities have, in Florida's (2002) assessment, an air of temporariness, as creative people tend to move frequently, preferring to live in communities where they can easily make temporary connections and maintain what Florida terms 'quasi-anonymity'. Additionally, the experiences craved by the creative class are, according to Florida not "pre-packaged experiences of the sort Disney provides. Members of the Creative Class prefer more active, authentic and participatory experiences, which they can have a hand in structuring" (167). In the context of Middlehaven, where the local council has set out to provide a hub for creativity in the form of the Boho Zone (one of four 'character zones' in the redevelopment (Middlesbrough Council and HCA, 2012)), it is important to consider the effectiveness of orchestrated creativity in attracting the creative class. Indeed, Leslie (2005) suggests

that such planning for creativity removes any authenticity and spontaneity from the process.

Also important here is the fact that this competition to attract creative people in order to boost the local economy is facilitated in large part by an entrepreneurial approach to governance, which Paddison (1993) suggests can help to alter commonly-held perceptions of an area. David Harvey's (1989) assessment of the transition from urban managerialism – the hegemonic approach to urban governance in the 1960s which placed focus on service provision and welfare of the urban citizenry – to entrepreneurialism, which has dominated the urban agenda since the 1970s, outlines the key characteristics of this mode of governance, which works increasingly to shape urban landscapes to a capitalist agenda: Speculative developments are identified as a key feature of entrepreneurial urbanism, and the delivery of such developments is often provided by public-private partnerships in which the local state absorbs risk without making reciprocal demands in order to make investment as beneficial as possible for private actors (Harvey, 1989). However, as Lauermann (2016) argues, while entrepreneurial cities continue to operate speculatively, such developments occur alongside more 'experimental' approaches which tend to be evaluated by alternative measures (rather than in terms of economic returns). And while entrepreneurialism is traditionally associated with an economic growth agenda, Lauermann (2016) asserts that entrepreneurial policy experiments are often oriented toward agendas which are related to but distinct from the economic growth agenda, such as regeneration or sustainability.

Also key to entrepreneurial governance is the emphasis on place, rather than space, in urban development. This dislocation of space and place in development projects aims to extend the effects of a project beyond the immediate vicinity of the space it occupies, and exemplifies the way in which entrepreneurial governance is aimed at boosting the local area (Wood, 1998). Indeed, such boosterism is a key part of entrepreneurial strategies to go on being entrepreneurial; by facilitating such projects, local governments can market themselves as entrepreneurial in order to attract further investment (Jessop, 1998; Ward, 2003). However, Peck (2017) suggests that entrepreneurial urbanism has resulted in "the churn of relatively shallow 'innovations'" (13) as local authorities vie for investment by competitively implementing what have become mainstream strategies for urban development, thus rarely allowing opportunity for genuine innovation to emerge. As such, it is important to interrogate the extent to

which governance in Middlehaven can be considered to be entrepreneurial, and to consider what form such entrepreneurialism may take.

While Harvey's (1989) theorization of entrepreneurialism focuses on the ways in which the need to sustain capital accumulation becomes the rationale for the focus on economic growth by local authorities, and leads to the processes described above, Leitner (1990) finds such a theory insufficient for explaining the various different manifestations of entrepreneurial governance which emerge in different localities. While she agrees that entrepreneurial governance sees public institutions increasingly adopting tactics more commonly associated with the private sector, Leitner (ibid.) argues that the actual policies which emerge in specific localities are the result of the interplay between external structural forces (which Harvey (1989) places a great deal of emphasis on, and which lead local governments, regardless of their political leaning, toward a neoliberal approach to governance) and local political contexts (including distribution of power, state and class interests, and the local economy). In the analysis to follow, then, care will be taken to consider the local specificity of approaches to attracting investment in Middlehaven, and how such approaches are rendered viable by economic and political pressures across different scales.

Related to this rise in entrepreneurialism is the concept of boosterism, which has grown in prevalence as part of the place-promotion agenda of entrepreneurial governments (Harvey, 1989). Boosterism – which is the promotion of a place to produce a positive image to attract investment – has long been a major element of urban governance, and has played a role in the way in which, according to Molotch (1976), cities have become established as 'growth machines', generating economic benefits through growth for those in whose interest the city is governed. This notion of cities as growth machines is important to consider in a discussion of demarginalisation, as it raises the question of who (or where) is being demarginalised and to what ends. Indeed, if city governments are taking an entrepreneurial approach to urban governance and engaging in boosterism to attract investment and fuel growth, the demarginalisation of an area via and for purposes of boosterism appears to be in the interests of the elite, and not necessarily in the interests of the people living in spaces of advanced marginality (especially where demarginalisation involves their displacement). This is an issue which will be considered in the analysis sections of this thesis, as the specific manifestation of entrepreneurial governance in Middlesbrough is unpacked.

As Leslie (2005) asserts, the symbolic economy has replaced the industrial economy in city boosterism. In the context of marginalised places, the reverence of this suggestion is two-fold: First, a city's creative image is key to securing economic growth owing to the decline of the industrial economy in Western states; but this notion is also of reverence when considering the stigmatised image of spaces of advanced marginality, and so the way in which territorial stigmatization is used to 'sell' a place to gentrifiers (see previous sections of the literature review) must take into account local approaches to entrepreneurial urbanism. To borrow terminology from Lund Hansen et al. (2001), it is useful to think of the management of the image of place as 'imagineering', as this term marries the notions of 'image', 'imagination' and 'engineering', highlighting the implicit constructedness of image, of imaginations of place, and of the subjectivities of people within that place. Thus, the analysis to follow will consider the importance of image and how such images are produced and put to use in the demarginalisation of a stigmatised space.

Indeed, the degree to which boosterism can help to demarginalise residents living in territorially stigmatised spaces is open to question. McInroy (2000) asserts that boosterism entails attracting investment to city space at the expense of residents, under the veil of a rhetoric of inclusivity and common good: While he contends that public spaces are arenas for engagement in democracy, and integral to creating an identity for a city, McInroy (2000) uses the example of Garnethill Park in Glasgow – which was built as part of preparations for Glasgow's role as European Capital of Culture 1990 – to demonstrate the way in which urban space can be produced to impress 'artistic elites' in the context of boosterism. Indeed, given the emphasis placed on attracting external investment in the context of industrial decline (Leitner, 1990), in the midst of urban boosterism arises a preference for consensus-based governance (Hiller, 2000). The same logic of working for the common good which Gray and Porter (2015) identify in the justification of the distribution of CPOs in redevelopment schemes works here to construct consensus around a growth agenda which favours the neoliberal interests of city elites (Hiller, 2000).

The issue of consensus-based governance is of importance here, then, as it is important to consider the ways in which demarginalisation via regeneration arises as a taken-for-granted necessity, and as necessarily a good thing (as will be discussed in the analysis to follow). As MacLeod (2011) demonstrates, entrepreneurialism and creativity are integral elements of the post-political city, as they contribute to the emergence of

consensus-based governance as neoliberal interests become united in their quest for growth. It is this approach to governance which Swyngedouw (2011) asserts is 'suturing' the properly political by disavowing non-consensual voices as radical, or by including any and all opinions which do not pose a challenge to the existing regime.

Indeed, as Rancière (2001) asserts in his discussion of the 'partition of the sensible', those claiming legitimate authority of the state (usually embodied by the police, but often in the case of state-led regeneration, planning authorities as part of the local state) divide the world, delimiting the modes of participation in politics and drawing lines to exclude and include particular populations. The 'partition of the sensible' sets out who can legitimately participate in politics, and in what manner, and is therefore an interesting concept for consideration here, as it can begin to indicate the ways in which certain populations are given conditions for inclusion in politics surrounding stigmatised estate regeneration, and thus how consensus can emerge. It is only through dissensus – that is, the disruption of this partition, usually by those excluded from it – that the political can emerge (Corcoran, 2010). As Lees (2014) asserts, inclusion of residents in the planning of estate regeneration cannot be considered democratic when the conditions attached to participation see residents given a choice between a limited number of options which they have had no say in developing. As Swyngedouw (2016: 73) notes, "'*participation'* is invariably mediated by '*power*'", and so participatory governance seldom operates in the 'horizontal' manner which characterizes it (Swyngedouw, 2016).

However, the penchant for consensus-based governance among elites does not make the eviction of critical perspectives from urban space inevitable, and while a full consideration of resistance to the consensus-based approach to governance in the regeneration of marginalised spaces is not within the remit of this thesis, it is important to note that consensus is not always all-encompassing (see Lees, 2014; Swyngedouw, 2011; Arthurson et al., 2014). That said, even where marginalised residents are included in urban planning, Fraser and Kick (2014) assert that such inclusion is simply faux democracy, as dissenting voices are silenced through a discourse which undermines those who disagree as saboteurs looking to prevent courses of action which are constructed as being in the public interest, and for the greater good. Those who voice such arguments are thus vilified as bad citizens, and their positions deemed invalid. This is particularly important here given that prior to the publication of the Masterplan for Middlehaven, Ray Mallon (then Mayor of Middlesbrough) said of a proposal to

demolish the St Hilda's community which for centuries occupied the Middlehaven area "there will now be a consultation period and no doubt numerous people will have their say… However, I am convinced that at the conclusion of the consultation period, housing in St Hilda's will still be razed to the ground" (Gazette, 2013a).

This is not a unique attitude toward the displacement of marginalised communities, who often become marginalised still further in the planning processes designed to demarginalise the space they occupy: Lees (2014) discusses the case of the gentrification of the Aylesbury estate in London, which used the same company (Urban Initiatives) as in Middlehaven to draw up plans for the regeneration. Lees (ibid.) finds that despite claims from the planning company that it used a democratic participatory process, residents felt their views were ignored. With the Aylesbury estate having first been stigmatised as a 'sink estate', the local council was able to build a consensus around the need for regeneration, and even though many residents did not agree to the regeneration which went ahead, by seeming to involve them in the decision-making process, planning authorities were able to project the appearance of consensus (Lees, 2014). The justification of such consensus-based planning is epitomized in Mallon's suggestion that "Middlesbrough as a whole is more important than one community" (Gazette, 2013a), which is imbued with the morally-coded idea that disagreement is selfish or misinformed, as will be considered in the analysis to follow. And while such consensus does not preclude the possibility for resistance (Lees, 2014), of note for this research is the way in which consensus becomes constructed in the first instance, and how it works to justify redevelopment and demarginalisation. This will therefore be paid due attention in the analysis to follow.

Here, then, it is useful to return once more to a discussion of entrepreneurial governance (of which consensus is increasingly a part), or more specifically, to the characteristic of entrepreneurial governance which results in emphasis on the making of place through projects which have effects beyond the immediate space in which they are situated. Speculative urban development is an important process to consider here, as any development which hopes to attract people who are not already there must be speculative, as an influx of interested parties to a redeveloped area cannot be guaranteed. Indeed, the Middlehaven Development Framework states that the risk involved with the speculative nature of the development will require the Council to deliver "significant incentives, pre-lets or other risk sharing mechanisms"

(Middlesbrough Borough Council and HCA, 2012: 29), and so this is an important matter to consider here.

Further, Shatkin's (2008) assertion that mega-projects aim to attract the consumer class by creating spaces which are architecturally distinguished from the rest of the city opens up the question of who the redevelopment in Middlehaven is for, given that the Middlehaven Development Framework proudly shows off artists' interpretations of unique and eye-catching buildings (see Middlesbrough Borough Council and HCA, 2012). Indeed, speculative development projects undertaken as part of efforts to remake the image of a city can result in further marginalisation of the area's already most disadvantaged populations who do not fit the glossy image of the city that elites wish to project (Ramakrishnan, 2016). Goldman (2011) argues that speculative urbanism is producing dispossession on a huge scale in order to produce 'world-class cities' on the basis of the hope of investment, which may well remain a figment of the imagination. Indeed, in his study area of Bangalore, speculative development has involved rapid expansion of the city, the suspension of elected representatives of the city's 198 wards, and the acquisition of rural land on the periphery of the city at artificially deflated prices under the premise that such acquisition is 'good' for the state as a whole (Goldman, 2011).

This imaginative figure of the not-yet-here investor is one which warrants attention, as Tirpak (2016) suggests that such a figure is used to justify redevelopment: In an ethnographic study of marginality in San Antonio, Texas, Tirpak (2016) uses the term 'zombis fresas' to describe the seemingly wealthy computer generated people who mindlessly wander and while away the hours in computer generated images of grand visions of San Antonio's future. In planning documents, such images are placed alongside photographs of present-day San Antonio, and of the real people in them who are disparaged, thereby justifying redevelopment by creating an image of a 'better' world. But such a world is one which attracts the 'zombis fresas' at the expense of local people who cannot afford to make use of the facilities emerging as part of a place-remaking initiative. Thus, in a discussion of marginality, speculative development must be considered both in terms of its direct effects on marginality itself, and in terms of the symbolic economy which it contributes to.

In this chapter, I have provided an outline of some key themes and literatures which I draw upon in the analysis chapters of this thesis. I have highlighted the link

between territorial stigma and regeneration, and considered how particular approaches to local urban governance, including entrepreneurialism, boosterism, and the manufacturing of 'creative' landscapes, work in the context of regeneration or gentrification. Within this appraisal of relevant literature, it is clear that a consideration of spatial and social inequalities must pervade discussions of regeneration in the context of territorial stigma, and in the context of efforts by the local council to secure investment in the space via the planned transformation of Middlehaven into a hub of creative and digital economic activity. Following the debates set out here, a concern with exclusion and symbolic violence, as well as with the dynamics of local governance amid economic change, is maintained throughout this thesis. The literatures outlined in this chapter are central to the discussion which unfolds in the analysis chapters which follow. However, where pertinent and necessary, other related bodies of literature are introduced and drawn upon at critical points throughout the thesis.

3. Methodology

In this chapter, the methods used in collecting and generating data for this thesis are discussed. I aim to reflect upon and justify the methods used for this study, providing a brief explanation of each method and its benefits and limitations in the context of this research, as well as outlining important ethical considerations. A combination of interviews, document analysis, ethnographic walking, and social network mapping was used in this research, and this section considers each in turn.

3.1. Interviews

Interviews are a frequently used method in studies of gentrification or marginality (see for example Lees, 2003; Ley, 2003; Blomley, 1997; Watt, 2003). Indeed, Wacquant (2008) draws on interviews conducted with people living or working in territorially stigmatised areas in his consideration of marginality. As Wacquant (2007) argues that perceptions of a place have the capacity to produce that place as territorially stigmatised, thus producing a premise for social, economic and policy discrimination, it is necessary to engage with individuals living or working in such areas as a means of understanding how a particular space has come to be territorially stigmatised, and how attitudes toward that space are altered or not as attempts to demarginalise the space are carried out. Semi-structured interviews in which participants are given some level of freedom in determining the topic of conversation were therefore identified as a suitable method for this research.

Over a period of 24 months I conducted interviews lasting between 30 and 90 minutes with a range of individuals and groups. I chose to contact people running businesses in Middlehaven, people living in flats, town houses and live-work units built as part of the regeneration, as well as individuals working on the project on behalf of Middlesbrough Council, either as elected councillors or council officers. Interviewing these groups of people presented an opportunity to gain insight into how the area is perceived by those currently using the space, and how efforts are being made (and by whom) to reduce the marginality of the space. As there are no community groups in Middlehaven to which I could gain access (owing largely to a lack of an established

residential community), 150 residents and businesses were contacted individually by means of a hand delivered letter (see Appendix A). Council officers and elected councillors were contacted by email. In order to protect the right of the research participants to anonymity, each will be referred to throughout this thesis using a pseudonym, as set out in Table 1, except where permission has been given to use their real name owing to the ease with which they can be identified by their role.

Atkinson (2003) asserts that tracing individuals displaced via gentrification can be a laborious and difficult task. However, given that the broad focus of this research project is on marginality, it was vital that I avoided marginalising the community which has been displaced by regeneration within the research, as this would reinforce the very processes I am aiming here to interrogate. The importance of attempting to contact individuals who were formerly part of the community which existed at St Hilda's prior to the onset of the current regeneration project was therefore clear. Given that the residential community at St Hilda's, Middlehaven, was displaced as part of the regeneration several years before I began the research presented in this thesis, attaining contact details for former residents proved very difficult. However, there are numerous publicly available news articles from around the time of the demolition of St Hilda's, which reveal the names of some former residents. The possibility was therefore raised of using social media to contact potential participants. However, the potential of using social media to contact research participants raised a number of ethical concerns, including the possibility that accidentally contacting the wrong 'Sarah Smith' would compromise my ability to guarantee anonymity of research participants. I therefore decided to pursue alternative methods of participant recruitment, and of data collection.

I initially made contact with a few former St Hilda's residents at a collaborative community event in Middlesbrough, which was set up by the North East Migration Project to capture individuals' "Memories of the Bongo" - a famous nightclub which falls within the boundaries of the Middlehaven regeneration area. The event, in May 2018, followed the closure of the club due to the revocation of its alcohol license one year earlier, and sought to produce a collective history of the venue prior to its reopening. Attending the community event enabled me to make connections with individuals who had links to the St Hilda's area, and with those organising the event who had previously conducted interviews with former St Hilda's residents, who kindly agreed to allow me to use their previously-collected interview data for this project.

Table 1. Interview participant pseudonyms and brief characterisation of their role in Middlehaven (interviews conducted specifically for this research).

Interview Number	**Pseudonym**	**Role in Middlehaven***
1 and 2	James	Resident in flats in Middlehaven
3	Matthew	Resident of live/work unit in Middlehaven
4	Keith	Property Developer with buildings in Middlehaven
5	Bob	Elected Councillor (Executive Member)
6	George	Resident in flats in Middlehaven
7	Vincent	Business Owner
8	Yvonne	Business Owner
9	Mike	Business Owner
10	Lance	Council Officer (Regeneration Department)
11	Douglas	Council Officer (Regeneration Department)
12	Patrick	Council Officer (Regeneration Department - Planning)
13	Sandra	Elected Councillor (Planning and Development Committee)
14	Edward	Elected Councillor (Executive Member)
15	Arthur	Elected Councillor (Scrutiny Panel)
16	Dave Budd**	Elected Mayor
17	Amanda	Member of staff at Middlesbrough College
18	Gerry	Member of staff at Middlesbrough Football Club
19	Dexter	Middlesbrough resident previously threatened with the demolition of his home
20	Frank	Middlesbrough resident previously threatened with the demolition of his home
21	Henry	Middlesbrough resident previously threatened with the demolition of his home

*The roles identified here refer to the roles held by the interview participants at the time of the interview, and many may have since changed. Following local elections in May 2019, many councillors lost their seats in Middlesbrough. The election of a new Mayor, also in May 2019, means that Dave Budd is no longer in this position, and councillors appointed to the Executive (the highest tier of elected councillors, which is selected by the Mayor) have also changed.

**This participant has consented to the use of their real name as they are easily identifiable by their role.

However, gaining access to residents who had been living in St Hilda's at the point of the announcement of redevelopment in the early 2000s proved more difficult, and so I sought to access the perspectives of these residents through other means. At the time of the upheaval affecting the St Hilda's community, a number of newspaper articles and video/audio recordings were produced based upon journalists' interviews with residents immediately prior to their displacement. These, along with residents' objections and testimonies in official council documentation, provide important data which reveal something of the construction of the nature of marginality in Middlehaven, and individuals' lived experiences of the space prior to and as a result of regeneration (see Table 2 for a list of interviews attained through these sources).

At around the same time that St Hilda's was threatened with demolition in the early 2000s, Gresham in central Middlesbrough also faced this threat. However, unlike St Hilda's, much of Gresham was eventually spared demolition, and so residents of this area were much easier to make contact with. I therefore contacted a community group based in Gresham, and was able to conduct a focus-group with three residents who had experienced living with the threat of demolition and who, along with other residents, had campaigned with some success for their homes to be saved. These interviews are useful in this study, as although the experiences of these individuals are not directly applicable to the situation at St Hilda's, their experiences of living with demolition and with dealing with the council are undoubtedly similar. Additionally, having gone through a similar experience to the St Hilda's residents, and living close to the centre of Middlesbrough, the group I spoke with had some knowledge of the Middlehaven area and its regeneration.

Initially, the response rate for this study was low, at just under 5% based upon responses to direct invitations to interview by letter or email. However, snowballing – whereby interview participants were asked to put other people known to them to be involved in some way in the Middlehaven redevelopment in touch with me (King and Horrocks, 2010) – was used to secure around 60% of the interviews conducted specifically for this research. The success of snowballing to recruit participants can be attributed to the trust which individuals have in people that they know who have recommended that they participate in the research, which in turn produces trust in the research and leads participants to be more willing to engage with the researcher (Sadler et al., 2010). Kanuk and Berenson (1975) argue that in addition to non-response bias, special interest bias - wherein those that do respond to the request for interview have a particular interest in the topic which doesn't represent the population being studied - can be problematic for studies with low response rates. However, as this research is focused on the demarginalisation of the space, and not of Middlehaven's population per se, special interest bias doesn't present a major challenge here, particularly as I actively sought to speak to those with a knowledge of the area greater than would be expected in the general population.

Table 2. Interview participant pseudonyms and brief characterisation of role in Middlehaven (interviews conducted by others, for purposes other than for this research).

Interview Number	**Pseudonym**	**Role in Middlehaven**	**Source of Interview**
22	Denise	Former resident of St Hilda's, displaced by regeneration	Provided by Ciara Leeming
23	Rose	Former resident of St Hilda's, displaced by regeneration	Provided by Ciara Leeming
24	Steve	Former resident of St Hilda's, prior to the onset of regeneration	Provided by Savita Sathe
25	Cecil	Former resident of St Hilda's, prior to the onset of regeneration	Provided by Savita Sathe
26	Deborah	Former resident of St Hilda's, prior	North East Migration

		to the onset of regeneration	Project (online)
27	June	Former resident of St Hilda's, prior to the onset of regeneration	North East Migration Project (online)
28	Jim	Former resident of St Hilda's, prior to the onset of regeneration	Northern Film Media (online)

I used semi-structured interviews for this research, and thus made use of a list of potential interview questions which was used to guide the interviews (see Appendix B for an example). This list was not entirely prescriptive of the direction the interviews would take, and includes broad questions which allow interviewees to direct the conversation to topics which they consider to be relevant (Longhurst, 2016), which has the advantage of allowing research participants to articulate their experiences and introduce ideas which the researcher may not have thought of (Valentine, 2005). Indeed, the conversational style of semi-structured interviews allows for the use of probing questions, enabling the researcher to ask further questions which become relevant during the interview when the interviewee mentions something of particular interest (Crang and Cook, 1995).

As Holstein and Gubrium (1995) assert, interviews are not simply a way of collecting ready-formed knowledge from research participants, but are an exercise in producing knowledge through conversation. However, since a sound recording was made of each of the interviews used in this research, the recording device also played an important role in the generation of the data presented in this thesis. Not only do recording devices reduce a complex interaction to the element of that interaction which can be captured and then transcribed as words arranged in an orderly fashion on paper or a computer screen, as Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) note, the presence of a recording device may also affect what research participants say during an interview: Occasionally, individuals answered certain questions evasively on tape, and then wished to provide a more full answer once the recording device had been switched off, or remained alert to the fact that their interview was being recorded and made direct reference to the recording device:

> "There was the optimism of the new plan which had the building of the ugly Middlesbrough College. I say that to your tape!" – Vincent, owner of a business located in Middlehaven

Speer and Hutchby (2003) argue that such considerations of the issues which arise when using a recording device during interviews are based on a misplaced and unnecessary assumption that "that there is a realm of social interaction that is pristine and natural, but that the presence of a researcher, or, more seriously, of recording devices, can only disturb, distort or otherwise contaminate" (317), and that orientations toward the recording device by participants ought to be analysed as empirical data. However, as Hammersley (2003) argues, a reflexive approach in which it is acknowledged that a researcher is always in the world, and always engaged in interaction with their surroundings, steers away from the naturalist approach critiqued by Speer and Hutchby (2003) by accepting that data does not need to be free from influence by the process of research to be valid, while also maintaining concern with the way in which participants may react to being recorded without producing the need to treat such reactivity as "more grist for the analytic mill" (Hammersley, 2003: 346).

As such, it is important here to consider my own positionality within the research setting. Indeed, my own positionality varied between different interviews depending on where it was held and on who was being interviewed: While Anyan (2013) argues that qualitative interviews are necessarily subject to a power imbalance between the researcher and the research participant owing to the researcher's monopoly on interpretation, the precise nature of the power relations between myself and those I interviewed varied. Indeed, Elwood and Martin (2000) suggest that the location of an interview is critical in determining the power relations between interviewer and interviewee, and given that I gave research participants a choice of where to meet, my interviews took place in a range of settings across the Middlehaven site and Middlesbrough town centre, and thus inevitably produced diverse power relations and affected my own positionality. For example, while I always occupied the position of researcher and of local resident, I sometimes also became positioned as a guest, depending on whether I was speaking with an interviewee in their home, meeting a research participant in their office, or conducting interviews in a local café.

As Cochrane (2014) asserts, power relations between interviewee and interviewer tend to be particularly pronounced when interviewing professional elites

(such as Council officials), and can often favour the position of the interviewee owing to the perceived higher status of the interviewee compared with the researcher. However, given that a semi-structured interview format was used, even where research participants had a greater degree of control over the interview (particularly when answering probing questions, which ask research participants to elaborate on their answer in a way which they choose, thus placing the interviewee in control (Gillham, 2000)), the interview schedule enabled the general thematic focus of the interviews to be maintained (Cochrane, 2014).

The interviews undertaken for this research were transcribed and then analysed with the conceptual framework set out in the literature review in mind. This involved carrying out a close and detailed reading of the transcripts in order to identify statements which appeared to be of note in terms of helping to answer the research questions set out previously and in terms of their relation (whether supportive or not) to the conceptual framework. The themes which emerged from this analysis are explored in depth in the chapters to follow.

3.2. Document Analysis

As Rapley (2007) asserts, language is not neutral, and in fact works to produce particular effects: Language, spoken or written, is not entirely distinct from the phenomenon or 'thing' which it describes, but has a role in producing or maintaining it (Hastings, 2014). Indeed, texts have the potential to generate social and material effects (Fairclough, 2003). As such, the language used in the various documents produced during the process of regeneration is important to consider and interrogate. In order to gain insight into the discourses employed in the justification of regeneration and in approaches toward demarginalisation, several documents, including policy and planning documents, newspaper articles and web pages, were analysed with a view to answering the research questions set out previously. This approach falls under the category of 'unobtrusive methods', as it uses data which already existed prior to the commencement of the research, and which (for the most-part) is already easily accessible in the public domain (Ball, 2011).

The documents analysed as part of this research were chosen because they are all related in some way to Middlehaven, or to Middlesbrough and the approaches taken toward regeneration by the local authority. The documents referenced in the analysis sections of this thesis are listed in Table 3. During the process of document analysis, each of the documents was read closely and analysed in relation to the conceptual framework set out in the literature review. Indeed, when reading through each document, any relationship that the text (or other features of the document) bore to ideas raised in the literature (or ideas which emerged through the course of data collection via other methods) was noted. Since the language used within policy texts works to legitimise particular options and to prevent others from being considered (such as will be considered in the analysis sections of this thesis in relation to the issue of demolition in Middlehaven and Gresham) (Lowe, 2004), the analysis of the documents used in this study was conducted with this issue in mind. Additionally, the analysis sought to reveal how particular issues become important for the local political agenda to begin with, and how particular discourses surrounding the redevelopment of Middlehaven are developed, presented and maintained.

The nature of document analysis is such that, where documents have been preserved and are accessible, the historical record can be used to trace the development of particular ideas over time. This method therefore proved particularly useful for this

research project, since the Middlehaven regeneration project has been ongoing for many years, and as noted previously, the stigma associated with parts of Middlehaven has its roots in the town's early history (see for example Brown, 2009). Consideration of the historical roots of this stigma is particularly important given the territorial nature of the 'Over the Border' label. Elden (2010) argues for an approach towards understanding territory which pays attention to its historical and geographical specificity, and which focuses on "'space' as a political category: owned, distributed, mapped, calculated, bordered and controlled" (810). Taking such an approach, Elden (2010) suggests, enables the political-economic, political-strategic, legal and technical elements of territory to be examined together in a way which "allows us to understand territory as a distinct mode of social/spatial organisation, one which is historically and geographically limited and dependent" (810). In a consideration of territorial stigma, then, it is important to examine the precise historical conditions which led to the emergence of a stigmatised territory, and which have thus produced a space as 'Over the Border'. Document analysis is therefore an important tool for understanding territorial stigma within a specific geographical and historical context, and enables consideration of the specific understandings of space, and techniques of power, on which the production of territorial stigma is contingent. Indeed, documents provide an essential means of tracing this history in locations where the physical and corporeal traces of such histories have been partially erased through displacement and demolition, such as in Middlehaven.

Additionally, as became apparent during the course of the research presented here, given the lengthy period of time in which plans to regenerate the Middlehaven area have existed, there has been considerable change in the personnel involved in its delivery, and there are few people living in the area now that were particularly familiar with the area prior to regeneration. Many of the documents analysed as part of this research therefore act as essential conduits to the past, enabling insights to be drawn regarding issues which the other methods employed in this research could not hope to engage with in sufficient detail, due to the difficulties in locating and recruiting individuals with first-hand knowledge of the area's recent or more distant past.

As Skehill et al. (2012) show in their discussion of analysing child protection documents, the engagement with history enabled by documents can be useful in developing "deeper understandings of transformations that are neither the result of discursive or practice changes alone, but rather the outcome of a complex interplay of organisations, regulations and discourses between various actors and at a number of

levels" (59). Thus, in highlighting the cyclical relationship between discourse and practice (Skehill et al., 2012), document analysis offers insight into the way in which shifts in both policy and practice arise, and crucially, situates such changes in their spatial and temporal contexts. Indeed, given that this thesis focuses on demarginalisation as a process, time is a critical factor in analysis. Document analysis is therefore an important method in this research, and is able to provide insight into both historical and current conditions of governance through various stages of regeneration in Middlesbrough.

While some proponents of document analysis opt to focus on a particular aspect of the documents they peruse, choosing one of, for instance, photographs, diagrams, text, or statistics, as their focus (see for example, Ball, 2011), here I have not limited my analysis of all documents in such a way. Rather, I have taken a more flexible approach, in which each document was skimmed, and any components (passages of text, images, etc.) which stood out as relevant for the research, in terms of resonating or conflicting with the topics for research set out in the literature review and which had otherwise emerged as salient, were then read more thoroughly and analysed in greater depth. This approach was taken so as to avoid excluding a priori components of the documents which hadn't originally been expected to provide useful insights for the research. Both the form and content of the documents have therefore been considered and, where pertinent, such analysis will be presented in the analysis to follow.

Table 3. A list of the documents analysed which are referenced in this thesis. Full references for these documents are included in the reference list at the end of this thesis. Where documents (such as newspaper articles) have been used simply as a source for information reported as factual, and the contents of the document not analysed per se, these are not included in this table.

	Authors	**Date**	**Title**
1	HM Government	1961	Land Compensation Act, 1961, Chapter 33
2	URBED and CABE	2002	Breaking Down the Barriers. Towns and Cities: Partners in Urban Renaissance
3	English Partnerships	2002	English Partnerships Press Release
4	Alsop, W.	2004	The Greater Middlehaven Strategic Framework Plan
5	Tees Valley Regeneration	2004	Middlehaven: Tees Valley Regeneration's Official News Letter for Middlehaven. Issue One
6	Scott Wilson Kilpatrick & Co. on behalf of Middlesbrough Council	2005	St Hilda's, Middlesbrough. Historic Building Assessment
7	Gazette	2005c	Mallon's Message to Gresham Residents
8	Middlesbrough Council	2006a	Planning and Development Committee. Application M/OUT/1990/05/P
9	Middlesbrough Council	2006b	Local Development Framework
10	BioRegional Quintain	2007	Greater Middlehaven Phase 1 – Middlesbrough Dock Basin Redevelopment. Design and Access Statement
11	Middlesbrough Council	2007	Executive Report - Station (Middlesbrough Historic Quarter) Conservation Area Review
12	Middlesbrough Council	2008	Middlesbrough Urban Regeneration Strategy
13	Middlesbrough Council	2009a	Regeneration Development Plan Document: Middlesbrough Local Development Framework
14	Gazette	2010	Pub calls time over the border
15	Middlesbrough Council	2010	Middlehaven and St Hilda's. Report of the Economic Regeneration and Transport Scrutiny Panel.
16	Middlesbrough Council	2011	Executive Report: Housing Market Renewal – The Way Forward
17	Middlesbrough Council and Homes and Communities Agency	2012	Middlehaven Development Framework: Final Report
18	Middlesbrough Council	2012	Economic Regeneration and Transport Scrutiny Panel Draft Final Report - The Transport Element of the Local Development Framework
19	Gazette	2013	Got to Go: Bulldozers are poised to move in to demolish all the homes in Middlesbrough's longest established community
20	Middlesbrough Council	2013b	Middlesbrough Local Plan - Housing Core Strategy and Housing Development Plan Document
21	Middlesbrough Council	2014a	Middlehaven Compulsory Purchase Order Statement of Case
22	Middlesbrough Council	2014b	Middlehaven Compulsory Purchase Order 2014 Statement of Reasons
23	Middlesbrough Council	2014c	Economic Regeneration and Transport Scrutiny Panel Minutes, 11th December 2014
24	Blackburn, M., for the Gazette	2016	Middlesbrough's shameful past as the capital of sin – and the infamous pubs that fuelled it
25	Middlesbrough Council	2016a	Executive Report: Disposal of the Captain Cook Public House
26	Middlesbrough Council	2016b	Middlesbrough Council Strategic Plan Report 2016-2020
27	Middlesbrough Council	2016c	Middlesbrough Local Plan Review
28	lovemiddlesbrough.com	2017	Dictionary of Middlesbrough and Teesside Accent Dialect and Slang
29	Middlesbrough Council	2017a	Middlesbrough Investment Prospectus
30	Middlesbrough Council	2017b	Planning and Development Committee Report (snow centre)
31	Middlesbrough Council	2017c	People Strategy 2017/19

3.3. Ethnographic Walking

Following Lancione's (2016) assertion that structural approaches toward understanding marginality miss out on the opportunity to engage with the way in which marginality is experienced at a local level, ethnography emerged as a suitable method for this research. Ethnography involves the generation of knowledge through a first-hand experience of what is being studied, and involves a high degree of reflexivity (Walsh, 2012), thereby enabling consideration of the approaches toward demarginalising Middlehaven in a manner which complements the more abstracted insights which document analysis provides, whilst also enabling observations to be made on a more intricate scale. De Certeau (2011) contrasts the panoptic view of New York from the top of a sky-scraper – which he asserts positions the viewer as an observer entirely removed from the production of space and social life – with the experience of walking in the city: It is on the pavement, he argues, that one can gain a sense of how space is constructed and negotiated in everyday life, as "the ordinary practitioners of the city live "down below", below the thresholds at which visibility begins" (De Certeau, 2011: 265). Thus, the method of walking through urban space provides an opportunity to engage with everyday life in a way which the structural accounts of marginality (such as Wacquant's (2007; 2008)) which this research draws heavily upon, do not, thus broadening the scope for meaningful analyses to be made within the research.

Indeed, the pedestrian experience appears as an important element of plans for the regeneration. This is evident in the 2004 Alsop Masterplan, which calls for improved pedestrian access to Middlehaven, and describes a Vision for how the space will be experienced in a distinctly ambulatory sense. The document provides a vivid description of an 'inhabited parkland' envisaged for the centre of Middlehaven, which indicates how the space ought to be best experienced:

> "The east wind blowing in across the dock cannot get far before it is interrupted by the varying topography of this environment. Its changing profile provides the opportunity for many different moods and experiences – a long walk, a sheltered place for a picnic, for plants to grow that like the sun and equally those that prefer the shade." – Alsop (2004a: 45)

The corporeal senses invoked by this passage – the feeling of a breeze, or of being sheltered from a breeze; of seeking shade, or warmth from a sunny spot – are inevitably experienced by being out in the open, experiencing the space on foot. Walking through

the space therefore appears to be an important means of encountering Middlehaven as it is intended to be encountered.

It follows that my ethnography took the form of a series of walks through the Middlehaven area. The Middlehaven Development Framework provides what it terms "The Spatial Concept" for Middlehaven, in which a series of routes through the area are identified as the "the key structuring elements of the plan" which if expressed "appropriately through their design will help to create a legible urban fabric and a sense of place" (Middlesbrough Council and HCA, 2012: 34). Thus, in order to consider how journeys through urban space are deployed as a means of demarginalising Middlehaven, I initially elected to follow the routes identified by Middlesbrough Council (see Figure 6). Following these prescribed routes was identified as a method for comparing the rhetoric of demarginalisation promoted in documentation published by the Council with

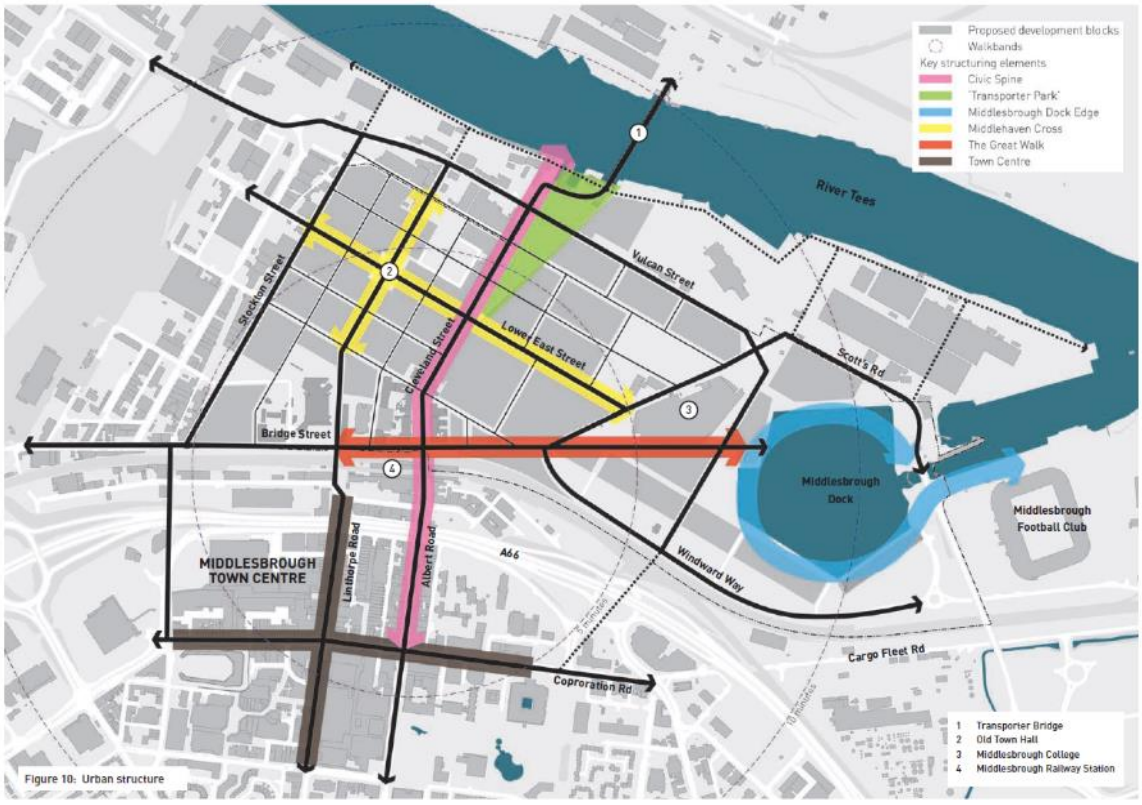


Figure 6. The Spatial Concept of Middlehaven, as shown in the Middlehaven Development Framework. The coloured routes shown are identified as important for creating a sense of place, and are the routes which formed the basis of the walks completed as part of data collection using ethnographic methods. Source: Middlesbrough Council (2012).

on-the-ground activity, and for gaining insight into the role of physical urban space in the demarginalisation of the territorially stigmatised area.

As the research progressed, after many walks along the routes set out by the Spatial Concept, I then decided to walk in a less directed manner, in order to experience those parts of Middlehaven which have yet to attract investment. As Garrett (2011) asserts, urban exploration, and the experiential value of derelict spaces gained through it, reveals that places, even after their abandonment by capitalist uses, continue to exist as places: "There is no wasted space, no nonplaces: there are just places cared for and remembered in different ways" (Garrett, 2011: 1050). This notion that there are no 'nonplaces' is important here, as it suggests that those places which fall between or outside of the parts of Middlehaven which have attracted investment (either public or private) are nonetheless important for study, and their lack of any obvious capitalist use at present does not undermine their existence as sites for interrogation and understanding.

The walking ethnography presented in this thesis commenced at the onset of this project, although having studied the Middlehaven area closely during the completion of a previous research project, my experiences of the area in a research capacity span a longer timescale (starting in early 2015). Indeed, it is worth considering the extent to which my expectations - informed to a large extent by my previous research and by engagement with a number of documents prior to my first day of walking The Spatial Concept – influenced my observations and experience of the area. An extract from my ethnographic notes highlights this:

> "I continue my walk along the 'Civic Spine' toward the river. I am struck by how unwelcoming it feels, with metal spikes atop walls, and holes in the ground where I assume plants must once have been. And the view of the majestic Transporter Bridge is largely obscured by faded boards advertising the redevelopment.
>
> Then I catch a glimpse of the new urban park, which I have been looking forward to seeing. I excitedly pick up my pace to reach it and have a look around. It looks good. It is lined on one side by the new urban pioneers' terrace which is painted brightly. A yellow path zigzags through the park, and low-maintenance planting fills borders. Benches are scattered throughout the park, and I choose one which faces a wavy concrete sculpture (or is it a kind of bench? I'm not really sure) and is angled toward the Transporter Bridge." – ethnographic notes, January 2017.

Here, the possibility arises that my excitement upon seeing the urban park arose from the anticipation of seeing it after reading about the park in online news articles and policy documents as part of my preparations, rather than from the environment itself. Indeed, having studied artists' representations of the area, the unwelcoming atmosphere and appearance of the space exemplified by the barbed metal affixed to walls and hoardings was unexpected, and was perhaps forgotten in the moment of seeing the park I had been waiting to visit. As Campbell and Lassiter (2014) note, a researcher's experiences do affect their perceptions, and cannot be abstracted from them. As such, ethnography is necessarily incomplete and subjective (Swanson, 2014). It follows, therefore, that my understandings and expectations of the space I walked through, as informed by my previous experiences, will have had some bearing on the data I generated using this method.

Given that time is a crucial factor in determining the observations made during ethnography (Ball, 1990), I made sure to complete the walk at different times of day and of the week, as well as at different times of the year. This meant that the 'snapshots' gained from the ethnographic walks allowed me to gain insight into the organisation and atmosphere of the space in different temporally contingent conditions. However, given that my ethnography spanned a wide spatial area, essentially taking in six sites as defined by The Spatial Concept, and took the form of a journey, observations at each point on the route cannot be easily compared since they inevitably occur both at different times of day and, crucially, at different points on the trajectory of my walk. As Wylie (2005) notes in his discussion of his ethnographic study of walking the South West Coast Path, as walking is a necessarily embodied practice, he was particularly aware of the pain in his feet in the afternoon as his feet became increasingly tired as the day wore on. This inevitably affected his perceptions and ethnographic observations of the landscape, as "pain occurs neither 'in me' nor 'in that' – the externalized body – but 'between me and it', in this step, this next step. And so the landscape emerges as malignant" (Wylie, 2005: 244). Thus, the linear progression of the walk necessarily affects the ethnographic observations which can be made.

The nature of doing an ethnography of a journey is such that the amount of data generated about each point of the journey is less than would be achieved had the fieldwork been conducted in one confined space over the same time period. This, Hannerz (2003) suggests, is not a limitation given that the aim of ethnography is not to find out everything about a single place, but to understand an aspect of it. Thus, given

that I set out to understand how place is made and how space is demarginalised through the process of journeying, it makes sense that my research necessitated mobility and required that I didn't stay in any single point on my route for too long. And while Walsh (2012) advocates continuing ethnographic fieldwork to the point of theoretical saturation, at which no new observations would be made, walking is a necessarily differentiated process (Solnit, 2001), as "there is in fact a sort of harmony discoverable between the capabilities of the landscape within a circle of ten miles' radius, or the limits of an afternoon walk, and the threescore years and ten of human life. It will never become quite familiar to you" (Thoreau, 1862, quoted in Solnit, 2001: 5). Thus, it is reasonable to expect that an ethnography of walking could not produce theoretical saturation, and that this should not limit the validity of the data generated.

The ethnography completed along the routes of The Spatial Concept and across the rest of Middlehaven will be considered in the analysis to follow in order to ground the analysis in an understanding of a first-hand experience of the space under study, and to consider in depth the role of experiences of the urban environment in attempts to demarginalise Middlehaven.

3.4. Social Network Mapping

Given that this thesis sets out to consider how power operates in Middlesbrough, particularly with reference to demarginalisation, it is important to pay attention to exactly who is involved in this operation of power. The number of individuals and organisations involved in the governance of a town populated by approximately 140,000 people is inevitably vast, and given that the Middlehaven regeneration project has been ongoing for several decades, there has been a considerable amount of change in the personnel and organisations involved in its delivery. Building an accurate impression of the operation of power in Middlesbrough is therefore a complex task, and requires a methodological approach which can reasonably capture the complexities of the network of people and institutions involved in the governance of the town in such a way that it can be presented in a manageable and accessible format so as to enable useful analysis based upon the overall organisation of power to be made. Social network mapping enables a detailed understanding of the relationships between various actors within a particular network to emerge (de Nooy et al., 2011; Scott, 2015), and so was therefore identified as a suitable method for this research.

Mapping social networks is a key part of Social Network Analysis (SNA), and so consideration of SNA is useful here in outlining and evaluating the use of the social network mapping which was undertaken for this research. Through the representation of a social network, SNA aims to highlight the relationships between entities within the network (which may be individuals or organisations), and to explain these relationships both in terms of the reasons for and consequences of their existence (Knoke and Yang, 2008). Indeed, SNA assumes that the relationships which constitute a network affect and influence the behaviours and decisions taken within that network, and so in trying to understand the governance of Middlehaven, it is important to pay attention not only to the individuals and organisations making decisions regarding the regeneration project, but also to the relationships between them. While SNA – and associated network mapping - is usually treated as a quantitative research method (see Scott, 2015; de Nooy et al., 2011), as Heath et al. (2009) assert, a qualitative approach can also be valuable for exploring networks and revealing the nature of the relations between various actors in a network. Indeed, interviews or ethnographic and archival data can be used to bring context and an overall deeper understanding to the analysis of a network structure (Heath et al., 2009).

In this research, I used a qualitative approach to identify the individuals and organisations to include in the network to be mapped. This involved identifying relationships through document analysis, interviews with individuals involved in the governance of Middlesbrough and Middlehaven, and further online research. This data was then used to produce a 'sociogram' (a diagram which illustrates the various connections between different actors in a network (de Nooy et al., 2011)) of the structure of governance in Middlehaven which represents the multiple relationships involved in the delivery of the regeneration project (see Figure 16). Organisations, groups, or individuals identified as having a role in the governance of Middlesbrough were plotted in a diagram, and the relationships between them were highlighted by drawing a series of lines connecting various actors or groups together. Contextual information explaining some of the key relationships (identified through qualitative evidence) was then added to aid in the reading of these relationships and their influence on decision-making. This method enabled acknowledgement of historical changes in the network, as well as its current configuration. Of course, this method of representing a network has limitations, since it is likely that some relationships have not been identified through the qualitative approach used, and are therefore not exposed for analysis.

However, even social network mapping conducted using a more quantitative approach can suffer from this same incompleteness. For instance, in quantitative SNA, the vectors (points representing actors) in a network are often identified by asking each individual (or organisation) in the network to list all of the individuals (or organisations) which they have a connection or relationship with. The structure of the network is then revealed by mapping out these relationships between each vector in the defined network. However, it is possible that individuals may neglect to mention one or more of their relationships for whatever reason, either deliberately or by accident, and thereby render the represented network partial (Heath et al., 2009). It is important, therefore, in both qualitatively and quantitatively produced social network maps to maintain awareness of the fact that the represented network may not be the whole network, and that the structures captured within the representation are embedded within a broader network which is constituted partially through the structures identified but is not itself captured in its entirety. However, as Heath et al., (2009) attest, even where elements of a network are known to be missing from the analysis, SNA can nonetheless "provide the context for embedded, rather than individualized, decision-making" (657). Social

network mapping is thus a useful method in this study, as it enables consideration of the practices of decision-making within known structures of governance, and therefore aids understanding of the way in which relationships within the network operate with respect to the outcomes reached in the delivery of governance in Middlesbrough.

Regardless of whether a qualitative or quantitative approach is taken towards mapping a social network, the representation of the social network used in subsequent analysis is the result of a number of decisions made about how best to group the data, and which data to include in the first instance. Before a network can be represented, the network to be studied must be defined. In this case, the network of interest for this research is that of the governance of Middlehaven. A nominalist approach was taken towards defining the boundaries of the network, in which theoretical justifications are used to set the boundaries of who is or is not included in the network for study (Prell, 2012). Those actors and organisations identified in the sociograms included in later parts of this thesis are included on the basis of qualitative research which suggests that they have some role or influence (whether small or large) in the decisions made surrounding the governance of Middlehaven, or in Middlesbrough more broadly. As previously discussed, snowballing was used in order to secure interviews (see section 3.1), and since the sociograms group individuals according to their roles in governing Middlesbrough so as to place the focus of analysis on the role of relationships in decision-making (as opposed to the role of particular individuals), the individuals interviewed via this technique do not appear as individual entities in the network, though the relationships identified between the groups they belong to do appear, and are useful in capturing the network structure. Therefore, while the grouping of various actors into a single entity in a sociogram was important in this instance for ensuring the clear visualisation of the overall network (partial though it may be), the use of finer grained data remains intrinsic to the representation achieved, and so the complexity of governance in Middlehaven is not lost through this method.

Overall, social network mapping served as a useful method for combining data collected using the other methods discussed in this section into a format which enabled clear visualisation of the structures of governance in Middlehaven. This approach to understanding the operation of power through relationships in Middlesbrough therefore enabled observations to be made with regard to the role of structure in the decision-making process, and made clear the importance of various relationships for governance outcomes in Middlesbrough.

3.5. Reflections on Mixed-Methods Research

The four different methods outlined in this chapter have been used together in an attempt to answer the research questions which this thesis aims to address. It follows that the analysis presented in this thesis is based upon data collected from each of these methods, and so here I briefly outline the reasons for taking a mixed-methods approach, reflecting on the advantages and challenges of doing so. As Mason (2006) asserts, taking a mixed-methods approach to qualitative research is not inherently advantageous, and so some explanation of how and to what ends the different methods outlined here were used in conjunction with one another is required.

One key potential advantage which mixed-method research offers is the possibility for consideration of the different scales on which the phenomena being studied operate (Mason, 2006). Indeed, as outlined previously, ethnographic walking enabled this research to engage with the dynamics of urban regeneration at the individual level, while document analysis enabled consideration of these same dynamics at a much wider scale (e.g. that of the local state or national state). Additionally, interviews and document analysis enabled consideration of territorial stigma in Middlehaven across a much longer timescale than interviews alone could have provided, and so enabled examination of the origins of the 'Over the Border' stigma and its construction and mobilisation. In this respect, combining these methods held value for this research in that it enabled a fuller understanding of the processes and characteristics of regeneration in Middlehaven to emerge. Indeed, in order to capture the 'messiness' of complex issues, it can be useful to use several methods as a means of approaching various dimensions of this complexity, and doing so recognises the partiality of the insight which can be gained through a single method (De Lisle, 2011).

However, more important here is Elwood's (2010) recognition that it is not just the collection of complementary data in this way which makes mixed-methods research advantageous, but the way in which these methods combine "at analytical, interpretive or epistemological levels" (96) to create new knowledge which either one method in isolation would not have enabled. Inevitably, tensions arise in mixed method research as to how to integrate the different methods to create coherent explanations, since mixed-method research approaches the inquiry from various standpoints or 'worldviews'. It is such that Mason (2006) argues for a 'dialogic' approach which recognises these

tensions, and rather than attempt to integrate the methods together, holds together the "multiple relevancies and questions" which emerge from a mixed-methods approach "in creative tension and dynamic relation with the explanation itself" (20). This dialogical or 'multi-nodal' approach, Mason (2006) argues, recognises the multiple dimensions of social experience, and attempts to explain this experience along multiple 'axes' of understanding offered by the different modes of inquiry which each method brings. For this research, this has meant that each of the methods outlined in this chapter have provided useful insights into particular aspects or dimensions of the research questions previously set out, which combine to enable a more in-depth understanding of the dynamics of territorial stigma and urban regeneration in Middlehaven. The discussions presented in the analytical chapters to follow therefore draw on data gathered from each method used, and recognise the possibilities for understanding which each method offers while also accepting that each method illuminates the discussion in different, distinctive ways.

4. Overcoming Territorial Stigma: From No-Go Area to Designer Playground?

4.1. Blame (or the Justification of Regeneration)

As has been discussed in the introduction to this thesis, regeneration is nothing new to Middlehaven (the area previously known as St Hilda's). However, the nature of the regeneration taking place is not uniform throughout the area's history. Here, I trace a shift in the logic behind the series of demolitions which have occurred in Middlehaven, drawing on document analysis and interviews from an historic episode of slum clearance and the most recent spate of demolitions. Green and Grahame (2009) assert that Middlehaven has been subject to a continuous cycle of demolition and regeneration over the past 160 years. This includes the 1913 Burgess slum clearance which involved the demolition of a number of properties and the construction of a new police station (Scott Wilson Kilpatrick & Co., 2005); the building of 511 new homes in 1954 (which would later be demolished) (ibid., 2005); and the 1980 Tower Green redevelopment of the St Hilda's area, which saw a local development company build 120 new homes and convert an existing police station into flats (which were also later demolished) (Moorsom, 1991). The following example of one period of regeneration in Middlehaven's history highlights how previous calls for redevelopment differ from the present. In 1945, the Middlesbrough Survey and Plan, which recommended demolition of all residential properties at St Hilda's, stated that the area was:

> "in a condition of extreme dilapidation… The system of ownership in Middlesbrough has certainly contributed to the bad housing conditions obtaining. The land was largely owned by the 'Owners of the Middlesbrough Estate Ltd.' [originally set up by Pease to establish the town]. They have sold their land piece-meal for development on the smallest scale, continuously buying up more land on the outskirts, for the purpose of parcelling and selling as before. Few people administer their own property and rent collection is in the hand of not more than a dozen principal agents. These act for various small property owning trusts. None of the Trusts provide sinking funds for the replacement of obsolete houses. They appear to regard the brick structure of their houses as everlasting. They have no direct contact with their tenants and do not concern themselves with their living conditions." – The Middlesbrough Survey and Plan, quoted in Sadler (1990: 332).

Of interest here is that the post-WW2 Middlesbrough Survey and Plan attributed blame for the less than satisfactory conditions in St Hilda's not to the residents

themselves, but to the wealthy land-owners who paid little attention to the living conditions of their tenants (Sadler, 1990). This differs markedly from the rhetoric surrounding the present cycle of regeneration, and from the attitudes of the general public. During the current phase of regeneration at St Hilda's, in keeping with the neoliberal drive toward responsibilisation (Jenkins, 2005), the blame for the afflictions of St Hilda's is often placed with the very people living with the stigma (see Jones, 2012). For instance, Bob, a councillor and Executive Member at Middlesbrough Council, remarked that:

> "[St Hilda's is] where Middlesbrough started. The Old Town Hall's still over there. We're trying to get money to do that up as well but that needs something like a million pounds spent on it. We did have, again, some interest, but it fell away when they saw the state of the place, I think. It developed over years, and they built new housing there, which sadly – I mean, this is historical – that failed as well because of who was there and who wanted to live there". – Bob, an elected councillor

Indeed, it appears that while the St Hilda's area was afflicted by social deprivation very early in its history, the kind of territorial stigma described by Wacquant (2008), in which people living in the spaces of advanced marginality themselves suffer the implications of the stigma attached to their place of residence in material ways, has not been mobilised in planning policy throughout the entirety of St Hilda's history: Writing in 1948, Ruth Glass noted that while the St Hilda's area of Middlesbrough was 'cut off' from the remainder of the town by the railway line, and while the area was among the most deprived neighbourhoods in Middlesbrough, it was not, in 1948, socially marginalised from the rest of the town in the way which sees it being labelled 'Over the Border':

> "The people in the South [of Middlesbrough] have left slums and decay behind them, but they have also left the social amenities of the North [in neighbourhoods including St Hilda's]… Being so near to the waterfront and adjacent to the ironmasters' district, St Hilda's has not yet been completely deprived of its previous importance… [The poor neighbourhoods of North Middlesbrough] are well equipped not as a result of a deliberate allocation of neighbourhood services, but because they are long established and still in the mainstream of Middlesbrough's communication" (Glass, 1948: 34-35).

Indeed, just as Middlesbrough experienced decline in the iron and steel industries, and the increasing obsolescence of Middlesbrough's dock, the St Hilda's area (and

Middlehaven) also slipped out of the mainstream of Middlesbrough's communication, and came to be negatively perceived as 'Over the Border'. And while it is entirely feasible that the stigma attached to the St Hilda's area has existed for a long period of Middlehaven's history, perhaps even before the label 'Over the Border' became part of local vocabulary, it is the mobilisation of this stigma as a justification for redevelopment which is of interest here. While previous reports encouraging regeneration considered residents of St Hilda's to be victims of neglectful behaviour by their landlords (Sadler, 1990), in the present, the failure of previous regeneration attempts is often understood as symptomatic of the makeup of the population itself, as illustrated by Bob's suggestion that such failure was caused by "who was there and who wanted to live there". Notably, the present Middlehaven redevelopment plans do not aim to rehouse the individuals displaced from St Hilda's in new accommodation built during the course of the regeneration (see Middlesbrough Council, 2012a). It is important here, then, to examine how this shift in discourse has been constructed in Middlesbrough, especially given the major implications of such a shift for residents.

In considering how this shift has been produced, it is useful first to consider the conditions in which St Hilda's has emerged as a stigmatised space, and to understand the local historical context which has produced St Hilda's as a space upon which a territorial stigma may be imparted. As Amin et al. (2002) note, the St Hilda's area is separated from the rest of the town by the railway line, and the phrase 'Over the Border' is almost universally taken to mean "the wrong side of the tracks" (56). However, Amin et al. (2002) assert that St Hilda's, like other wards in Middlesbrough with high deprivation rates, was (prior to the displacement of its population in the 2000s-2010s due to the demolition of housing) an insular community, with a strong sense of kinship (given that a few extended families formed a large part of the population (Wood and Vamplew, 1999)). This, Amin et al. (2002) argue, led to a defensive territoriality within the St Hilda's community, among others, stemming from deliberate splintering of the working class by Victorian ironmasters, which was continued in the spatial configuration of social housing by the local authority throughout the twentieth century. This defensive approach toward the space by the community is illustrated by one former St Hilda's resident who commented during a documentary film focused on the demolition of housing in the area that:

> "If [St Hilda's residents] saw strangers, they'd want to know what they were doing over here. They weren't threatened, they just wanted to know what they

were doing over here. There was a lot of hard people about. You had to be hard to survive. If you were weak you were picked on. So they [pointing] had their people that could handle themselves, same as over there [pointing in the opposite direction] could handle themselves" – Jim, a former St Hilda's resident interviewed as part of a documentary for Northern Film Media (2010).

This insular character of the St Hilda's area was not exclusively experienced in a negative way by residents. Indeed, as Denise, a former resident of St Hilda's who was displaced prior to the demolition of her house, attests, prior to the decline of St Hilda's commercial offering, not needing to leave St Hilda's was seen as a positive thing:

"Everything over this railway is St Hilda's. When I was a kid growing up, in the houses, they've knocked them [down], just round the corner there … where the police station is and where that Boho building is, that road in between Sussex Street there used to be a picture house, the old cathedral was there, every shop you could imagine, tower house was there. They had everything. Supermarkets, chemists, cobblers, green grocers, laundrettes, we had a café, we had a social club over here, you know, working men's club. So we didn't have to leave this side of the border. We didn't have to go out. My daughter was eleven, and she'd tell you, before she had to cross over there and go and get a bus to go to the senior school. Because we had two schools here, catholic and protestant. We had everything… There was nothing you had to go over there for. And slowly but surely, they start to knock everything down." – Denise, a former St Hilda's resident speaking to journalist Ciara Leeming.

The history of regeneration is also of note here in the emergence of the reportedly defensive atmosphere fostered in St Hilda's. The following quote from Steve, a former St Hilda's resident, is illustrative here. Steve discusses the effects of the 1980 Tower Green development, and shows how divisions in the community emerged following the completion of the development:

"What happened was that a lot of people from out[side] of the area came in and took advantage of a lot of cheap house prices [in the new Tower Green development]. We couldn't afford them as people [already living] over there. They were out of our reach. They moved a lot of people in from off the estate, and again, possibly with blinkers on, you thought because these people were coming over there they had money, you know. And they didn't. It unsettled a steady community. You know, we looked at them and they looked down at us. We couldn't walk through that part of the estate. And it became a bit of a conflict area. We were blinkered, yes, but they were also blinkered against us, you know." - Steve

Whether through suspicion of strangers, historical self-sufficiency, or internal division causing tensions within the St Hilda's area, it is clear that St Hilda's did become space perceived as territorially bounded and defensive. It is such that the 'border' is not just apparent in the railway line, but is also social, as the socio-historical conditions of Middlesbrough have produced an additional border in terms of the social exclusivity of St Hilda's, further cementing the area's status as a marginal space. Indeed, the notion of 'hardness' is of importance here in relation to the 'border' of Middlehaven. Jim makes reference to 'hardness', positioned as an antonym of 'weakness', and suggests that an intimidating reception proffered to strangers was characteristic in Middlehaven in the pre-regeneration era. Such a characteristic serves to reinforce the physical border already present in the shape of the railway line and A66, and so produces St Hilda's as 'Over the Border' in multiple senses.

As Graham and Marvin (2001) attest, splintering urbanism, which often sees wealthy urban populations seceding into private enclaves, produces inequalities in service provision, and is closely related to McKenzie's (2005) notion of 'privatopia'. 'Privatopia' is based upon an ideology in which "contract law is the supreme authority; where property rights and values are the focus of community life; and where homogeneity, exclusiveness, and exclusion are the foundation of social organization" (McKenzie, quoted in Graham and Marvin, 2001: 267). And while the regeneration of Middlehaven is delivered in large part by the public sector, many aspects of 'privatopia' – perhaps with the exception of homogeneity (Middlehaven prides itself on difference, as will be discussed later) – are reflected in the process of demarginalising Middlehaven. Thus, it appears that in the process of regeneration, St Hilda's has been transformed (at least in part) from a space left behind by deliberate splintering, and thus deprived of services, into a space which seeks to use the same principles of exclusion and secession which initially marked it as a stigmatised area to its advantage.

Regardless of the 'border' which the phrase refers to, the construction of the 'Over the Border' stigma invokes a host of negative connotations, which have been continually repeated both in general conversation in Middlesbrough, and in the local media through the use of the label. Just as Arthurson et al. (2012) find that in spaces of marginality in Australia, morally loaded labelling leads to harmful stereotyping of residents within particular areas, references to 'Over the Border' often cast judgements about the morality of those inhabiting the space:

> "Over the Border - An area of Middlesbrough where good boys and girls should never venture. The old area of Middlesbrough (St Hilda's) arrived at by going under the railway bridge at the bottom of Albert Road." – extract from a slang dictionary available at lovemiddlesbrough.com

The above definition appears on council-run website lovemiddlesbrough.com as part of a dictionary of local slang dialect. By explicitly suggesting that any person who considers themselves to be 'good' should not 'venture' to the Middlehaven area, this definition both draws on and reproduces the stereotyping of individuals which enter the territorially stigmatised space, in a way which has significant repercussions. The fact that this definition of 'over the border' appears to be endorsed by the council cannot be overlooked. This is of interest here, as the reinforcement of the stigmatising label here runs contrary to official documents which profess the need to move beyond the 'Over the Border' label and to overcome the stigma in order to make a success of the regeneration project. While it is entirely possible that including a definition which reinforces the 'over the border' stigma in such a conspicuous and obvious way may be an oversight on the part of the council, the fact that this definition does appear on a council-affiliated web page is significant for the area. Indeed, as Wacquant (2008) attests, regardless of whether or not the stigmatised image reflects reality, the stigma produces areas of advanced marginality as 'social purgatories'. The following quote from James, a current resident in new-build accommodation in Middlehaven, reinforces this idea:

> "This was all like, yeah, this was the rough area. This was where all the houses were. That had all the nasty families in, so yeah, again, it wasn't a place that you'd come across really, because it had a bad name… It was just rife with prostitution, so I think you'd always be a little bit cautious. If ever you'd drive down here, you'd be concerned you'd get picked up for having prostitutes, so you kept away from it, really." – James

Here, James expresses his previously held fear of being stigmatised simply for going to the Middlehaven area prior to its regeneration. This fear is founded on a stereotype of St Hilda's residents which envisages them as 'nasty' as a result of their residence in a stigmatised space, and on the notion that 'good boys' don't go 'Over the Border'. This fear of contamination is important to consider here, as it reveals an important characteristic of territorial stigma: While the stigma is rooted in a particular space, it becomes attached to bodies, and is carried around by those associated with that

space. This notion of contamination is highlighted by Goffman's (1963) suggestion that once a person has become stigmatised, they can never fully shed that stigma (see literature review), as the implication of this notion is that once a body becomes inscribed with a territorial stigma, it will forever carry that inscription. James is not alone in his avoidance of the Middlehaven area prior to the current redevelopment, and so it is clear that the territorial stigma afflicting the St Hilda's area has had real implications for those who lived there. As Wood and Vamplew (1999) assert, as well as experiencing social deprivation, residents of St Hilda's were also stereotyped as criminals and subsequently faced discrimination, feeling that they were not given adequate protection by the police, that they were disadvantaged in the labour market and could not secure access to otherwise widely accessible services. This is of particular importance here, since Uitermark (2014) suggests that morally-loaded stereotyping works to justify revanchist policies and displacement of individuals living with territorial stigma.

The labelling of the St Hilda's area as 'Over the Border' worked to produce it as a space which 'required' regeneration (or in Wilson's (2004) terminology, a space fit for neoliberal redoing). As Bourdieu (1991) contends, "the power of suggestion… which, instead of telling the child what he must do, tells him what he is, and thus leads him durably to what he has to be, is the condition for the effectiveness of all kinds of symbolic power that will subsequently be able to operate on a habitus predisposed to respond to them" (56). The performative nature of territorial stigma is such that continual repetition of the discourses which stigmatise the Middlehaven area is required in order to uphold such a stigma (see Butler, 1993). Indeed, the local press has published a series of features about the history of the Middlehaven area. This is important given the role of local journalism in producing shared memories: As Kitch (2008) states, local journalism is often produced in a way which presumes common values and a shared memory of the area's history within its readership. This relates to MacGillivray's (1984) understanding of local histories as a way to "sail out into a veritable lake of motives and emotions which influenced ourselves and the community and country in which we live. Operative, too, is the force of nostalgia, of a desire to capture the truth and meanings of the stories we heard in our childhood" (372).

In Middlesbrough, then, where many local people are aware of the 'Over the Border' label, and have heard stories about the space growing up, it makes sense that the histories of this space are subject to the same kind of nostalgic searching of the past.

One of the local press features focused on Middlehaven's history reports how the (working class) history of the area was constructed as "a Pandora's Box of sin" (Blackburn, 2016). Such drawing on historical stigma contributes, regardless of its intention, to the construction of change (i.e. regeneration) as necessary.

The article published by The Gazette, "Middlesbrough's shameful past as the capital of sin – and the infamous pubs that fuelled it", exemplifies the way in which such historic 'shame' is drawn upon during the current phase of regeneration. The title alone suggests that this is a history which Middlesbrough ought to want to forget, whilst somewhat paradoxically cementing into shared public memory this sense of 'shame'. Indeed, while public memory purports to be based on an objective history, it is often selective in a way which serves particular political agendas, dependent on the social, economic and political context in which it appears (Foote and Azaryahu, 2007). Important to note here, then, is that the article states that:

> "the recent growth of micro-pubs in Middlesbrough is not a new phenomenon - a similar development followed the birth of the town back in the 19th Century. But instead of the likes of Baker Street and Linthorpe Road, the sprawling mass of drinking joints sprung up in St Hilda's, close to the docks." – Blackburn, 2016

Implicit in this statement is the notion that being in St Hilda's, the 'sprawling mass of drinking joints' was bound to breed sin, as it is not among 'the likes of' Middlesbrough's trendiest streets, which are lined with independent retailers with smart shop fronts. Indeed, this implicit notion draws upon previously-existing and commonly-held understandings of the St Hilda's area as morally deficient, which works to further cement this stigma as common sense. This in turn works to justify the changes which are taking place as part of the regeneration, supporting Kallin and Slater's (2014) argument that stigmatisation is often used as a justification of regeneration. After all, it makes sense that the town should wish to leave behind its history – as described in a mid-nineteenth century local newspaper – as "a frontier town 'wherein are gathered together the vilest of the vile'" (The Middlesbrough Weekly News and Cleveland Advertiser, 1859, quoted in Blackburn, 2016).

The powerful language employed in this 1859 issue of the Middlesbrough Weekly News and Cleveland Advertiser is important to consider further in order to effectively trace the origins of the stigma attached to St Hilda's. As Glass (1948) notes, 'shabby' houses in Middlesbrough in 1948, which she reveals were concentrated in the

North of Middlesbrough (including in St Hilda's), were the homes of the poorest people in the town. Many of these people, Glass (1948) says, were Roman Catholics, who were descended from migrants who had arrived in Middlesbrough during the iron and steel rush. It is therefore likely that a proportion of these Roman Catholics were of Irish heritage, and given the prominence of stigmatising discourses which often discriminated against Irish people in the 1800s (as is clear in Engels' writings on Manchester (Marcus, 1974)), it appears probable that the notion that St Hilda's was the gathering place of the 'vilest of the vile' is based on a history of ethnic discrimination.

Having traced the way in which the territorial stigma has been constructed in the Middlehaven area, it is useful to consider how the discursive shift which has led to residents living in St Hilda's being blamed for the deprivation in the area is informed not only by the local context, but is also part of a broader discursive shift which has spread across the world over the past few decades. Revanchist approaches to urban governance have been observed to have taken hold in various cities and towns (Swanson, 2007; Miraftab, 2007), and in 2001, Neil Smith noted that Middlesbrough itself had imported such a logic in its policing strategy (Smith, 2001) (see chapter 2.2). Whether a revanchist logic has been used in the demolition of St Hilda's in Middlehaven, then, is a question which requires some consideration: When discussing the demolition of housing at St Hilda's as part of the regeneration, Bob, an elected councillor and Executive Member (at the time of being interviewed) who has involvement in the regeneration of Middlehaven, said:

> "I think if you'd looked a few years ago, when there was still some houses to demolish – I think dereliction is much worse for an area than demolition. There's even evidence to say that the children who go to school past – they don't live in it – past sort of half demolished houses, actually suffer from that because of their perception of the area. And their playground will be derelict houses. Again, from the point of view of over there, it seems like a rolling on thing from the 60s, there was lots of derelict houses over there, you know, and they were there for ages, and ages, and as children you think it's an adventure playground but not realising that alters your perception of where you live, and sadly affects people's educational attainment." – Bob

Bob's justification of the decision taken by the council to demolish the housing at St Hilda's appears to be based on concern for the life opportunities afforded to local young people, as he argues that demolition is favourable compared with dereliction. Indeed, while there hasn't been a school in the Middlehaven area for over 20 years, as

St Christopher's primary school closed in 1997 (School Etc., 2017), and routes from the train station and the town centre would not take students of Middlesbrough College past Tower Green (which was the location of the St Hilda's residential community), there are currently plans for a new free school to be built in Middlehaven ready to open in 2020 (Cain, 2019a). Evidently, then, despite Bob's arguments that the community at St Hilda's failed "because of who was there and who wanted to live there", his reasoning for the demolition which occurred at St Hilda's appears to be based on the desire to improve attainment and life chances for children being educated in Middlehaven. Indeed, it is therefore difficult to see how this reasoning could be considered to be revanchist.

However, the notion that a derelict physical environment has detrimental social effects is one which is worthy of further consideration here, as it is closely linked to the 'broken windows' thesis developed by Wilson and Kelling in 1982, which, as the following discussion will highlight, has particular resonance for governance in Middlesbrough. While the discussion of the history of Middlehaven provided in this section gives some indication of the shifting logics of regeneration and governance through time, the longer history of the area is also illustrative of the continuous of role of the notion of 'order' and 'disorder' within these logics. As previously discussed, the St Hilda's area of Middlehaven has seen repeated cycles of demolition and redevelopment for over a century. Of note here is the territorial stigma attached to the St Hilda's area, as Gourlay (2007) argues that urban areas associated with disadvantage are often framed as sites of disorder, which has the implication that these areas must be dangerous. This in turn reinforces the stigma, and as Gray and Porter (2015) show, paves the way for demolition of territorially stigmatised areas via the issuing of CPOs.

This notion of disorder is one which has persisted in the Middlehaven area for well over a century, since before the first cycle of regeneration in the early 1900s. As Taylor (2006) elucidates, policing in early Victorian Middlesbrough "emphasizes the importance of internal (or moral) frontiers between law-abiding and law-breaking members of society, of a fundamental boundary, as much psychological as physical, between disorder, the unregulated, 'dangerous classes' and order, a disciplined, respectable citizenry" (16). Indeed, the identification of 'dangerous classes' in the policing of this moral 'frontier' results in whole groups of people being stigmatised as morally deficient (and thus threatening to order) by association.

This association between disorder and danger is the basis of the 'broken windows' thesis, which suggests that allowing petty crime such as breaking windows to go unpunished spawns further, more serious crime due to the disorderly appearance of the environment (Kelling and Coles, 1997). This is famously the inspiration behind New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani's revanchist Police Strategy number 5, which, as previously mentioned, saw the 'sanitizing' of the city through the removal of oppressed groups identified as bringing disorder, unpalatable to the middle classes, to the city (Smith, 1998). The sort of zero-tolerance policing introduced to New York by Giuliani was imported to Middlesbrough by then Police Chief Ray Mallon, who believed that "a villain will get up in the morning, steal a newspaper and a pint of milk from a doorstep, snatch someone's bicycle and go on a shop-lifting spree… By lunchtime he will have committed a dozen crimes" (Mallon, quoted in Smith, 2001: 68). Of course, Mallon would later go on to become Mayor of Middlesbrough, and played a significant role in the Middlehaven redevelopment project, which saw, during his tenure as Mayor, the demolition of the stigmatised St Hilda's housing estate. It is such that order and chaos have been implicit in logics of governance since Middlesbrough's origins, and therefore remain important to acknowledge in a consideration of the way that the Middlehaven redevelopment project proceeds, particularly in relation to revanchism.

The justification for the demolition of the homes at St Hilda's therefore warrants further attention. Indeed, related to the issue of 'dereliction' which Bob used to justify demolition, is Wood and Vamplew's (1999) suggestion that residents of St Hilda's felt the declining physical appearance of the area was an indication of the council's intention to wind down the function of St Hilda's as a residential community. As Smith (1987) argues, disinvestment as a means of encouraging decline and dilapidation often precedes regeneration, as it enhances the rent gap (as discussed in chapter 2.2), making the area attractive to private investors. And while all housing at St Hilda's has now been demolished, there remains an issue with regard to disinvestment in the wider Middlehaven area. Yvonne, a business owner who works in the Boho Zone and whose family has for around 30 years owned an industrial business in the Middlehaven area, remarked that:

> "We're not sort of thrilled about how – so I don't know – in order for the redevelopment to happen, at any stage they can go into your business, or in businesses further down past here towards the Transporter, and go 'we're gonna move you'. So, I know that with the [family business] and things like that, it stops businesses redoing walls, or putting up new fencing, because if they are going to

> be moved anyway, what's the point? So that is a total drawback for those businesses… For the family business, and things like that, I'm a bit disappointed because it's where we've been forever. And I think it'll affect their clients." – Yvonne

Thus, it appears that this understanding of the threat of displacement of businesses which have for decades operated from the Middlehaven area has the effect of producing a decline in the appearance of the business premises located there. And since great emphasis is placed by the Alsop Masterplan (2004a) and subsequent planning documents on the need for the Middlehaven regeneration area to be aesthetically pleasing, such decline allows the council to justify more effectively decisions to issue CPOs. This approach, which has arguably led to the decline in appearance of some of the industrial businesses which still exist in Middlehaven, appears to counter the stated aims of the regeneration, as such decline does nothing to demarginalise the space (or to bring its appearance into line with the aesthetic set out by planning documents).

Indeed, walking through the area on fieldwork in 2017, it struck me that while the new urban park, with its tidily-kept borders and gleaming yellow pathways, was attractive and pleasant to be in, close by was a building which had mountains of rotting wooden boards, and other miscellaneous items of rubbish, piled up on the street outside it. While this street is not within the officially defined borders of the regeneration area (see Figure 2, page 13), it does appear as part of the regeneration area in other illustrations in the Middlehaven Development Framework (Middlesbrough Council, 2012), where it is identified as being in a strategic area in terms of connections between different parts of the site. The premises can therefore be understood as being on the margins of the Middlehaven regeneration scheme. The smell was pungent and did not make for the kind of space - or rather, the kind of experience - advertised on the brightly coloured hoardings elsewhere in the regeneration area, or splashed across the glossy pages of the Alsop Masterplan. Of note here though, is the fact that a search of 'Google street view' reveals that the street was relatively clear of rubbish and well-kept just five years earlier (see Figure 7). Indeed, on later visits to Middlehaven, the mountain of rubbish had once again been removed. While this was clearly a temporary state of decay, at the time of fieldwork in 2017, when I took the photograph in Figure 7, it appeared that while plans existed to produce a space composed of uses which match the particular aesthetic desired by the council, there simultaneously existed a space dotted with serious decline.

Figure 7. Photographs showing changes to one location on business premises close to the urban park. The photograph on the left shows the site in 2012 (as pictured by Google street view (2017)), while the photograph on the right was taken in the same location during fieldwork in 2017.

As such, it is useful here to consider the effects of gentrification on those spaces which are on the edge of regeneration activity. The issue of where the boundary of regeneration gets drawn is of issue here, and will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter (see section 4.2). However, of note here is that Middlehaven as a whole can be considered to be on the edge: Farley and Symmons (2011) develop the notion of 'edgelands' – the spaces on the edges of towns and cities – and suggest that such spaces are generally not considered to be a destination, and are often "non-places, quite literally off the map" (151). Indeed, while Middlehaven cannot be considered to be 'off the map' as such, given that it holds prominence in the public imagination as 'Over the Border', it is still constructed as a peripheral space. This is of interest here, as it relates to Wacquant's (2008) understanding of spaces of advanced marginality losing their characteristic of affording a sense of place. Indeed, the notion of an 'edgeland' is one which is of particular salience for Middlehaven, as while Farley and Symmons (2011) suggest that edgelands are always moving owing to urban sprawl, there can be no expansion of the edges of Middlehaven, as it is hemmed in on all sides by features of the natural and built environment. It appears then, that Middlehaven has been positioned as an 'edgeland' for a long period of its history. Middlehaven's continually repeated cycles of redevelopment and disinvestment thus make sense in light of Farley and Symmons' (2011) assertion that such spaces are "constantly reinventing themselves as economic and social tides come in and out" (6).

While this section has considered the role of revanchist logics in the regeneration project, the possibility that the aims of the regeneration (in particular the displacement) were not deliberately revanchist must also be examined here. Indeed, while Lance, a council officer involved in regeneration, does suggest that St Hilda's was 'pretty damn rough', his explanation of why the council made the decision to clear the St Hilda's site reveals that the perceptions of "a lot of people, institutions and businesses" were a key factor in influencing that decision. It appears, then, that St Hilda's was demolished because it didn't fit the image which the council wanted to project for the regeneration area:

> "The council made a strategic decision after discussing it with its other public sector partners to clear St Hilda's, the housing area. A public meeting was held in the town one Friday morning, and we – It was, I think it was July 2004, 330 odd units, it was about 35% of the housing units were empty. It was an area that was in a perilous state. It was the second most deprived electoral ward in the UK. There was very high indices of deprivation, high indices, very exceptionally high indices of things like crime, and antisocial behaviour. The term that is still used in the town is that it was 'Over the Border'. And 'Over the Border' meaning in a derogatory sense of a bit of a no go area. And that's the way it was viewed by a lot of people, institutions, businesses. It was the dockland area, and it was pretty damn rough". – Lance

It therefore seems that displacement is a result of policies which are focused on the appearance of the landscape of Middlehaven, and on the image of the area. Indeed, Ley (2003) argues that "the restructuring of urban space in post-industrial cities… [involves] the exaltation of representation over function" (2529), as aestheticisation of space becomes a priority for towns and cities seeking to remain competitive by drawing on the increasingly lucrative creative economy (as outlined by Florida (2002)). And given that the various planning documents which outline the desired outcomes and processes of Middlehaven's redevelopment are focused intently on the image of the space, it is reasonable to conclude that the area's image (both in terms of how the area is perceived and in terms of the physical appearance of the landscape) is a priority for the regeneration scheme. Given that territorial stigma invariably produces a negative perception of a space, it therefore becomes apparent that the stigma of St Hilda's is viewed as an impediment to regeneration. It follows that Douglas, a council officer in the Council's Development department, suggests that the removal of the housing at St Hilda's is tantamount to an attempt to remove the stigma itself:

> "[The redevelopment] just sets an entirely new agenda for the area. It reinvents the area. It's respectful of what has passed in terms of heritage and the historic environment and built environment, and older buildings. But it rewrites the story for St Hilda's and Middlehaven. It washes away the old and replaces it with new, basically." – Douglas

> "The clearance of [St Hilda's] was almost the removal of a physical stigma, part of that" – Douglas

These quotes illustrate this motivation to remove the stigma in order to 'reinvent' Middlehaven, thereby creating a new, much more positive image for the area. Douglas's claim that the regeneration 'rewrites the story' for the area is of interest here, as it points toward a desire to remove all trace of the stigmatised history of St Hilda's, and in doing so produce a supposedly brand new space, free from associations with its stigmatised past. This idea that removing the housing from St Hilda's, and in doing so removing the population, can remove the territorial stigma is a puzzling one. Indeed, the people afflicted by territorial stigma are stigmatised on the basis of their residence in a particular territory (Wacquant, 2008). If demarginalising (or removing territorial stigma from) an area involves displacement of the area's residents in order to 'remake' the place, this suggests that the 'blemish of place' (to use Wacquant's (2007) terminology) was understood to be a product of the stigmatisation of the people living there, rather than the other way around – that the blemish of place was simply considered to be a by-product of the stigmatisation of the working class (or stigmatised 'underclass') population residing there. It therefore appears that local authorities which claim to be regenerating an area by displacing residents in order to remove the blemish *of* place may actually intend to remove a perceived blemish *on* place considered to be caused by its residents.

This is not to say that blemish of place is not real and doesn't have real impacts on the lives of people who experience it – such impacts are well documented (see Wacquant, 2008). The point here is that by using the notion of the blemish of place to justify regeneration whose method is to resettle the area's marginalised residents elsewhere, the actions of the local authority simply provide evidence supporting the notion that the blemish of place affects severely the way in which people who are afflicted by it are perceived, as they (and more specifically, their assumed lack of morality (Jones, 2012)) are treated as the cause of the 'blemish'. Thus, in this sense,

justification of regeneration on the basis of territorial stigma appears to be driven by an understanding of territorial stigma which assumes it is possible to remove the stigma via the displacement of the population it affects, and through the removal of bricks and mortar which the stigma is understood to be rooted to. This overlooks the fact that the 'Over the Border' stigma is a spatial imaginary which exists in a shared public imagination and is materialised in numerous ways, including in the act of crossing over the railway line, and in the postcode of the area, and in the histories of regeneration and demolition. And while it did attach itself to these bodies and bricks, the 'Over the Border' stigma was primarily a feature of the space itself and imaginations of that space more broadly, and not just of the people and materials of the built environment which occupied it.

Indeed, by tracing the history of the 'Over the Border' stigma, and by demonstrating the changing logics of regeneration in Middlehaven over the course of over a century, this section has shown that the stigma itself is the product of the socio-historical conditions of Middlesbrough. It has indicated the ways in which discourses of disorder and insecurity pervade the histories of the space, and how these discourses are employed in the present in the justification of regeneration. Here, I have begun to consider the impact of the processes of regeneration which are designed to demarginalise the Middlehaven site on those spaces which are themselves peripheral to the regeneration area. Indeed, in an area which is considered to be on the edge of the town, both in terms of its physical location, and with reference to the spatial imaginary employed in thinking of the space as 'Over the Border', consideration of the margins of the space of regeneration, and how those margins are constructed and experienced, is of interest. The following section engages with these issues in more detail, and considers how the focus of many planning documents on the physical infrastructures implicit in the 'Over the Border' stigma affects the way in which the regeneration scheme proceeds.

4.2. The Bounded Space of Regeneration?: Marginality and Boosterism

While there is recognition of a range of social issues within the council's approach toward discussing the 'Over the Border' stigma of Middlehaven (both in interviews and documents), the regeneration project does not appear to be directly orientated towards addressing these issues within the space of the redevelopment area itself. Indeed, it appears that displacing the stigmatised residents is considered a social fix, not only for the area, but also for its former residents:

> "We've got a hangover from particularly the St Hilda's area, when it was a deprived community, known for antisocial behaviour and crime. And there were some fond memories there, but also some painful memories there for people. In the clearance of the St Hilda's area, we've relocated people to better homes in stronger communities. But there's always a – some people resent that to a degree, but some people are really happy that they've got out of it, got out of that area." – Douglas, a council officer in the Development department

Indeed, having 'solved' the issues of deprivation and crime at St Hilda's via displacement of residents to 'better homes in stronger communities', the regeneration project is able to focus on improving the physical element of the 'Over the Border' stigma as a means of demarginalising Middlehaven. The Alsop Greater Middlehaven Strategic Framework Plan (2004a), setting a precedent for subsequent documents outlining the regeneration project, considers the A66 and railway line as critical obstacles to success in Middlehaven. In a somewhat bizarre story-telling from the perspective of a fictional resident of a fictional future Middlehaven, which deliberately employs imaginings of the future to justify the present, the document states that when the masterplan was first produced, Middlehaven was considered to be isolated from the rest of the town centre, and understood as being "across the border" (Alsop, 2004a: 43). It suggests that this label refers not only to the social marginality of the area, but also to the seemingly "almost impenetrable barrier" (ibid.: 43) produced by Middlesbrough's transport infrastructures. The Masterplan document argues that the "two lines of resistance" (ibid.: 43) formed by the A66 and railway line are considered to be huge barriers to success in Middlehaven, and the passage goes on to suggest that the removal of slip roads to create a less car-centric environment would enhance the connectivity of the area, thus overcoming perceptions that Middlehaven is 'Over the Border', isolated from the rest of the town by the A66 and railway tracks:

> "With these impediments gone, the existing urban grain of the town reached out towards Middlehaven, flowing under the road and onto both sides of the railway line like so much lava, the old and troubled issue of 'connectivity' simply melting away" (Alsop, 2004a: 43).

The notion that the 'Over the Border' stigma is entrenched in the physical act of crossing the barriers formed by the A66 and railway line cannot be overlooked. Of importance here, is that in casting the issue of Middlehaven's marginality as rooted in the physicality of Middlesbrough's landscape, it becomes impossible to consider ways of demarginalising the space which do not involve radical changes to the physical landscape. As Thomas Paine's 'Common Sense', a 1776 pamphlet calling for American Independence, reveals, discourse produces particular options as 'common sense': Larkin (2004) shows how Paine's discussion of change as a natural development, which uses a metaphor of a baby growing and its diet gradually changing, presents his ideology not as a political argument, but as natural, and as 'common sense'. Thus, by presenting Middlehaven's marginality as an issue of physical severance, the Alsop Masterplan (2004a) does not need to justify the approach toward demarginalisation which focuses on physical changes to the urban landscape, as such a justification is immediately apparent in the 'fact' that the landscape is a key cause of marginality in the area. Documents produced after the 2004 Alsop report continue along this vein:

> "Middlehaven Dock is actually a five minute walk from the town centre. However to many it has in the past been perceived as "cut off" because the Southern aspect of the site is separated from the rest of Middlesbrough by a strategic distributor road – Windward Way – the mainline railway and the high level A66 dual carriage way" – BioRegional Quintain (2007)

So, while the BioRegional Quintain document acknowledges that Middlehaven is not as spatially isolated from the rest of the town as many local people perceive – and therefore that physical severance is not in reality a major obstacle to redevelopment – this perception is again attributed to the railway line and A66. Indeed, the notion that urban infrastructures are to blame for the severance of Middlehaven from the town centre also appears prominently in a report entitled 'Breaking Down the Barriers', which details a series of workshops examining challenges for regeneration in the UK which were commissioned at the level of national government (URBED and CABE, 2002). Again, the report acknowledges that the 'barrier' to redevelopment in

Middlehaven is "psychological as well as physical" (21), though again attests that this barrier is rooted in the spatial arrangement of Middlesbrough's infrastructure. It follows, then, that council officers are all too aware that local perceptions of Middlehaven position it as "sort of just stuck out the way" (according to James, a Middlehaven resident), and the manner in which the issue of marginality has become intertwined with the perceived severance caused by the A66 and railway line results in physical changes to the landscape being treated as the obvious solution:

> "[Middlehaven is] not well enough connected [to the rest of the town]. And that's why we're putting a new road in, and we would like to see other improvements. It is severed significantly by the rail lines and the A66 dual carriageway, which is primarily on stilts on the Southern edge of the site, which does create a lot of severance… Connectivity, distance-wise, it's not that great at the moment. It's the perception about walking or moving, driving from one to the other. And I think that maybe at the moment that's not good enough, and that's one area that we want to continue to move on… And that's a perception issue in reality, in the main. It is, it's not a short walk but it's actually quite a quick walk. You can walk from this office [in Middlesbrough town centre] down to the football club in 12 or 13 minutes. It's not far." – Lance, a council officer involved in regeneration

The focus here on the physical landscape translates into a "bold and exciting vision" (Tees Valley Regeneration, 2004), as set out by the Alsop Masterplan, which envisages Middlehaven as a patchwork of eye-catching and unusual architecture, bursting with colour and exuding style which "will put Middlesbrough firmly on the map, setting tongues wagging from North Ormesby to New York" (Tees Valley Regeneration, 2004). But despite the emphasis on 'connectivity' made in Alsop's 2004 Greater Middlehaven Strategic Framework Plan and subsequent documents outlining the proposals for redevelopment, many of these documents take an approach which clearly demarcates the regeneration area (see Figure 2, page 13). The thick red line drawn around the regeneration area produces Middlehaven as segment of Middlesbrough, clearly distinct from its surroundings, with clear borders to mark this distinction.

As Chatterton and Bradley (2000) note, drawing defined boundaries around a regeneration area (especially one affected by territorial stigma) perpetuates the notion that society's 'problems' can be traced to that area, thus reinforcing the stigma which the regeneration project purports to aim to address. Indeed, any notion of inclusion must

also be based on that of exclusion (Goodin, 1996), and so in defining which areas are 'included' in the regeneration, exclusions are also indicated.

Upon reflecting on the regeneration scheme, Lance, a council officer who works with the department for regeneration, expressed frustration with this element of the plans:

> "I think the way the urban regeneration company looked at the site, they looked at it as an independent site with a red line around the outside of it. And that was Middlehaven on the inside of it, and that was the rest of the world on the outside. And I think, they did a lot of good stuff, and I think that was one of the retrograde things they did was look at it inwardly. Rather than look at it outwardly and look at how to connect it in. And I think, you know, in some ways, it would have been better to almost extend Middlehaven as an extension of the town centre pushing towards the dock, whereas the urban regeneration company very clearly started with the philosophy of starting with the dock and working back the other way. And I think it could have worked slightly differently." – Lance

The red-lining discussed here is clearly distinct from that which Smith (1996) outlines, in which financial institutions decline to issue mortgages for properties within particular areas (often those experiencing decline), resulting in further disinvestment which primes the area for gentrification via the production of an enhanced rent gap. However, just as Smith's (1996) redlining has serious implications for affected spaces, the drawing of borders around the regeneration area at Middlehaven has also had significant effects. For example, Tees Valley Regeneration's initial application for planning permission to begin the regeneration of Middlehaven received an objection from the owner of a few buildings in the area. The objection claims that:

> "The applicant, Tees Valley Regeneration, states that [the site] owned by us is within the Greater Middlehaven central industrial area. We would submit that this is incorrect and that it forms an integral and vital part of the [adjacent] Queen's Square commercial business district. If [this site] remains part of the larger area for development [and] is excluded from the adjoining Queens Square business area, it will materially and physically have a detrimental affect [sic] on its success and vitality. We understand that the planning application is the first step in eventually obtaining a Compulsory Purchase Order. As [the site owned by us] plays such a crucial part in the economic vitality of Queens Square, it is essential that this site is excluded from the proposed outline planning application." – Objection of a local business to planning application (Middlesbrough Council, 2006a).

It is clear, then, that the drawing of a line on a planning application document can produce a business as either a vital part of a business district, or as a business which doesn't fit in with the plans and is required to be obtained by the council via a CPO to enable redevelopment. Here, it is clear that some businesses which existed prior to the onset of regeneration have feared becoming disadvantaged by the very measures put in place as part of the council's efforts to attract businesses to Middlehaven. Indeed, the drawing of boundaries around various zones in the area is, according to Douglas, designed to inspire confidence and to 'de-risk' investment for businesses, and forms an important part of the 2017 Middlesbrough Investment Prospectus (Middlesbrough Council, 2017a):

> "This [investment prospectus], actually, is Middlesbrough standing up and setting out its stall and saying 'ok, for the next 7 years, we will be judged on the outcomes of this document'. It allows businesses to say 'ok, I can align my investment with the money the council's spending'. The council has a clear and coherent vision of what is happening in spatial areas across the town. And these areas don't contradict each other. There's elements of blur between them, of course, and they're not going to slavishly be tied to mirroring one sector, but if a business knows that it is investing in an area with like-minded businesses where it can cluster with similar traders and where it can share the knowledge economy within its cluster, and it knows that the area has a perception with the public that makes it synonymous with that type of activity, it helps to de-risk it. It will never fully de-risk it, but it always helps to de-risk their investment decision if they see that we're not going to move the goal posts, or pull the rug from under them within a 3-5 year period." – Douglas, a council officer.

However, the approach of drawing a boundary around the regeneration area (as shown in Figure 2) appears to be at odds with the stated aim of the regeneration of improving connections between the Middlehaven area and the town centre. Indeed, it is unclear how such an approach could hope to remedy the issue of 'severance' outlined in the Breaking Down Barriers report (URBED and CABE, 2002). Indeed, as Wacquant (1996a) explains, "advanced marginality tends to concentrate in well-identified, bounded, and increasingly isolated territories" (125), and so defining the already stigmatised regeneration area in this manner does little to encourage the process of demarginalisation. As Andersen (2002) asserts, spatially segregated areas are not just the effect of social inequalities, but are instrumental in perpetuating that inequality owing to the proliferation of "negative social, economic and physical processes [which] occur" (153) in such places. However, it is worth considering the extent to which this red-line approach towards planning the regeneration of Middlehaven actually threatens

the desired outcomes of the original plan. Indeed, examination of the Greater Middlehaven Strategic Framework Plan (Alsop, 2004a) reveals that the exclusionary work done by this red line (and the associated inward-looking approach to redevelopment) is not necessarily at odds with the logics which underlie the scheme.

As part of the effort to attract visitors to the area, Tees Valley Regeneration commissioned Anish Kapoor and Cecil Balmond to design five sculptures, to be known as the 'Tees Valley Giants', across the Tees Valley to create the largest installation of public art work in the world (Brown, 2008). At the time of writing, the first and only sculpture to be realised to date is Temenos, an enormous steel sculpture on Middlehaven's dockside. According to media reports, the sculpture's name is associated with the notion of 'sanctuary' (BBC news, 2010; The Journal, 2008). However, as Vernant (1982) shows, ancient Greek uses of the term define it as land which has been confiscated from the public, and dedicated to elite kings or gods. It is therefore important to consider the extent to which the plans for redevelopment at Middlehaven reflect this notion of taking from the public to create a haven for elite powers. Indeed, it is worth noting here that Alsop (2004a), in setting out his designs for Middlehaven, calls the area a 'Land of Giants'. Elaborating on this notion, he states that:

> "On arriving in the Tees Valley, with the sharpened insight that is imparted to strangers, we saw a land of giants unfolding in front of us…The site a breath-taking expanse of under-used and, in some places, derelict land, with the River Tees running along its northern edge, presented us with the challenge of what was virtually a blank canvas. Here again was the huge land beneath a big sky, occupied by a series of startling objects - the playthings of a giant." – Alsop, 2004a (25).

Here, the Alsop masterplan conjures an image similar to that of planners playing with a model town, moving whatever they feel like moving, discarding pieces they have grown tired with, just as a child grows tired of a toy. After all, by conceiving of Middlehaven as a blank canvas, underused and derelict, Alsop (2004a) overlooks the area's histories, population, and present uses, in order to produce it as an empty space. As Smith (1996) reveals in his discussion of 'urban pioneering' in the gentrification of New York, the term suggests urban space is not yet socially inhabited, and the notion therefore dismisses the urban working class as "less than social, a part of the physical environment" (Smith, 1996: xiv). Similarly, by referring to Middlehaven as a blank canvas, the Alsop Masterplan also shows no acknowledgement of the social inhabitation of the space which existed at the time.

As has been revealed earlier in this chapter, major changes in the physical environment are viewed as crucial to the success of the regeneration project, and as such, where the urban working class is viewed as part of the physical environment, it follows that the residents themselves are viewed as part of that which requires change (hence the displacement of St Hilda's residents which followed the production of the Alsop masterplan). It appears then, that regardless of the intentions of the document, further marginalisation of the already marginalised population of St Hilda's was implicit in the original regeneration plan. The red-line around the regeneration area therefore not only demarcates the land which is included in the regeneration project, but also highlights an area within which the existing uses may be overlooked and excluded by the 'giants' looking down on them.

Indeed, while Florida (2002) professes that talent, technology, and tolerance are all required for economic development in the age of the creative class, and while many people living and working in Middlehaven also express a desire for an inclusive and diverse community, there is an acknowledgement amongst these individuals that such a community is not present in Middlehaven:

> "I think [the Middlehaven redevelopment] will offer a community of — I don't mean this in any negative light, but of middle class people that are looking to start new businesses, looking to offer advice, a source of jobs and opportunities of interest for students at the college. I think that that's very important, because that's a source for new talent and growth within the area, when you can keep people in the area." – Matthew, a resident in the Boho Zone

Closer examination of the Greater Middlehaven Strategic Framework Plan (Alsop, 2004a) reveals that this is not to be unexpected. While the Alsop Materplan (2004) claims that a series of public consultations held prior to the publication of the plan position inclusivity as central to the plan itself, the Masterplan includes features which do not easily match with such a claim. Indeed, the document's pages are filled with brightly coloured drawings on glossy paper, with buildings designed to look like Champagne flutes and Prada skirts, which are described as "an icon fit for a Designer Playground" (27). These 'icons' are symbolic of wealth, and of flamboyance, typically associated with the habitus of the upper and middle classes, and unaffordable to most (Bourdieu, 1984). It is therefore unclear how this 'Designer Playground' could hope to "suit everyone's pocket and taste", as advertised in Tees Valley Regeneration's Official News Letter for Middlehaven (Tees Valley Regeneration, 2004). The 'everyone' here,

then, is itself exclusionary, as those who do not share in the habitus which constructs champagne flutes and Prada skirts as tasteful are considered irrelevant (or rather, not considered at all) in Alsop's 'Designer Playground'. The original plan for Middlehaven therefore risked (deliberately or not) replacing one form of exclusion – that of territorial stigma – with another. Indeed, such a focus on cutting-edge design, while intended to attract visitors and rebrand the town, can have exclusionary effects: Leslie (2005) notes that an attempt to brand Montréal as a creative centre, which involved an interior design competition for local cafes, offices, shops and restaurants led to soaring prices, leaving many local residents unable to participate or take advantage of the 'culture' promoted to tourists.

And while the plans set out in the Alsop Masterplan were never delivered to the full extent envisaged in the document, the Masterplan remains important in capturing the essence of the creative and unique vision which the Middlehaven regeneration is geared toward making a reality. This attempt to rebrand Middlehaven as a 'Designer Playground' is a clear attempt at boosterism, which has become an increasingly prominent urban strategy owing to increasingly intense inter-urban competition (Leitner, 1990). Indeed, the Greater Middlehaven Strategic Framework Plan (2004) states that:

> "Alsop's brief has been to… create a new Vision for Greater Middlehaven that will inspire and excite and firmly establish the area as a waterfront destination of international significance… The Plan described in this document will regenerate and re-position not only the town of Middlesbrough but also the whole Tees Valley Corridor" (Alsop, 2004a: 7).

The capitalisation of 'Vision' here indicates that the plans set out in the Greater Middlehaven Strategic Framework Plan (Alsop, 2004a) represent more than just an idea, but instead form a brand. As McInroy (2000) attests, urban regeneration of public spaces is often aimed at creating a positive image for that space, and at crafting an identity for the area as part of an attempt to attract investment through boosterism. Accordingly, the apparent contrast between the inclusive rhetoric of the Middlehaven regeneration planning documents and the actually existing levels of inclusivity evident in those documents is consistent with the recorded effects of boosterism in urban space: Both Hiller (2000) and McInroy (2000) argue that boosterism is orientated toward

attracting investment purported to be for the public good, while predominantly playing to neoliberal interests.

Clearly, the extravagant designs within the masterplan are designed to 'put Middlesbrough on the map' (Tees Valley Regeneration, 2004). Indeed, while the Alsop Masterplan (2004a) insists that the Vision it presents is designed to be deliverable, Lance, a council officer working on regeneration, asserts that Alsop's Vision was only ever supposed to remain a vision. After all, given that the image of the area is thought by the council to be key to its regeneration (as previously discussed), it is irrelevant whether or not the flamboyance in the pages of the Greater Middlehaven Strategic Framework Plan is materialised in Middlehaven, as the Plan is intended to contribute to the rebranding of the area:

> "So we collectively produced the Masterplan for Alsop, which took about a good year to produce. The report to our own council in 2005, early 2005, refers to the Alsop Masterplan being a vision and a painting, not a deliverable development plan of developments that could be delivered. It set an ambition, though, about design and architecture. And that's really what it intended to do. And hence the model that I've just shown you out in the foyer. If you look at that, there's not roads to the buildings. It's not intended to be a deliverable product. It was intended to set the bar higher." – Lance

Returning to the quote from Alsop (2004a) (see previous page), it becomes clear that the regeneration project is not just about demarginalising Middlehaven with respect to Middlesbrough as a whole, but is about remaking the image of the entirety of Middlesbrough and the Tees Valley. Indeed, as is usual for speculative projects which aim to attract investment, Middlehaven's redevelopment is marketed as a world-leading flagship development, and is aimed at boosting the wider area as well as the immediate vicinity of the project (see Harvey, 1989; Goldman, 2011). As Tees Valley Regeneration's Official News Letter for Middlehaven (2004) states:

> "The colourful landscape, radical design and state-of-the-art buildings are not just a first for the North East or for the UK – there are no comparisons anywhere in the world" – Tees Valley Regeneration (2004)

After all, while Middlehaven is often perceived in a negative light by local people, Douglas, a council officer working on the redevelopment, asserts that investors who are not familiar with the area are generally unaware of the 'Over the Border'

stigma, and are thus "much more receptive to the potential of the area than locals". But while non-locals may not hold negative perceptions of Middlehaven itself, there is a general appreciation in the regeneration documents and among interview participants that there is room for improvement in Middlesbrough's image. It therefore makes sense that a strategy for demarginalising Middlehaven which is focused on attracting private investment ought to be achieved through the rebranding of Middlesbrough and promotion of place.

National media portrayals of Middlesbrough tend to represent the town in an overwhelmingly negative light. As Shultz Larsen (2014) argues, these media representations are instrumental in producing stigma, and in symbolically degrading a place. And while many (such as Location, Location, Location's bestowal of the title of 'worst place to live' upon Middlesbrough in 2007) are deliberately and overtly disparaging toward the town, even those which purport to be challenging the negative stereotyping of Middlesbrough are not always successful. For instance, a BBC News (2016) article entitled 'Does Middlesbrough deserve its unenviable reputation?' relies on many of the same statistics of deprivation and unemployment as other more blatantly disparaging articles, with a few positive anecdotes thrown in. As Matthew, a resident in the Boho zone puts it:

> "The BBC recently did an article as well, which was very poorly put together. It said some nice things, but most of it was sort of, you know, 'we asked this person on benefits what they thought about the jobs situation, we asked this homeless person what they thought about the local amenities'. You know. It's like they specifically went to the less — the worst off part of society to ask them questions, and didn't bother looking at people in the local business community. So, articles like that, I think, don't help." – Matthew.

Important here, then, is that the boosterism of Middlehaven presents the regeneration area as Middlesbrough itself. Given that Kallin and Slater (2014) suggest that city branding which focuses on particular spaces which embody the desired image of the city works to marginalise spaces which do not fit such an image, it is worth considering here the extent to which the demarginalisation of Middlehaven amounts to the marginalisation of the rest of Middlesbrough. Indeed, various interview participants revealed a trend of presenting Middlehaven, and only Middlehaven, to visitors to the town as a means of impressing them:

> "I brought over an American from a company and a Swedish person from a company… I walked them all round Middlehaven, and they were blown away. You know, taking photos and posing in front of buildings and smiling. And going, you know 'Middlesbrough is – this is really cool up here'. Erm, they didn't see the rest of Middlesbrough. So they just saw a small amount, and it was Middlehaven, and they were very impressed." - Matthew

> "We expect a lot of, with the [planned development of the] ski centre, for example, we expect a lot of people coming on the train, as well as public transport and cars… If somebody's coming from Glasgow to the ski centre, those few hundred yards between the train station or those few hundred yards between the bus stop and the ski centre may be our only opportunity to sell Middlesbrough as well, and to set that impression." – Douglas, a council officer

> "[Middlehaven is] going to be our doorstep and our front of house, our – what we show to the world as we move forward." – Douglas

> "When you say 'Middlesbrough', they'll think of this – Middlehaven." - James, a resident in new-build accommodation in Middlehaven

It appears, then, that the wider Middlesbrough area is indeed on the margins of the image the council is attempting to project. Indeed, when disembarking from a train at Middlesbrough train station, Middlehaven appears far more welcoming than the town centre: Leaving the train station via the Middlehaven exit in February 2017 involved walking through a Victorian archway, the glossy white tiles of which are pasted with photographs of the local area along both sides before reaching a sign post at the exit which points toward Middlesbrough College and Temenos. Leaving via the town-centre-facing exit, however, was both less convenient and less welcoming. The exit was down a steep and narrow outdoor staircase, to the right of which towered bright blue scaffold covering, which was torn, and flapping in the wind. And while the scaffolding outside the exit nearest the town centre was temporary, it had the effect of creating the impression that a great deal more care had been taken on the Middlehaven-facing exit than on the town-centre facing exit.

It therefore makes sense that efforts are made to discursively position Middlehaven as central to Middlesbrough, not only in terms of its image, but also in terms of its geographical location. Table 4 is illustrative of the way in which the language employed by Middlesbrough Council has shifted over the course of the

regeneration project to the effect of centralising Middlehaven. By referring to the area as a key part of the town centre, the documents thereby linguistically demarginalise the site by figuratively bringing it away from the margins of the town, and shaping it into part of Middlesbrough town centre in its own right. The table shows a series of brief descriptions of the location of Middlehaven relative to the town centre taken from local authority documents spanning a sixteen year period, from 2002, when English Partnerships played a significant role in the regeneration project, to 2017, by which point Middlesbrough Council had become the primary driving force behind the changes occurring in Middlehaven.

As the data in Table 4 reveal, the Council's aspiration for Middlehaven to become viewed as part of Middlesbrough town centre is evident as early as 2008, at which point a 'vision' in which Middlehaven is to become a constituent part of the town centre itself is articulated. Earlier iterations of this vision, such as that set out by Alsop in 2004, also focus heavily on the connectivity between the town centre and Middlehaven, but do not so explicitly set out the aim for Middlehaven to become recognised as part of the town centre. The documents quoted here deliberately show a chronological outline of the way Middlehaven is positioned in Council documents, and I have aimed to illustrate this by providing detail from documents published in the majority of years from 2002 to 2017. 2002 was chosen as a starting point for this chronology, owing to the fact that this is when Tees Valley Regeneration, which was tasked with advancing regeneration programmes including Middlehaven, and in which Middlesbrough Council was a shareholder until its windup in 2010 (Middlesbrough Council, 2009b), was set up. Tees Valley Regeneration reviewed a previously commissioned Masterplan for the Middlehaven area, which in turn led to the commissioning of the 2004 Alsop Masterplan from which much of the current phase of regeneration draws inspiration (Middlesbrough Council, 2014c).

While it would be unrealistic to include every single council document from this period, each document included in Table 4 refers to both Middlehaven and the Town Centre, and so it is reasonable to infer that each document is reflective of the way the position of Middlehaven relative to the town centre was understood by the organisation responsible for the document (usually Middlesbrough Council) at the time of its release. Indeed, the documents both produce, and are understood in relation to, discourses which are "stylistically marked… in so far as each speaker [or author] fashions an idiolect in their production, and… in so far as each recipient helps to produce the message which

he perceives and appreciates by bringing to it everything that makes up his singular and collective experience" (Bourdieu, 1991: 39). And given that naming is performative, particularly when this naming is done by an authority seen as legitimate, which has therefore acquired symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991), this naming of Middlehaven as a constituent part of Middlesbrough town centre by Middlesbrough Council is important to consider.

Table 4. Shifts in how the location of Middlehaven is described relative to Middlesbrough Town centre in documents produced by the Local Authority. Full references for each document can be found in the Reference List.

Date	Document	Description of Middlehaven's location provided	Summary
2002	English Partnerships Press Release (English Partnerships)	"The Middlehaven project complements the exciting developments that are taking place in Middlesbrough Town Centre"	Middlehaven is described as 'complementary' to the town centre, and therefore implicitly identified as separate from it.
2006b	Middlesbrough Local Development Framework (Middlesbrough Council)	Transport proposals will include "identification of how proposals for 'the Stitch', providing high quality linkages between the town centre and Greater Middlehaven, can be incorporated into the transport network and development framework" (14). "The [Central Industrial Area] sits between two boulevards linking the town centre with the Middlehaven site" (18).	Middlehaven is seen as separate from the town centre, but linkages between the two are highlighted as important.
2007	Executive Report – Station (Middlesbrough Historic Quarter) Conservation Area Review (Middlesbrough Council)	"The [Station] conservation area forms an important gateway between Middlehaven, a flagship regeneration project covering an area of approximately 100 hectares, and the town centre" (2).	Middlehaven is distinguished from the town centre.
2008	Middlesbrough Urban Regeneration Strategy (Middlesbrough Council)	"Major developments have commenced at Middlehaven and there has been significant investment in the town centre, including the Middlesbrough Institute of Modern Art" (1). "In 2023: […] Middlehaven is connected with and has become part of the wider Town Centre and is a vibrant, mixed-use quarter" (13).	Middlehaven is viewed as separate from the town centre, but there is a 'vision' for it to become part of the town centre by 2023.
2010	Middlehaven and St Hilda's. Report of the Economic Regeneration and Transport Scrutiny Panel (Middlesbrough Council)	"Greater Middlehaven covers an area of 250 acres (100 hectares) and sits between Middlesbrough town centre, the A66 and the River Tees" (1).	Middlehaven is distinguished from the town centre.
2012	Middlehaven Development Framework (Middlesbrough Council and Homes and Communities Agency)	"Its vision for Middlehaven is to become a lively mixed use extension to Middlesbrough town centre" (5). The document also states that the railway line and A66 "help provide vital strategic links but separate Middlehaven from the town centre, both physically and perceptually" (12).	This document again mentions a vision for Middlehaven to be part of the town centre, but recognises barriers to this.
2012	Economic Regeneration and Transport Scrutiny Panel Draft Final Report – The Transport Element of the Local Development Framework (Middlesbrough Council)	"The location of Middlehaven so close to the Town Centre make it very accessible both on foot and by cycle" (8).	Middlehaven distinguished from the town centre, but its close proximity to it is noted.
2013b	Middlesbrough Local Plan – Housing Core Strategy and Housing Development Plan Document (Middlesbrough Council)	"North Middlesbrough, including Middlehaven, the town centre, Gresham, Grove Hill and Acklam Green, provides the opportunity to deliver the environmental and market change necessary to create a high quality urban environment" (25).	Middlehaven is distinguished from the town centre.
2014c	Economic Regeneration and Transport Scrutiny Panel Minutes, 11th December 2014 (Middlesbrough Council)	"The proximity of Middlehaven to the town centre offered benefits to both the town centre and the Middlehaven area."	Middlehaven's close proximity to the town centre is noted, but the area is still not considered part of the town centre.
2015	Final Report of the Economic Regeneration and Transport Scrutiny Panel – Middlehaven Regeneration (Middlesbrough Council)	"In the present day, Middlehaven is still an integral and dynamic part of Middlesbrough's town centre, set on the Tees riverfront" (1).	Middlehaven is identified as a key part of the town centre.
2016b	Middlesbrough Council Strategic Plan report 2016-2020 (Middlesbrough Council)	The document states that progress so far has included "progressing major development sites such as Middlehaven, and the development of the town centre" (33).	Middlehaven is distinguished from the town centre.
2016c	Middlesbrough Local Plan Review (Middlesbrough Council)	On a page titled 'role of the town centre', the document says that the Investment Prospectus shows "a number of key sites will be important to achieving the growth of the town centre including: […] Middlehaven" (17).	Middlehaven is identified as a key site in the town centre.
2017b	Planning and Development Committee Report (snow centre) (Middlesbrough Council)	"The application site is an irregular parcel of vacant land of 2.87 hectares situated in the Middlehaven sector of the town centre" (2).	Middlehaven is considered part of the town centre.

As Table 4 illustrates, a 2015 council document is the first (at least within the extensive searches which I have carried out) to firmly claim that Middlehaven is an integral part of Middlesbrough town centre. Indeed, while this shift appears to be gradual, with documents tending to mention the close proximity of Middlehaven to the town centre from 2012 onwards, it is worth considering whether there might be any explanation for the timing of the shift towards including Middlehaven under the banner of 'town centre'. 2015 happens to be the year in which the outcome of an Electoral Commission review into Middlesbrough's ward boundaries came into effect. This entailed the redrawing of these boundaries such that the Middlehaven ward was merged with the University ward, to create what is now known as the Central ward. And while even prior to this ward boundary change, Middlehaven did share the ward of its namesake with the town centre (Middlesbrough Council, 2014d), perhaps the fact that the area now falls within an area recognised officially as 'Central' makes claims that the regeneration area is in fact part of the town centre more believable.

Clearly, the shift which has seen Middlehaven gradually become understood as an integral part of the town centre (at least within the rhetoric promoted within the pages of council documents) is part of a broader attempt to boost the image of the wider Middlesbrough area, as the image which the Middlehaven area is designed to project is one which is also understood to be potentially beneficial to the town as a whole by association. Having considered the impacts of defining a territory for regeneration, both on the regeneration area itself and on those places and businesses who exist beyond the boundary formed by such demarcation, this section has made clear the way in which master-planning for the Middlehaven site has attempted to foster a 'Designer' image for the regeneration area, and thereby for the town. While the potentially exclusionary logics implicit in such an approach have been discussed here, it is pertinent to consider in further detail the logics which underpin efforts to attract investors and residents who work in creative industries to Middlehaven. The following chapter therefore unpacks the ways in which the area is 'sold' to these groups, with a particular focus on the role of stigma in this process.

Over the course of this chapter, the way in which the territorial stigma affecting the Middlehaven area has been instrumental in the regeneration of the area has been examined, and the attempts to transform the area from a territorially stigmatised space into a 'designer landscape' (Alsop, 2004a) have been considered in depth. By tracing a history of regeneration in Middlehaven, and exploring the roots of the 'Over the Border'

label, the stigma has here been denaturalised. The mobilisation of the stigma as a justification of regeneration has been explored here, and the following chapter (Chapter 5) continues this discussion with a consideration of additional ways in which the stigma has been mobilised in the present phase of regeneration. Additionally, the image of Middlehaven, and efforts to change it, are also examined further in the discussion to follow.

This chapter has highlighted the implications of drawing boundaries around the regeneration site, and has begun to unpack the dynamics of the in-between or peripheral spaces on the margins of regeneration in Middlehaven. This is an important consideration in seeking to analyse the processes and spaces of demarginalisation in the area, and so the following chapter also pays attention to these interstitial spaces and the ways in which the space is experienced. Indeed, where such spaces exist, questions are raised as to what extent the regeneration area fits the image desired by the council and developers, which has been set out in the Vision discussed in this chapter.

5. Designing a Commercial Landscape: Image and Investment in Middlehaven

5.1. Selling the Stigma: Crime and Image in Middlesbrough

Returning here to the notion that Middlehaven is being used as a tool to overcome Middlesbrough's image problem, and given the tendency for stigmatised areas to be constructed as lawless "crime zones" (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014), I will here consider the role of crime and policing in the demarginalisation of both Middlesbrough and Middlehaven. As Coleman et al. (2005) assert, discourses of crime and security are routinely employed in order to justify the regeneration of marginalised spaces. As Vincent, the owner of a business based in Middlehaven's Boho Zone, suggests, Middlesbrough is perceived by non-locals as suffering from high crime rates:

> "If you say in the South of England 'I come from Middlesbrough', they think 'oh, isn't that the crime-ridden capital of the North? Doesn't it have large crime problems?'" – Vincent

Within the town, Middlehaven has historically had a reputation for high crime rates, as will be discussed in more detail later in this section. However, perceptions such as this do not necessarily reflect the reality of living in the spaces they describe. As such, in order to assess the extent to which this understanding of Middlehaven as an area suffering high crime rates is based on its image, or on the realities of crime rates in the area, I have produced three graphs to illustrate the actual levels of crime which occur in Middlehaven and Middlesbrough more broadly. Data on the number of crimes reported in each Middlesbrough ward between 2010 and 2017 (accessed via ukcrimestats.com, 2017) was used for this, in addition to information on the approximate daytime population of each ward, the land area of each ward, and population and crime rates for Middlesbrough as a whole. This has enabled analysis of the crime data for Middlehaven with these factors taken into account, and taken together, the graphs reveal that perceptions of Middlehaven which position it as a space with high crime rates are in many ways inaccurate.

Middlehaven is often considered to be the 'crime hotspot' of Middlesbrough owing to the fact that the number of reported crimes in the ward (which, as discussed in section 4.2, has since seen its boundaries altered slightly and been renamed the 'Central'

ward) is higher than in any other Middlesbrough ward. This is demonstrated clearly in Figure 8. However, it is important to note that the crime data for Middlehaven includes both the regeneration area, an adjacent industrial park, and the town centre. This is a significant skew in the data, as it takes into account kinds of crime, such as shop-lifting, which are inevitably higher in the town centre than in other wards which have fewer shops. The crime rates recorded for Middlehaven, then, reflect the incidence of crime for a much greater area than the space labelled as 'Over the Border', and thus make the levels of crime appear higher that they in fact are within the regeneration area itself. Indeed, given that the Middlehaven ward was one of Middlesbrough's largest wards, the proportion of reported crimes listed for this area compared with other wards in the town is not as high when the crime rate per hectare is considered. Figure 9 illustrates this point effectively, as when the reported crimes per hectare are shown for each ward, Middlehaven (shown in red on the graph) no longer appears as the ward with the highest level of criminal activity.

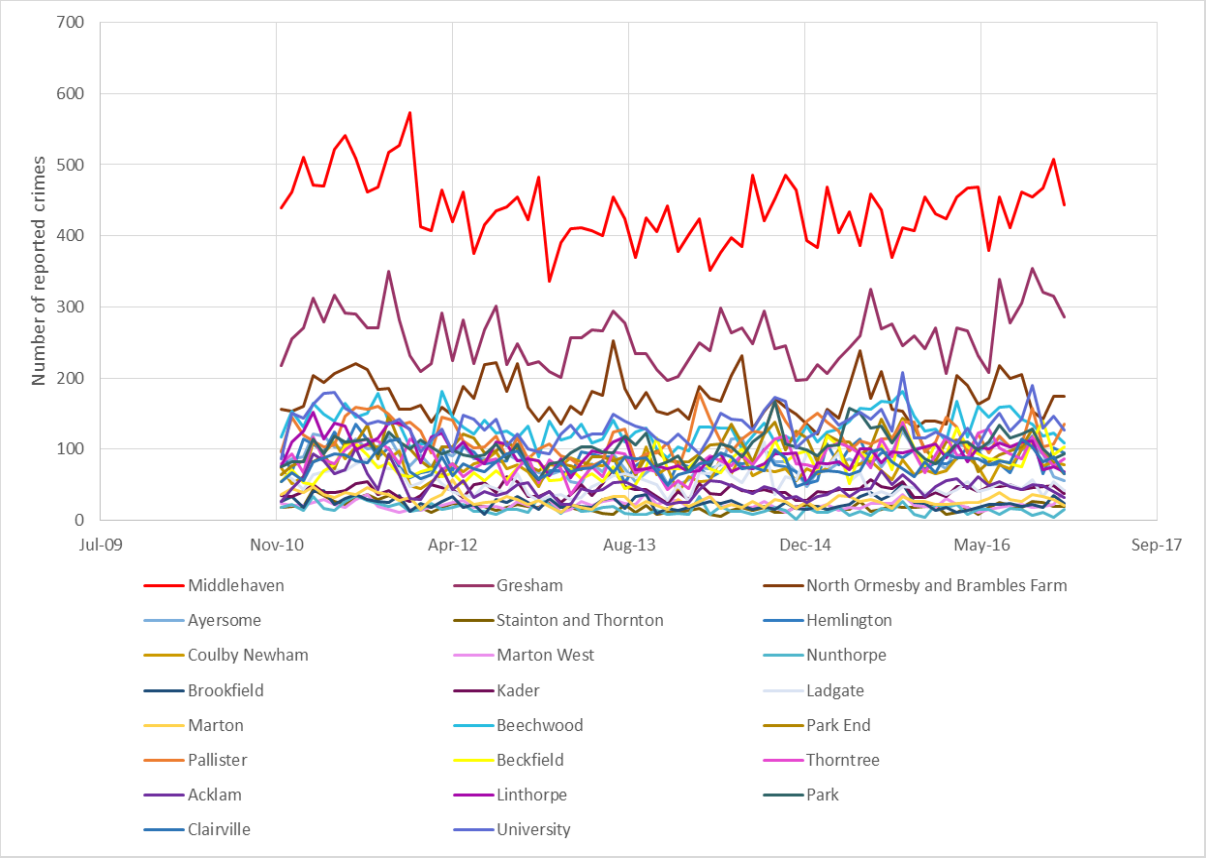


Figure 8. A graph showing the number of crimes reported in each ward in Middlesbrough. Data source: ukcrimestats.com (2017).

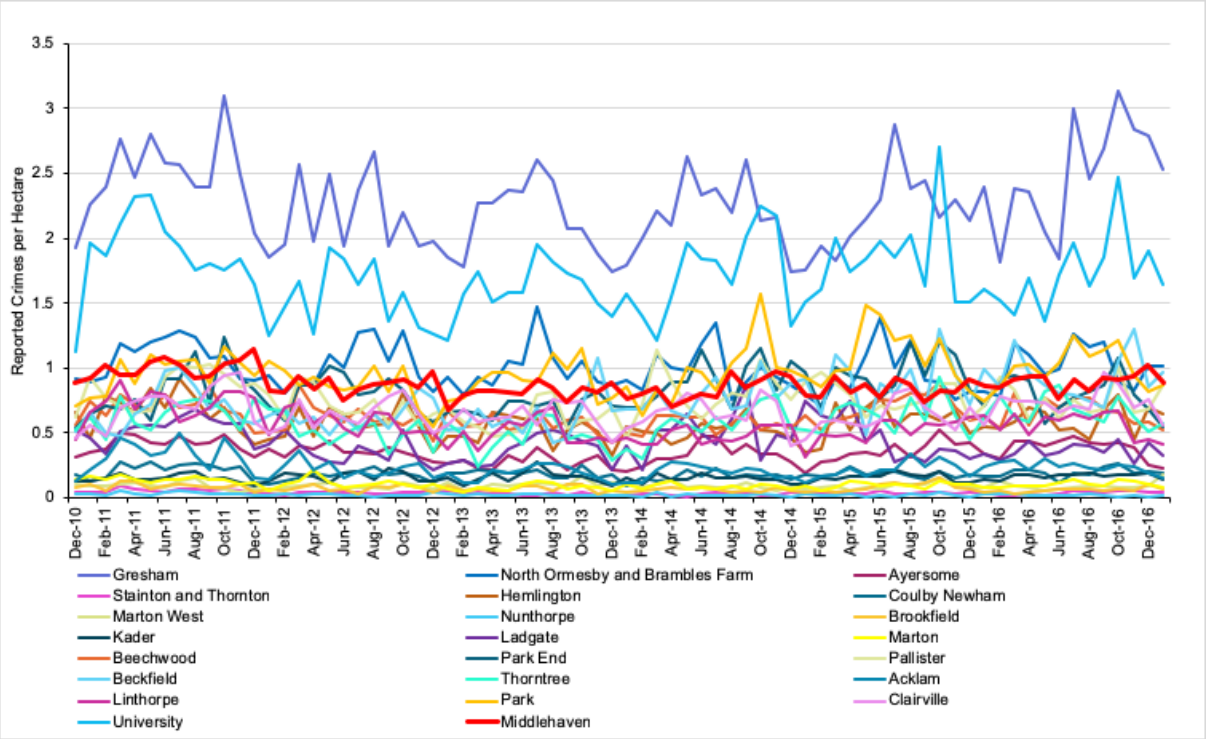


Figure 9. A graph showing the number of crimes reported per hectare in each ward in Middlesbrough. Data source: ukcrimestats.com (2017).

While the crime rate reported in Middlehaven here is still higher than that for most of Middlesbrough's wards, this too can be explained. As a ward with a high level of commercial activity, Middlehaven's daytime population is considerably higher than its resident population. Figure 10 shows the total number of crimes reported in Middlesbrough between 2010 and 2016, along with the number of crimes reported in Middlehaven. This is compared to the expected number of crimes in Middlehaven based on its land area (as a proportion of Middlesbrough's total land area) and its daytime population (as a proportion of Middlesbrough's total daytime population). The graph illustrates that when Middlehaven's daytime population is taken into account, its crime rate is no higher than would be expected based on Middlesbrough's total crime rate and daytime population.

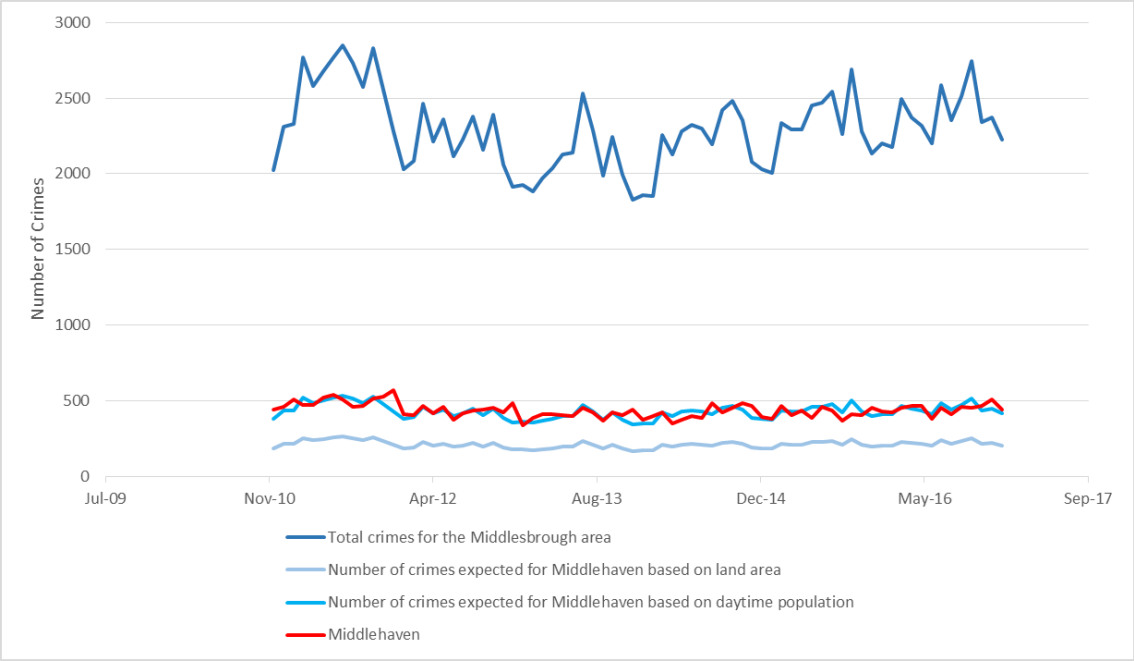


Figure 10. A graph showing the number of crimes that would be expected in Middlehaven based on its land area and daytime population as a proportion of Middlesbrough's total crime, area, and daytime population. The actual crime rate in Middlehaven (red) closely correlates with the number of crimes expected in Middlehaven based on daytime population. Data source: ukcrimestats.com (2017).

Nonetheless, Middlehaven faces the double stigma of being the area perceived as having an especially high crime rate within a town already considered to have a high crime rate. Again, as Wacquant (2010a) argues, the fact that such perceptions may not be accurate (as illustrated by Figures 9 and 10) often has little bearing on policy responses to them. Indeed, Wacquant (2010a) argues that where crime rates are perceived as particularly high, and discourses of insecurity proliferate (usually perceived as embodied in the lower classes), the state tends to respond by increasing (often zero-tolerance) policing and penalising poverty. Such a response is intertwined with the neoliberal focus on individual responsibility (which will be discussed further in Chapter 7). Here, though, it is important to consider these perceptions of crime and its effects in Middlehaven.

It is important to note here that, in accordance with the evidence presented in Figures 9 and 10, none of the interview participants I spoke with expressed ever having experienced crime in Middlehaven or in Middlesbrough as a whole. All, however, were aware of the perception held by many local people that Middlehaven has a high crime rate. Indeed, Middlehaven's crime rate was considered to be so high that, according to Keith, a property developer, even Cleveland police had concerns about relocating their Middlesbrough Headquarters in Middlehaven:

> "Well, it's a funny thing, you see, because when we were over there [in Middlehaven] … there was a huge perception of crime in that area. To the extent that bizarrely, when Cleveland Police were going to build their new Head Quarters there, they said, 'oh, well, we can't possibly have our staff coming and working over there. They're not safe. There's too much crime'. And this is the police authority [laughing], for goodness's sake. So there had to be work carried out, you know, security cameras and all that. But we, for our sins, actually [were part of] the Middlehaven Crimewatch Committee. So it was basically an amalgamation of businesses that met say every month or every two months to consider crime, impact of crime, in the vicinity. Because it was perceived as a huge problem. And we would have - we would get the police to come along and provide the crime figures, and we'd consider them, and it rapidly became obvious that in Middlehaven there was no crime - there was more crime in Acklam and Linthorpe than there was in Middlehaven. So the perception was totally wrong. And we used to say… 'well look, there's the crime figures. There isn't any'. And the simple reason was there wasn't any crime because there was no-one living over there. They'd all gone. So that was a huge perception that needed changing. And once that was sort of known, then you started getting more interest over there." – Keith

Keith's comment that 'there isn't any' crime in Middlehaven alludes to the fact that Middlehaven's crime rate is no higher than the town's average crime rate when its daytime population, and skew in the data caused by the inclusion of town-centre crime in Middlehaven's recorded crime rate, are taken into account (see Figures 9 and 10). Keith states that prior to the onset of regeneration, Middlehaven was perceived as having much more crime than actually occurs there. Thus, the extent to which crime is perceived as an issue in Middlehaven is clear. Also evident in this quote is the way in which the previous residents of St Hilda's are blamed for the perception of a crime problem. Indeed, Keith considers the displacement of the previous residents of Middlehaven to be the reason why there was very little crime in Middlehaven. The displacement of St Hilda's residents has, in addition to being manufactured through the stigma discussed previously, been intertwined with a criminalising discourse which has it that Middlehaven's crime rate doesn't match the perception not because the

perception has always been wrong (at least over the time period covered by Figures 9 and 10), but because the people considered responsible have been moved on. Here, then, it is important to consider in more depth how this discourse of (criminal) security relates to demarginalisation.

Indeed, there is a general acceptance among residents and business owners in Middlehaven that the presence of the police station has been critical in the improvements which they perceive to have occurred as part of the regeneration. This understanding, however, is frequently framed using language which alludes to the sanitisation of space:

> "[The police station] cleaned it up. When we first moved here, which was [in the early 2000s], we used to stay open on 2 nights a week until 7 o'clock… Driving home, I would pass 3 or 4 prostitutes wandering up and down the road to the A66. Gone. Within days of the police station opening. I don't think it actually changed the crime statistics of the area per se, because St Hilda's had already been emptied." – Vincent, owner of a business in Middlehaven

> "It had gone from an unsafe place to a safe place. It's got better street lights, which, it sounds ridiculous, but they go on for longer. You can actually walk outside without worrying that you're going to get attacked or anything like that. There's no prostitutes anymore that I would know of round here, or anything, because you don't see them. And literally, they would just walk down the street and there was little buildings across near where the bridge was that they would all go into. Now those buildings are actual businesses. So I think that the police really cleaned it up when they moved over. And I think it was the best idea that they had." – Yvonne, owner of a business in Middlehaven

> "Well, it was a notorious area, which they've invested in and tidied up, and cleaned up. And they've put a police station here. But yeah, it was known for being quite poor and a fairly lawless sort of area. Yeah." – George, resident in new-build accommodation in Middlehaven

Indeed, it appears that the presence of the police station has contributed to improving perceptions of Middlehaven, which has had positive effects on the area, making it, in Yvonne's terms, a place "for other businesses to think about as a viable option". It is clear here that Vincent and Yvonne consider the removal of prostitutes from Middlehaven to be key to its 'cleaning up'. However, important here is the fact that both Vincent and Yvonne make reference to the visibility of prostitution in Middlehaven: whether or not it is still happening appears to be of little interest to them

in relation to their experiences of Middlehaven, so long as they can't see it. And given the changes to the prostitution industry which have occurred due to the rise of the internet, a reduced physical presence of sex workers in public space is not unexpected. Indeed, as Cunningham and Kendall (2011) show in their study of online prostitution in the USA, streetwalking prostitution has reduced at the same time as online advertisement of sex work has grown, and this rise in internet prostitution has displaced streetwalking in many cases. It is no surprise, then, that prostitution has become less visible in Middlehaven, though this was not necessarily caused by the establishment of a police station in the area, and does not necessarily mean that the women mentioned in the above quotes who previously walked its streets are no longer working in the same industry.

The social sanitisation of space as part of neoliberal efforts to boost a particular area of urban space (alluded to through the use of language such as 'cleaning up' to describe the regeneration of the site) is not unique to Middlehaven: Miraftab (2007) reveals that measures were taken during the creation of Cape Town's Business Improvement District which deliberately excluded poverty which was considered a threat to its middle class visitors' sense of security. However, this does not mean that Middlehaven has been transformed into an entirely exclusionary and revanchist space. Indeed, there are spaces, such as the Stages Academy which "offers trial flats for the most vulnerable and socially excluded homeless in Middlesbrough" (Riverside, 2016), that are designed to tackle issues of exclusion across the town. And so while simply making exclusion invisible to Middlehaven's new business and residential population does appear to have been an effect of the process of regeneration, there remains room within the scheme for a more inclusive approach. As Douglas, a council officer on the Development team at Middlesbrough Council, states:

> "Historically, various governments have thrown money at regeneration problems, and it's never really addressed the fundamental issues. It puts a bandage on quite a major wound, but it's not a long-term fix."- Douglas

Here then, it is clear that while the regeneration has involved the displacement of individuals from St Hilda's as a 'solution' to the issue of territorial stigmatisation and social deprivation, there is an acknowledgement within the council that without addressing the 'fundamental' issues which have led to the deprivation and stigmatisation in the first instance, the regeneration is unlikely to be successful.

Facilities such as the Stages Academy are clearly part of an effort to address the social issues which Douglas alludes to. However, the way in which the police station is credited by residents and businesses with 'cleaning up' the area suggests that there is a perception that the issues which the regeneration attempt deals with are of a criminal nature. Given that the criminalisation of poverty is widespread in various locations worldwide (Wacquant, 2010a), and given the zero-tolerance policing style adopted by Middlesbrough's police during former Mayor Ray Mallon's time as Detective Superintendent, this issue cannot be overlooked in the case of Middlehaven.

While it is clear that the presence of the police is perceived as instrumental in 'cleaning up' the issues associated with the 'Over the Border' stigma, it is also important here to consider how the stigma itself is instrumental in the demarginalisation of Middlehaven. While the way in which the territorial stigma is used to justify redevelopment (Kallin and Slater, 2014) has already been discussed in this thesis, here, it is pertinent to consider how territorial stigma is actively used as a selling point for Middlehaven. As Smith (1996) asserts, by presenting an urban space as a 'wilderness' in need of 'civilising', the agents involved in regeneration/gentrification are able to sell the space as an exciting opportunity to so-called 'urban pioneers', who are portrayed as brave saviours of the urban, courageous enough to venture to spaces that less heroic individuals would not dare to go to.

As Middlesbrough Council explicitly markets the area to 'urban pioneers' through its Urban Pioneers project (Middlesbrough Council et al., 2013), it is worth considering whether the marginality of Middlehaven is used as a selling point in its regeneration. If the stigma is indeed used as a marketing tool, the fact that a stigmatising definition of 'Over the Border' appears on a council-affiliated website (as previously discussed) becomes less perplexing, as it would appear to be an example of the stigma being maintained at a level which is enough to attract those who would wish to consider themselves to be 'urban pioneers', even if this is not reflected in the physical changes to the landscape of Middlehaven which have occurred as part of the demarginalisation process. As both Florida (2002) and Ley (2003) argue, members of the so-called creative class value seemingly 'authentic' and urban spaces in which they can make their mark and stand out from the crowd, and so the marginalised image of Middlehaven may be advantageous to the aim of attracting the creative class to the area.

A quote from the Alsop Greater Middlehaven Strategic Framework Plan epitomises the notion that marginality as a marketing device may be a key element of the efforts to demarginalise Middlehaven:

> "Middlehaven twenty years' [sic] on… The transformation of what was once a flat and barren landscape into this prosperous place of beauty was brought about by the acknowledgement by Tees Valley Regeneration and the people of Middlesbrough that nothing other than a radical change was worth making in Middlehaven. That a brave and far-seeing solution was the only way that lasting change could take place. Looking back down the years to their starting point at the beginning of the century, one can see with great clarity how right they were" – Alsop, 2004a (47).

This statement communicates to anyone who has doubts about the regeneration scheme, or its treatment of Middlehaven as a blank canvas, that they will be proven to be wrong – they are simply not brave enough, or are too short sighted. While the way in which the language used in this statement works to construct consensus (which will be discussed in more depth in later chapters) through this effective dismissal of doubt, of interest here is the way in which anyone who supports the regeneration project, or is actively involved in its delivery, is constructed as brave, and how this is used to sell the space. As Florida (2002) argues, "on many fronts, the Creative Class lifestyle comes down to a passionate quest for experience… And the *kinds* of experiences they crave reflect and reinforce their identities as people" (166, emphasis in original). Thus, it makes sense that the 'urban pioneering' experience is marketed in Middlehaven in order to attract the so-called 'creative class', as Middlehaven purports to be "the place for creativity, innovation and difference" (Middlesbrough Council et al., 2013: 10). As Figure 11 shows, the language of 'pioneering' is explicitly drawn upon in the Middlehaven regeneration scheme, such that a new street, built across the road from the site of the now demolished Tower Green development at St Hilda's, is named Pioneering Way.

Territorial stigma can work to construct a space as 'socially uninhabited' (Smith, 1996), and thus as a space on which 'urban pioneers' can make their mark (see chapter 2.2). And given that individualism is a prominent feature of neoliberal society (Kananen, 2012), and that individual (rather than group) identity is particularly important to Florida's (2002) creative class, it becomes clear that the way in which territorial stigma enables a space to be constructed as a frontier may make that space

attractive to the creative class (see Smith, 1996). Subsequently, the so-called 'urban pioneers' moving into that space are able to recast their individual identities in a way which supposedly appeals directly to the creative professionals which Middlehaven hopes to attract to fuel its new creative economy. The proliferation of this discourse of bravery is important to consider, as the dialectical relationship between discourse and social practice produces lived realities which reflect and reproduce the discourses and practices which constitute these realities (Flowerdew, 2004; Fairclough et al., 2011). It is such that the discourses produced and perpetuated by documents such as the Alsop report have real implications for the direction of delivery of the regeneration project.

Figure 11. A photograph taken during fieldwork of 'Pioneering Way,' built as part of Middlesbrough Council's Urban Pioneering scheme.

Given the role of territorial stigma in attracting newcomers (often working in creative industries) to the area, it is worth considering the extent to which the 'Over the Border' label retains its stigmatising effects. As Butler (1993) argues, the meaning of derogatory terms is not fixed, as the performative nature of such terms means that such a label can be appropriated for positive use during the repetitions of the label which are essential to the maintenance of its performative effects. Indeed, while there is a general

consensus among those living and working in Middlehaven that the area will always be known as 'Over the Border'– in line with Goffman's (1963) assertion that someone (or in this case, somewhere) that has been stigmatised can never fully shed the stigma even if the stigmatising characteristic is 'corrected', but becomes instead recognised as someone (or somewhere) who has corrected that characteristic – this does not mean to say that the label need always have negative connotations.

However, while Butler's (1993) arguments are useful for understanding how labels may be reclaimed, in this case, the current residents using the 'Over the Border' label have not experienced the brunt of its stigmatising effects (which led to the displacement of the previous population), and so any change in the meaning of the label brought about by the use of it by current residents is not certain to have demarginalising effects for the (displaced) population who were stigmatised by it. Indeed, the displaced population of St Hilda's, as a result of their displacement, loses to some extent the opportunity to 'reclaim' the spatially-ingrained 'Over the Border' label. Nonetheless, the current population of Middlehaven does use the label in ways which begin to challenge its widely recognised stigmatising meaning. Thus, while the 'Over the Border' label is too ingrained in the act of crossing under the railway line and A66 – which serve as unavoidable physical reminders of this label – to be forgotten, and it has become a spatial marker crucial for giving directions, the label itself is considered 'fun' by Matthew, a resident in the Boho Zone:

> "I use [the label 'Over the Border'] myself. I say 'I live Over the Border'. But I always caveat that with the explanation of what it is now. I hear people say 'I didn't know there was anything over there'. You know, whatever, but things like that. It's a phrase that people use to define a geographical location in Middlesbrough now… It's irrelevant. It's just a nice name for it. I think it's a fun name… There's nothing bad in the name. I mean, if anything it's a separation point." – Matthew

Here, Matthew considers that 'Over the Border' is a fun name for the area. And while Matthew does not see himself as a 'pioneer', this quote is illustrative of the way in which the stigma is employed as a means of 'standing out'. Indeed, he considers the stigmatised label attached to his place of residence to be a 'separation point'. Important to note, here, though, is that while Matthew claims to view the 'Over the Border' label as 'irrelevant', he still feels the need, when using the term to tell others where he lives, to explain that the Middlehaven area has undergone many changes, and no longer

resembles the area brought to mind by the 'Over the Border' label. In doing so, Matthew distances himself from the territorial stigma of the space he inhabits, enabling him to enjoy the 'separation point' which the label offers, without suffering the ill-effects of the territorial stigma. It seems, then, that the 'Over the Border' label serves as a means for Middlehaven's creative class to mark themselves as distinct from the image of the wider Middlesbrough area, which itself is affected by negative perceptions.

However, implicit in the act of 'caveating' the use of the 'Over the Border' label in everyday conversation with an explanation of the changes which have been occurring in Middlehaven is an acknowledgement that the label retains a host of negative connotations. Indeed, Matthew acknowledges the effects of the label on the space and the people who lived there prior to the onset of regeneration:

> "Whenever there's a location that's easy to name in a town that's known for negativity and negative social consequences, it's a label. And a label, a name, is what people use to spread information about something, right? So if you say 'oh, Over the Border', it writes off the entire area behind the train tracks, you know. And then, those houses that were knocked down – you might have had lovely families living there and nice people wanting to grow and do well, but they lived Over the Border, right? So you'd have taxis not going there, delivery people not driving their pizzas over, you know. Things like that. People not wanting to visit." – Matthew

It is this image of the Middlehaven area which Matthew tries to distance himself from, by explaining that the space has changed. It is clear, then, that the label still carries negative connotations in the public imagination. Indeed, it is worth considering here why the 'Over the Border' stigma is persistent, despite the regeneration programme, which has produced a space which does not bear many of the prior identifying characteristics of 'Over the Border'. Two quotes from Yvonne, a business owner in Middlehaven, are illustrative here:

> "So if I am telling people how to get here, I would say 'Over the Border' or 'behind the Bongo [night club]'. Immediately that's meant with a negative. However, as soon as you explain that there's none of that anymore, people come round to the idea. But it is, it can be quite difficult for me to get external customers down to [my business], unless they know myself or other customers" – Yvonne

> Yvonne: Taxi drivers tell us all the time we're not Middlehaven. Over there's Middlehaven [pointing in the direction of the dock, Riverside Stadium, and Community in a Cube], we're actually not it, supposedly.
>
> Q: So what do people call this area?
>
> Yvonne: It's just Middlesbrough. We're still just Middlesbrough, behind the Bongo – Excerpt from interview with Yvonne, who owns a business in the Boho Zone

Yvonne's experience of trying to attract customers to her business in Middlehaven is illustrative of the way in which the area retains its stigma despite the changes which have been made in the area since the onset of regeneration. Of note here, is Yvonne's claim that the phrase 'behind the Bongo' – which refers to a famous nightclub in the regeneration area (see Figure 12) – immediately causes her to have to deal with negative perceptions about the location of her business. Reggae nightclub Club Bongo International is a space which is closely associated with the 'Over the Border' label. Indeed, the club has been located in Middlehaven since the 1960s, has gained an apparently international reputation. As Steven, a former St Hilda's resident, attests, the Bongo was a favourite haunt of sailors docked in Middlesbrough:

> "Predominantly, as far as I knew, there were a lot of Filipinos, who would come [on ships] to Middlesbrough, and frequented the pubs in St Hilda's, which resulted in them going to the Bongo. Which obviously, they have carried that back to their countries when they go back on their ships. Every foreigner was saying to us, they could not speak English, so virtually the only words they could say were Club Bongo or Captain Cook. Captain Cook was the pub, followed by the Bongo, which was the nightclub afterwards. The Captain Cook was ran by a guy, he used to take care of all the foreigners down there. He used to have a little money exchange system going. They'd have foreign money, and he would exchange it for them, make them comfortable. He attracted the girls down, which kept the guys happy while they were in shore, and they would go back to the bongo on an evening to finish the night off dancing, and whatever else they got up to after that. But yeah, obviously they took that, what I talked about earlier, how the Bongo gave you that wonderful feeling, they took that back on their ships to their motherlands, to their countries, you know, and let people know who were going on the next ship 'go to the Bongo. Get yourselves to the Bongo. Brilliant'." – Steven (interview provided by Savita Sathe)

Figure 12. A photograph of the famous nightclub, Club Bongo International, taken during fieldwork in 2018.

Evidently, the history of Club Bongo International is intricately tied up with that of Middlesbrough's shipping industry. Despite the 'wonderful feeling' which Steve assumes was evoked in visitors to the Bongo, the club is also associated strongly with the 'Over the Border' label, and as such is considered emblematic of the stigma. The following observation from James, a resident of new build accommodation in Middlehaven, is illustrative here:

> "I think probably, like, you've still got Bongo, which probably still keeps the over the border reputation alive a little bit, really. Because, I think you still get, I think on a night out, myself, if someone said 'we'll go to the bongo', I'd be like 'oh, I don't - it's a bit rough over that side'. So you'd probably, sort of, keep away. So, so yeah, I think it's still got a bit of that reputation, I think… If I was going to go out, the Bongo would probably be the last place I'd go to. Even though I live 'round here, and like, I know what it's like. It's nice, you know, and I still think I want to keep away from there… I think a lot of the, sort of, rougher people would go there. You've got just some pubs over there where more undesirable people go to. Erm, and I think they just spill out into over here." – James

Here, James articulates the notion that the Over the Border stigma 'kept alive' by the presence of the Bongo club in Middlehaven. Again, James invokes a moral

judgement on those inhabiting the space in his choice to keep away from the nightclub (prior to its temporary closure in 2017), which is typical of territorially stigmatised spaces (Qvotrup Jensen and Christensen, 2012). Evidently, this moral judgement is extended to the nightclub, such that the establishment becomes viewed as a place to be avoided, despite James's acknowledgement that the area is 'nice'. As Edward, an elected councillor and Executive Member at Middlesbrough Council, makes clear, the stigma associated with the 'Over the Border' label is linked so closely in the public imagination to the Bongo, the existence of Club Bongo International itself is considered to serve as a physical reminder of the stigma:

> "Because the Bongo is a throwback from quite a, like I said, the 'over the border' era. It has quite a reputation. It doesn't fit what we're looking at in terms of redevelopment in Middlehaven, to be honest." – Edward

Here, Edward identifies the Bongo club as having a reputation which is at odds with the image the council is aiming to construct for Middlehaven. This notion that certain uses do not 'fit' with the Middlehaven image will be discussed in depth in chapter 7.3. Of note here, though, is that while Edward considers the Bongo's image to be ill-fitting with the desired Middlehaven image, he considers it to be evocative of the 'Over the Border' imaginary, suggesting that the two spatial imaginaries are distinct and incompatible. Returning to the quotes from an interview with Yvonne, in which she claims that attracting clients to her business is difficult owing to the fact that her business is described as being located 'Over the Border,' or 'behind the Bongo' – both of which carry negative connotations – allows consideration of the way in which the spatial imaginaries conjured by various labels affect the regeneration scheme underway in Middlehaven.

Indeed, while it appears that simply not telling customers that her business is 'Over the Border' – instead referring to the area as 'Middlehaven' – would solve this issue, the second quote highlights that the location of Yvonne's business near what was St Hilda's positions it in the public imagination as outside of Middlehaven, despite being in the Boho Zone and therefore located in an area integral to the regeneration scheme. Indeed, closer interrogation reveals that the way in which 'Middlehaven' is treated as a new place is problematic in that it limits the extent to which the area – particularly the part of Middlehaven most closely associated with the 'Over the Border' label – can be demarginalised. Indeed, the Middlehaven Development Framework states

that "to be successful, regeneration must actively engage in place making" (Middlesbrough Council et al., 2012: 29). It is no surprise, then, that Middlehaven is viewed as a new place, 'started' from scratch:

> "Well, I've heard that it was rife with prostitution, with people coming in off the rigs or off the steel with cash in their pocket and wanting drugs, and sex workers, and Club Bongo, and lots of crime, and 'you just didn't go 'Over the Border', right' *(spoken in a bad local accent)*. I can't do the accent. But yeah, you just didn't go Over the Border. And then you've got the police station and they drove all of the sex workers and drugs away, and *started Middlehaven*. Knocking places down and building new buildings." – Matthew (emphasis added).

The idea that driving sex workers and drugs away 'started Middlehaven' suggests that it is a new place altogether – that the place which earned the space the label of 'Over the Border' has now gone, replaced by a new place called Middlehaven. Indeed, Middlesbrough Council are attempting to create a sense of distinction for the regeneration area, and to distance it from its stigmatised past:

> "What we wanted to do was create an environment and a place that you could distinguish an area of the town that was unique in its characteristics, and had a characteristic that wasn't necessarily trying to mock a historic characteristic. It was *creating a new area*, a new buzz, a new feel. A modern feel and a vibrant feel, and I think that, to be honest about it, is where we are and what we've achieved" – Lance, a council officer working on regeneration (emphasis added).

However, given that the 'Over the Border' label is so well ingrained in the local public imagination, and "too iconic and too well visualised in the train track for it to go away" (Matthew, resident in the Boho Zone), this attempt has resulted in a separation between 'Middlehaven' and 'Over the Border' in the public imagination to the extent that there is uncertainty with regards to where exactly Middlehaven is. It appears that the choice to attempt to shed the 'Over the Border' label in the rebranding of the regeneration area, instead referring to it as 'Middlehaven', continues to reproduce the 'Over the Border' label as negative and reinforce its stigmatising effects. Indeed, due to this disconnect between the Middlehaven label and the spatial imaginary of 'Over the Border', parts of the space are not attached in the public imagination to the flashy architecture associated with the label 'Middlehaven'.

As has been previously discussed, displacing those affected by territorial stigma and knocking down buildings does not automatically diminish the stigma, as such

approaches to dealing with stigma mistakenly attribute the cause of the stigma to those affected by it, and so it makes sense that 'starting' Middlehaven via changes to the physical environment and social constitution of the area does not instantly 'rewrite' its story (see quote from Douglas, a council officer, on page 96). However, as residents of Middlehaven continue to use the term 'Over the Border' to describe the location of their homes, there remains the possibility of a change in meaning of 'Over the Border' (see Butler, 1993). And of course, given that the 'Over the Border' stigma is used as a marketing device to attract the 'creative class,' the present use of the label, which is still viewed negatively, may be valuable to the regeneration in terms of attracting its desired population.

However, it is also important here to consider the meaning of the 'Over the Border' label for the wider town, and to former residents of the St Hilda's area, rather than just for the incoming population of the regeneration site. Indeed, as Edward, an elected Middlesbrough councillor and Executive Member, suggests:

> "Our Mayor very recently did an article about how we shouldn't call it 'Over the Border' any more. And a lot people responded, 'well we'll always call it 'Over the Border''. And I think the first nut to crack is the one of the community of people in Middlehaven who are probably of an older generation. In fact, most definitely of an older generation. They still see it as St Hilda's, or as Tower Farm, and 'Over the Border' is synonymous with criminality, and no go areas. I think that has had a role in probably perpetuating those images, but I think it's starting to wane." – Edward

Indeed, an online poll on the Gazette's website found that 92% of respondents still use the 'Over the Border' label (Price, 2017). Many of the comments left beneath the online article appear to be from former residents of the St Hilda's area, and overwhelmingly reflect a combination of pride in the use of the 'Over the Border' label and grievance about the apparent attempt to remove the term from local vocabulary. Indeed, this grievance is summarised by the notion raised by one comment which suggests that "to lose our references is to lose our own identity". This is not dissimilar to what McKenzie (2015) found in her consideration of territorial stigma in St Ann's, Nottingham, in which a sense of belonging, or 'being St Ann's' was found through membership of the group sharing a territorially stigmatised space, and through the label which names that space. It appears, then, that while the 'Over the Border' label is associated with a number of negative connotations, and while the negative impacts of

the stigma are well documented, there is a sense of attachment to the label. One comment posted to the Gazette website following the poll which expresses pride in being "born and bred "over the border"" is illustrative of this. Evidently, while residents have been displaced, and houses removed from the St Hilda's area, a sense of pride in having belonged to an 'Over the Border' community persists.

As has been revealed in this section, the 'Over the Border' label holds different meanings for different parts of the community, and is thus part of a spatial imaginary that is employed variously in justifying regeneration (see section 4.1), selling the space, and remembering a community and sense of belonging. I have examined the way in which Middlehaven, as a stigmatised space of a town which already has a history of dealing with a negative image (see Chapter 1), has been afflicted with an image which positions it as a crime hotspot. This is despite crime statistics which reveal the crime rate for the regeneration area is not exceptionally high when daytime population and skews in the data are taken into account. Indeed, as this section has discussed, moral judgements frequently made on territorially stigmatised spaces frame these spaces (and their inhabitants) as 'lawless' and rife with crime (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014). Conversely, neoliberal mindsets and behaviours are also morally-coded and increasingly touted as essential to being a 'good' citizen (Kananen, 2012). The following section addresses in further depth the role of such neoliberal values in the regeneration of Middlehaven.

5.2. Revaluing Urban Space: Landscape and Atmosphere

This section aims to examine the way in which neoliberal values are embedded in the redevelopment of Middlehaven, and how the governance of space is oriented towards the propagation of such values. Firstly, it is useful to consider how the management of the physical landscape at Middlehaven seeks to imbue the space itself with such values. The limited selection of historic landmarks which have been preserved in the regeneration area work to construct a particular history for the site. Indeed, Mike, who owns a business based in Middlehaven, deems the area's history to be of critical importance to its identity:

> "I think that's one thing Teesside is very good at, sort of understanding its heritage, and understanding its roots, and ensuring that those are protected as we go into the future, really. I think there's no escaping that we're at the feet of the Transporter Bridge here, and it's got global recognition for the engineering heritage of the area. Obviously, we're in throwing distance of the port, and we've got Middlehaven dock there. And everyone's aware of the background of the area, I suppose, and we're using that as a foundation to grow the area on. And coupling that with, it's in our DNA to innovate, it's in our DNA to graft, I think that's part of the foundations of what's making Middlehaven happen." – Mike, the owner of a business based in Middlesbrough's Boho Zone

However, the 'roots' of Teesside which have been preserved in the form of the Transporter Bridge, the former home of Bolckow and Vaughan (Middlesbrough's first ironmasters), and Gibson House (see Figure 5, page 16), among others, reflect a very specific history. As Mike suggests, such landmarks work to construct a narrative of the area which speaks of 'grafting', of hard work and innovation, and of 'making things happen'. Such traits are closely associated with the notion of individual responsibility, which is identified by Jenkins (2005) as a trait strongly endorsed by the neoliberal ideology. Thus, it is perhaps of no coincidence that such elements of the physical landscape of Middlehaven have been preserved, while built forms associated with state welfare and community cohesion, and which are stigmatised in such a way that negative moral connotations have become associated with them (see the discussion of housing at St Hilda's in Chapter 4), have been removed from the space. Indeed, drawing on Foucault's (1991) concept of the conduct of conduct (as discussed in the literature review (section 2.2) of this thesis), it makes sense that the dominance of neoliberal discourse works to encourage the kinds of behaviour which are valued in neoliberal society and to encourage the emergence of self-regulating subjects (Weninger, 2009).

This "normalisation of neoliberal practices and mindsets" (Keil, 2009: 232) is key to what Keil (2009) terms 'roll-with-it' neoliberalisation, and is important here for understanding the way in which design of the urban environment works to produce a space which matches the Vision for Middlehaven set out in various planning documents.

Given the focus placed on the physical space of Middlehaven by such documents used in its delivery (see chapter 4.2), it is useful to consider further how the space is governed through the built environment. Indeed, this is especially important given the territorial stigma attached to the area which sees it perceived as a crime hotspot (Wood and Vamplew, 1999). Just as Arthurson et al. (2014) find that individuals living in territorially stigmatised spaces in Australia are portrayed as having criminal tendencies, efforts to demarginalise Middlehaven draw upon similar discourses of criminality (as discussed in section 5.1). Here, then, it is useful to consider the ways in which the adjustments to the landscape carried out as part of the Middlehaven regeneration scheme work to overcome the stigma and associated perceptions of high crime rates via the construction of spaces which are geared towards the production of self-governing citizens who comply with the law. Indeed, walking through the new urban park opposite the Transporter Bridge is an experience which reflects this idea, as the following quote from my ethnographic notes reveals:

> "Benches are scattered throughout the park, and I choose one which faces a wavy concrete sculpture (or is it a kind of bench? I'm not really sure). The bench faces towards the Transporter Bridge. It is quite a nice park, with no vandalism, hardly any traffic noise, and very minimal amounts of litter. But I feel weird sitting here. I almost feel as though I'm being watched, even though there isn't another person in sight. The space is entirely open and flat, with no corners, and no walls above knee height. The 'Urban Pioneer's Terrace' and its many windows face onto where I'm sitting just a few meters away. I suppose this design is entirely deliberate. Perhaps I am supposed to feel like this, to keep my behaviour in check." – Ethnography, January 2017.

This can be explained via examination of the Middlesbrough Development Framework (Middlesbrough Council, 2009a). The document sets out development guidelines for the entire Middlesbrough area, and states that one of its objectives is "creating safer and stronger communities", which it suggests it will achieve by "planning out crime through design" (Middlesbrough Council, 2009a: 8). This is the only method of achieving this aim which is listed in the document, and as such, it

appears that by ‘safer and stronger’, the council is referring to crime-free communities. The notion of strengthening communities is of relevance for Middlehaven, as Wacquant (2008) contends that people in marginalised communities often turn to the informal economy, which can result in violence and the break-down of communities as an atmosphere of fear is propagated, which dissolves a sense of place, and produces hostile space. And while the notion that St Hilda’s was demolished to produce a stronger community is dubious, especially given the extensive literature on the way in which communities are broken up by the process of gentrification (see Herzfeld, 2009), it makes sense that designing spaces which counter the long-held perceptions of criminality in territorially stigmatised spaces should work to demarginalise such spaces.

In the case of the urban park, then, it appears that the built form of the park works to ensure the self-regulation of subjects via a landscape which is designed to be experienced as surveillant. As Bille et al. (2015) reveal, atmospheres are frequently ‘staged’ by those who design space, as they seek to employ the physical space - through designing its materiality in particular ways - as a means of influencing the way that people feel and react to their environment. This, in turn, is used to direct people to behave in certain ways in order to satisfy particular aims, which may include the manufacture of a commercially favourable environment (Bille et al., 2015). It is useful here to consider how the production of an atmosphere of surveillance may work to such ends.

Foucault’s (2008) discussion of the notion of the panopticon offers insight into the way in which a sense of the possibility of being watched produces in subjects the self-regulation of behaviour (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000). Indeed, the design of space is of importance in this respect, as space is both influenced by and influential upon social, cultural and political practice (Thrift, 1983), and so the governance of urban space and its design cannot be overlooked when considering the way in which behaviours are regulated. As Coleman (2005) asserts, the physical appearance of space within the jurisdiction of an entrepreneurial local government often works in a way which constructs those behaviours which are advantageous to an agenda of economic growth as morally favourable, and as such results in the (self)regulation of subjects in line with this agenda. Indeed, as will be discussed later in this thesis (see section 8.1.), the eradication of crime from the immediate vicinity was of importance to investors in Middlehaven, and so the ‘planning out’ of crime through the design of the urban

environment can be understood as directly advantageous to the economic growth agenda.

Having considered the role of the design of the physical landscape in 'planning out crime', it is worth here returning to this notion to ask what exactly, beyond architectural design, could be meant by Middlesbrough Council's (2009a) suggestion that stronger and safer communities can be constructed via the eradication of crime through design. Indeed, given that the pre-regeneration population of Middlehaven has been deliberately displaced in order that the demolition of St Hilda's may occur, and that steps have been taken (through boosterism and endorsement of creative and digital industries) to attract the creative class (as defined by Florida, 2002), it is important to consider the ways in which the 'design' of the regeneration project and its delivery affects the make-up of the population itself, in terms of who is provided for in the residential offering of the redevelopment. In Peck's (2005) assessment, this creative class is a "circulating class of gentrifiers, whose lack of commitment to place and whose weak community ties are perversely celebrated" (764). And given that gentrification entails the displacement of low-income residents as this new class of residents moves into the area, it appears that approaches to regeneration which aim to attract the creative class must also (deliberately or not) entail a 'redesigning' of the constituent population of that area. Indeed, the Middlehaven Development Framework (Middlesbrough Council and HCA, 2012) suggests that the plans for the regeneration should cater to the needs of a diverse population and 'a wide residential spectrum':

> "The area allows for a range of residential typologies, including terraced housing, semi-detached and detached houses with their private gardens, but also mews houses, cottages, live-work units and experimental living models. To cater for a wide residential spectrum and to provide for a cohesive community the mix should be complemented by flatted accommodation with apartments, studio flats and flat share arrangements, but also assisted living for the elderly" – Middlesbrough Council and HCA, 2012 (56)

Indeed, rhetoric surrounding gentrification or regeneration often promotes 'social mixing' as a way of overcoming an area's historic social issues, of encouraging economic growth in that locale, and of reducing marginality via the adoption of a 'cohesive community'. The above quote appears to indicate that the same is true of Middlehaven, especially given the way in which blame for territorial stigma was often attached to the residents living with that stigma owing to the negative moral

connotations associated in the public imagination with the 'Over the Border' label (see chapter 4). However, as Lees (2012) demonstrates, in practice, gentrification tends to produce the very polarisation which social-mixing policies purport to address. Indeed, such an approach to 'creating safer and stronger communities' has been shown to be counterproductive, as it reproduces the negative stereotypes which afflict territorially stigmatised areas in the first instance: As Uitermark (2014) asserts, the notion that social mixing can produce improvements in deprived neighbourhoods has its roots in "the attribution of desirable behaviour to middle class households [which] will serve as positive role models" (1430) for those households which are more negatively perceived. As such, where 'planning out crime through design' is understood in this way, it appears to reinforce the very stigma which the regeneration of Middlehaven seeks to address.

And while the landscape appears to deliberately produce those walking in Middlehaven as self-governing subjects, the extent to which the surveillant atmosphere experienced in the urban park contributes to the demarginalisation of Middlehaven is unclear. While there is limited room within this thesis in which to explore this atmosphere, it remains important to acknowledge the role of affective atmospheres in governance of urban space, and so this will be considered briefly here. Indeed, as Shaw (2014) suggests, it is useful to consider the way in which the interactions between various bodies (understood in a broad sense which incorporates both the human and non-human, living beings and objects), or assemblages, work to produce an affective atmosphere unique to a particular place and time. Anderson (2009) contends that "atmospheres are a class of experience that occur *before* and *alongside* the formation of subjectivity, *across* human and non-human materialities, and *in-between* subject/object distinctions… As such, atmospheres are the shared ground from which subjective states and their attendant feelings and emotions emerge" (78, emphasis in original).

In her study of another de-industrialising steel-town in Wales, Walkerdine (2009) notes that the impact of closure of steel works on communities which historically serviced this industry extends beyond the loss of work itself, and that it is also "the affective practices and rhythms of being and life which have been lost." (66). The sense of a tight-knit and 'contained' community formed in part through chats over fences as people leave and arrive home from work at the same times (due to working similar shift patterns at the steel plant) is therefore placed at risk in these communities (Walkerdine, 2010). In Middlehaven, the residential community which predated the regeneration has

long gone from the space, and what rhythms of everyday life existed in Middlehaven's historical steel-making and ship-building communities are lost to time.

Figure 13. Photographs taken during ethnographic walks of Middlehaven showing some of the 'in-between' spaces of the regeneration site. Top left: A seemingly abandoned former industrial building, with smashed windows. Right: A rusting petrol pump in the corner of a small carpark. Bottom left: The boarded-up 'Middlehaven' Pub, which was set on fire in 2012. The top floor of the pub was demolished in 2018, shortly after this photograph was taken.

However, Edensor's (2008) conceptualisation of mundane hauntings is useful here for unpacking the way in which traces of the history of the space linger even after the people who lived that history have gone, and the uses of particular spaces have changed. As Edensor argues, in the drive to produce shiny new 'cool' spaces attractive to investors, physical reminders of the histories of traditionally working class industrial spaces are all too often gradually eviscerated. The involved processes of regeneration are however, "only partial in their attempts to erase and commodify the past. Regeneration is uneven, and outside the city centre and areas of flagship development, change occurs at a slower pace. Traces of the past linger in mundane spaces by the side

of the road to renewal, haunting the idealistic visions of planners, promoters and entrepreneurs." (Edensor, 2008: 314) There are plenty of examples of such 'ghosts of place' which strongly evoke past uses of the space in Middlehaven, whether in the form of a rusting petrol pump, a seemingly abandoned industrial building with smashed windows, or a burnt-out husk of a former community-hub (see Figure 13).

Here then, it is useful to consider what kind of atmosphere emerges in Middlehaven and the effects of such an atmosphere on the aim of demarginalisation – among both the shiny purpose-built or renovated offices and accommodation, and the left-behind spaces which have yet to attract investment and bear evidence of the former uses of the site. The following extract from my ethnographic notes, detailing a part of my walk around Middlehaven which took me through the 'Middlehaven Cross' element of the 'Spatial Concept' outlined in the Middlehaven Development Framework (Middlesbrough Council and HCA, 2012) (see Figure 6, page 72) is illustrative here. The vast majority of the area I passed through on this part of the walk had yet to attract investment, and as such had not been 'redeveloped':

> "We reach the 'Middlehaven Cross' and proceed along the pavement. This part of the pathway is lined on the right hand side with small businesses, most of them involved in some way with the car industry. There are beaten up old cars on the left, with wheels off and paint work damaged. I feel uneasy as I walk down the street, so I put away my notebook and camera, not wanting to attract attention to myself. I can see that I am being watched by a man in his car workshop. He doesn't appear to be doing anything else, just tracking my progress as I walk past his building. I am glad that I'm not here alone, even though I had previously insisted that I would be fine on my own.
>
> I reach the approach to the Old Town Hall, where the occasional car drives past, but I can see no other pedestrians. Someone is sitting in their stationary car with their lights on and engine still running. A tethered pony grazes in a grassed area behind Customs House, a youth centre which has been renovated to a high standard. There is litter everywhere, and an unpleasant smell that I can't quite identify. A van and a car are parked next to the town hall, both with their windows rolled down, both containing two men in high visibility jackets, chatting between the two vehicles, presumably on their lunch break. The red brick of the Old Town Hall stands in contrast to the black boards which cover the windows and doors. A large and worrying crack runs from the roof down to the first floor window. But the white-faced clock on the tower still works. Beneath the clock tower, a faded sign hangs above a boarded-up door: "The Under the Clock Community Centre" has long been closed.
>
> This area is being used as a carpark. There are no parking meters, unlike in the areas of Middlehaven which have been redeveloped. There are a lot of expensive-looking cars here. Two creative professionals (judging by the way they are

> dressed) stand in the street talking to one another before they part ways and get into their cars to drive away.
>
> Standing in this area, walking through it, I feel as though I am doing something wrong. I am on edge, and feel particularly alert when I see police officers doing the rounds. I feel, for some reason, as though I look suspicious and am strangely nervous about being stopped by the police. I feel as though I am trespassing, even though this is a public space. I see two young men at a distance, and I assume they are up to no good. And then I realise they are probably thinking exactly the same about me. The space feels intimidating, and suspicion and fear appear to direct people's behaviour towards one another. In this part of Middlehaven, no-one acknowledges one another as they pass in the street. But it is more than an aversion to friendliness or social contact; people keep their heads down, trying their best to pretend they haven't noticed each other, as though they are invisible, and most of all trying not to be noticed themselves." – Ethnography, February 2017.

The atmosphere produced in the interactions between all the different 'bodies' (the people, the cars and their wheels, lights and engines, the boarded-up windows, the litter, the smells, the disused community centre, etc.), in Middlehaven is one which elicits feelings of suspicion, of fear and of heightened awareness and alertness. Indeed, it appears that this heightened awareness stemming from a sense of surveillance – whether expressed in the smooth, open and overlooked landscaping, or in the form of the black and white police uniform marching along the other side of the street – is the result of an atmosphere which has the potential to be experienced as intimidating, and which is experienced as a private and restricted place in which a visitor feels like a trespasser, within what is technically public space. As Bissell (2010) suggests, atmospheres affect the way in which individuals behave within a space, and are critical in influencing which kinds of practices can or cannot occur within a space. This atmosphere then, is evocative of Amin et al.'s (2002) description of St Hilda's prior to the Middlehaven regeneration scheme as defensively territorial, in which those who did not belong to the St Hilda's community would be objects of suspicion, as close to trespassing as one can be in public space. Indeed, given that this is a space in-between the areas of Middlehaven which have so far attracted investment, it is interesting to note that this atmosphere is strikingly similar to that which is closely associated with the 'Over the Border' stigma, as it implies a kind of stasis.

Indeed, in a regeneration project that has been in the pipeline for over two decades, the notion of stasis is an important one to consider. It is an issue which

Vincent, a business owner based in Middlehaven, feels strongly about, as the following quote illustrates:

> "Middlehaven isn't changing. That's the point. It's stopped. It did start… there is a lot of buildings hoarded off, with 'development coming', 'development coming'. But it doesn't seem to come." – Vincent, a business owner

Of course, simply because regeneration is not happening in a particular space, this is not to say that nothing is happening in that space. As Lugosi et al. (2010) argue, the 'in-between' spaces in which regeneration has stagnated, or has not occurred at all, are often appropriated for "alternative forms of public life" (3090). Of course, such forms often do not fit with the vision for the space imagined in many council documents. Indeed, Figure 14 shows evidence of drug use in the space described in the ethnography notes extract above. There are several vials and broken glasses around what looks to have been a small fire, which are indicative of the use of drugs by at least a few people. As the photograph shows, this discarded paraphernalia is located adjacent to the Old Town Hall. This is approximately 200m away from the new police station.

Figure 14. A photograph of drug paraphernalia left at the end of a dead-end road behind the Old Town Hall, taken during fieldwork in 2018.

Figure 15. Photographs of fly-tipping in Middlehaven, close to where a sign warns that 'fly tippers will be prosecuted', taken during fieldwork in 2018.

Additionally, Figure 15 shows one of several instances of fly tipping in the area around the Old Town Hall, just a stone's throw away from a sign which threatens potential fly tippers with prosecution. It appears, then, that in these in-between spaces, stasis of regeneration has given way to alternative uses which work to produce an atmosphere which contradicts the aims for the regeneration. Indeed, in spaces where fly tipping and open drug use can occur unimpeded, and people visiting the areas feel comfortable parking on double yellow lines, the effect is the creation of a space which operates on the margins of behaviour considered acceptable for an urban citizenry, which are based upon the normative ideals of a self-governing population whose behaviour is aligned with the production of a space favourable to economic growth. These traces of life in the spaces of Middlehaven not yet touched by regeneration are not the 'ghosts' of the space's working class past (Edensor, 2008) which (as has been discussed) are present in other parts of the site (see Figure 13). Indeed, these are evidence of activities taking place in the present in Middlehaven. However, these traces of marginal activities invoke tales of 'Over the Border'. Perhaps it is in this sense that activities such as these, while happening *in* the present, are deemed to be *of* the past. Indeed, in a section entitled 'Creating a 21st Century Environment', Middlesbrough Council's 2008 Urban Regeneration Strategy outlines ambitions to produce space in keeping with the 21st Century:

> "Many of the regeneration schemes proposed include significant elements of environmental improvements…Recent and emerging developments at Mima [Middlesbrough Institute of Modern Art], Middlehaven, Boho and the Institute of Digital Innovation provide an indication of the standard of contemporary

> architecture to be achieved. In addition to changing the physical appearance of the place, such schemes also change its feel and can contribute to attracting investment. High standards of design and good quality public realm improvements need to feature in all decisions relating to future development" (42)

As the quote from the Urban Regeneration Strategy indicates, 'good quality public realms' are understood to be important for attracting investment, both due to physical improvements to a space, and the commercially conducive 'feel' or atmosphere which emerges in these places. It follows that uses or public realms which don't fit the (commercially-favourable) image for Middlesbrough which the Middlehaven regeneration aims to craft are considered to be ill-fitting with the 21st Century, and are thus deemed to be outdated. In this sense, evidence of marginal urban activities (such as fly-tipping and drug use) are indeed considered to be 'ghosts of place', in that it is not just things but also ways of relating to a space which linger in spaces undergoing regeneration. The ghosts of 'Over the Border' therefore spill forward into the present, making their presence tangible, and contribute to an affective atmosphere which makes clear the partiality of the regeneration (and demarginalisation) process.

Indeed, while in parts of Middlehaven deliberate action on the part of the council has been taken to construct the built environment in such a way to ensure that the space feels conducive to producing 'safer and stronger communities', when experienced as a whole, rather than just in the spaces which have been the focus of concerted regeneration efforts, the affective experience outlined above appears not to indicate the wholesale demarginalisation of the area – at least not for those in-between spaces which form part of the regeneration site, yet which exist on the margins of regeneration (and indeed, society) itself.

However, it is worth returning briefly here to the discussion of urban pioneering in section 5.1. As Smith (1996) argues, first wave gentrifiers, labelled 'urban pioneers' as part of a marketing directive to attract individuals who want to be considered 'brave', seek authentic 'edgy' spaces in which to validate their own desired individualism and creative identity. Thus, while such an affective atmosphere is not, at first glance, conducive to the realisation of the glossy Vision outlined in the various planning documents for the Middlehaven site (Alsop, 2004a; Middlesbrough Council and HCA, 2012), there remains the possibility that it is exactly this kind of 'authentic' atmosphere which will prove a major selling point to Middlesbrough's 'urban pioneers'. Indeed,

while the ‘staging’ of a particular atmosphere (to use Bille et al.’s (2015) terminology) of surveillance has been delivered in those parts of Middlehaven which have experienced investment and redevelopment, the lack of ‘staging’ in these in-between spaces is interesting when considering the apparent desire of the so-called ‘creative class’ for unique spaces which are amenable to difference.

Indeed, as Bille et al. (2015) assert, “the intentional orchestrations of atmospheres are not shaped in a vacuum, but are rather oriented towards ideals of how a place, event or practice should or could feel” (36). Thus, an atmosphere staged with the intention of creating a commercially favourable environment is based on normative ideas of what such an environment ‘should’ be like. This means that those areas of Middlehaven which have undergone such ‘staging’ are made to be experienced in a way which is recognizable as a space which can foster economic growth and attract investment. In fostering a commercially recognizable atmosphere, it is inevitable that some element of the space’s ‘difference’, which is important to the ‘creative class’ the area aims to attract, is lost, even when taken with the supposedly unique and edgy architecture introduced as part of the regeneration scheme. It appears then, that while such an atmosphere has been created via regeneration in some parts of Middlehaven, some of the in-between spaces in the area allow an atmosphere which could be considered attractive to ‘urban pioneers’ to emerge. It appears then, that the landscape of Middlehaven is designed to attract both major commercial investors and smaller-scale start-ups synonymous with the creative entrepreneur seeking an authentic, ‘edgy’ environment.

By taking the relevance of the physical material environment of Middlehaven to the governance of the space as its focus, this section has revealed the distinctly neoliberal framing of arguments surrounding the regeneration and its justification on the part of Middlesbrough Council. As will be discussed in further detail in later sections of this thesis (particularly in Chapter 8), entrepreneurial governance, in which the council ‘proactively’ seeks private investment in Middlehaven by offering advantageous conditions for businesses locating in Middlehaven, is a key part of efforts to demarginalise the area via the attraction of businesses which fit the Vision for the regeneration scheme. This chapter has sought to explain how particular neoliberal ideals which are central to this Vision are perpetuated through the built environment, and how efforts are made to alter negative local perceptions of the space. It has shown via an exploration of the notion of affective atmospheres that the design of the built landscape,

in conjunction with other various assembled 'bodies', is instrumental in producing Middlehaven as a space in which these neoliberal tendencies toward individualism and economic growth may emerge. It is clear, then, that approaches toward governance in Middlehaven by the various actors involved in the delivery of the regeneration scheme are oriented toward economic growth, which is viewed as a means of demarginalisation of space.

In addition, this section has demonstrated the way in which interstitial conditions in the in-between spaces of Middlehaven which have yet to attract investment has enabled the emergence of further marginal activity in these spaces, which fail to meet the aspirations for Middlesbrough's '21st Century' environment. In doing so, this section has demonstrated that the sanitisation of space – through the removal of previously existing (and largely working class) land uses – does not in fact automatically create a glossy, 'cool' image for the space, as spectres of marginality linger in the space in what Edensor (2008) calls 'patches of undetermined land'. Comparing local perceptions of crime rates in Middlehaven with data on this topic has been effective in outlining the role of the stigma in affecting the area's image. It has been argued here that such spectres of marginality and the lingering use of the 'Over the Border' label – which is related to a reputation for high crime rates – are themselves one facet of the mobilisation of the stigma in regeneration: As Smith (1989) argues, the crafting of an 'urban frontier' is employed in the attraction of so-called 'urban pioneers' looking to invest and live and work in such a space. Indeed, attraction of investment is a central tenet of the demarginalisation strategy in Middlehaven.

The changes which have been wrought on Middlehaven's social and physical landscape have been critical in this attempt at demarginalisation. The meeting of the knowledge economy - characterised in Middlesbrough by enthusiastic creative and digital start-ups - with the legacy of Middlesbrough's industrial heritage in Middlehaven has given way to a mixture of brightly coloured boxes, metallic curved surfaces, and jet-washed brick alongside scrap yards, and industrial businesses tucked behind deteriorating streetscapes away from the line of sight from the new urban park. And while I have begun to outline the way in which this has occurred in this chapter, it is also of importance to consider in greater depth the way in which the governance of Middlehaven has enabled these particular changes to take place.

6. Governing towards Demarginalisation: Policy and Politics in Middlesbrough

6.1. Structures of Governance and the Role of Hierarchy

In this chapter, the governance of urban space in Middlehaven will be analysed in order to reveal the way in which strategies to demarginalise the area have emerged over the course of its regeneration. Here, I will set out to outline the interactions which occur in the decision-making processes which culminate in strategies for regeneration in Middlehaven. The issue of exactly who is behind the processes which occur in the name of redevelopment is of importance here, and there is uncertainty among residents in this regard:

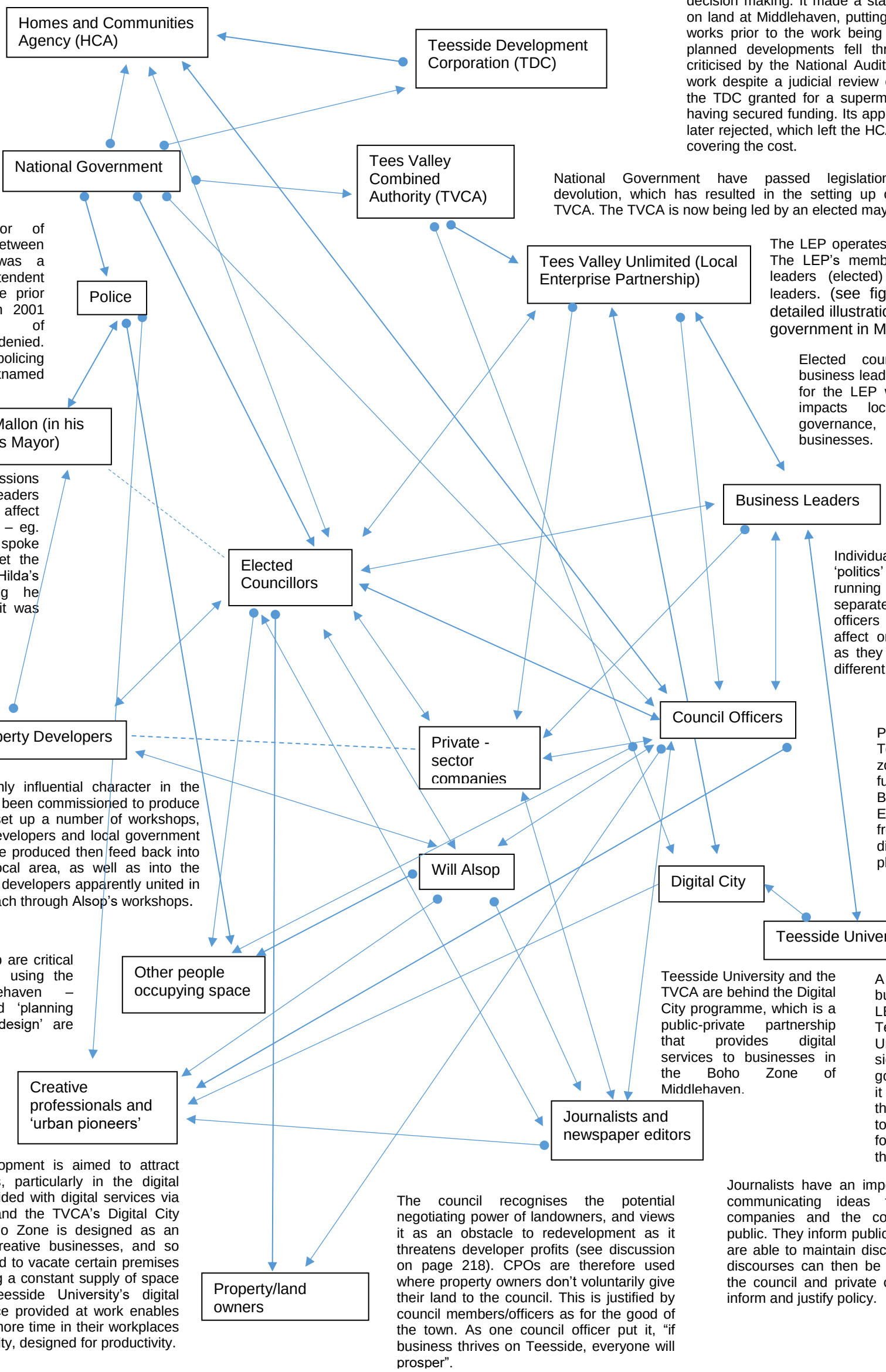
> "I guess, if there is a downside, it's the uncertainty about all these little bits of land that are around me, and what they're going to do with it. And that's really why I was quite keen to talk to you, to see if you knew about that." – George

> "I think it's got a bad name but I think it's getting better, and I think they're doing their best to redevelop it and make it quite an up and coming little town, you know." – James

It appears, then, that there is acknowledgement of a group or groups of people behind the changes occurring in Middlehaven, though few Middlehaven residents were more specific than this in interviews. As Hunter (1953) posits, there is often ambiguity surrounding who governs in urban space. Thus, it is useful to begin this consideration of urban governance by making explicit as far as is reasonable who those involved in governance actually are in the case of Middlehaven. Figures 16 and 17 provide an outline of the various actors and organisations involved in the governance of the area. The sociograms map out numerous connections between these various organisations and individuals involved in the regeneration. However, the sociograms do not claim to provide a full picture of the structures of governance and government in the area, nor do they purport to include every single individual or organisation with some level of involvement in local governance and government. Rather, they indicate some key relationships and individuals/organisations which will be considered in detail in the analysis to follow, which have been identified as important on the basis of data collected during interviews, document analysis and ethnography.

Land (and liabilities) were passed from the TDC to English Partnerships (now the HCA) following the wind up of the TDC in 1998. The HCA has been involved with the redevelopment, and produced the Middlehaven Development Framework in partnership with Middlesbrough Council.

The TDC wound up in 1998 amid allegations of misconduct. While funded by national government, it was largely autonomous in terms of governance and decision making. It made a start on remediation work on land at Middlehaven, putting £4 million into ground works prior to the work being stopped in 1997 after planned developments fell through. The TDC was criticised by the National Audit Office for starting the work despite a judicial review of planning permission the TDC granted for a supermarket, and despite not having secured funding. Its application for funding was later rejected, which left the HCA with responsibility for covering the cost.



National Government have passed legislation for devolution, which has resulted in the setting up of the TVCA. The TVCA is now being led by an elected mayor.

Ray Mallon, Mayor of Middlesbrough between 2002 and 2015, was a Detective Superintendent with Cleveland Police prior to his resignation in 2001 amid allegations of misconduct which he denied. His zero-tolerance policing led to him being nicknamed 'Robo-cop'.

The LEP operates as part of the TVCA. The LEP's members are local council leaders (elected) and local business leaders. (see figure 17 for a more detailed illustration of the structure of government in Middlehaven).

Elected council leaders and business leaders make decisions for the LEP which then directly impacts local approach to governance, thus affecting businesses.

Informal discussions between business leaders and elected officials affect the council's agenda – eg. A property developer spoke to Ray Mallon to get the demolition of St Hilda's speeded up, saying he couldn't invest until it was done.

Individuals on the council treat 'politics' and the day to day running of the regeneration as separate. However, council officers and elected councillors affect one another's operations, as they rely on one another for different parts of the process.

Will Alsop is a highly influential character in the regeneration. Having been commissioned to produce the Masterplan, he set up a number of workshops, gaining input from developers and local government officials. The plans he produced then feed back into the policy for the local area, as well as into the approach of property developers apparently united in their aims and approach through Alsop's workshops.

Part of Middlehaven is a Tees Valley Enterprise zone which receives funding from the LEP. Businesses locating in the Enterprise zone benefit from business rate discounts and relaxed planning regulations.

The police and Alsop are critical in governing people using the space in Middlehaven – governmentality, and 'planning out crime through design' are important here.

Teesside University and the TVCA are behind the Digital City programme, which is a public-private partnership that provides digital services to businesses in the Boho Zone of Middlehaven.

A large proportion of the business leaders on the LEP have affiliations with Teesside University. The University therefore has significant input into the governance of the area, as it has input into every area that the LEP is connected to (arguably including the focus on digital media in the regeneration scheme).

Much of the redevelopment is aimed to attract creative professionals, particularly in the digital sector. They are provided with digital services via Teesside University and the TVCA's Digital City programme. The Boho Zone is designed as an 'incubator' for new creative businesses, and so individuals are required to vacate certain premises after 5 years, ensuring a constant supply of space for graduates of Teesside University's digital courses. Leisure space provided at work enables employees to spend more time in their workplaces – appealing for creativity, designed for productivity.

The council recognises the potential negotiating power of landowners, and views it as an obstacle to redevelopment as it threatens developer profits (see discussion on page 218). CPOs are therefore used where property owners don't voluntarily give their land to the council. This is justified by council members/officers as for the good of the town. As one council officer put it, "if business thrives on Teesside, everyone will prosper".

Journalists have an important role in communicating ideas from private companies and the council to the public. They inform public opinion, and are able to maintain discourses. Such discourses can then be employed by the council and private companies to inform and justify policy.

Figure 16. This sociogram illustrates the complexities of the governance of the redevelopment of Middlehaven. The diagram includes the most significant organisations (and a few key individuals) invovled in the governance of Middlehaven, and their complex relationships are highlighted by the arrows connecting various organisations and groups to one another. The layout of the diagram (from top to bottom and left to right) does not illustrate any particular hierarchy in the governance structure. The direction of the arrows illustrates flows of governance between the various organisations and groups shown. For instance, the Tees Valley Combined Authority (TVCA) is connected to Tees Valley Unlimited (LEP) by , indicating that the TVCA is directly involved in the governance of the LEP, but that the LEP is not directly involved in the governance of the TVCA. Organisations which are involved in some way in each other's decision making are connected by , while organisations and individuals which can be categorised as part of another group shown on the diagram, but for purposes of clarity have been given their own category, are connected with a dotted line.

Cleveland County Council was set up in 1974 following the Local Government Act of 1972. It included a number of districts, including Middlesbrough, Stockton, Hartlepool and Redcar.
In 1993, the Local Government Commission recommended the abolition of Cleveland County Council, which subsequently occurred in 1996, at which point Middlesbrough, Stockton, Hartlepool and Redcar and Cleveland Borough Councils became unitary authorities.
Darlington became a unitary authority in 1997.

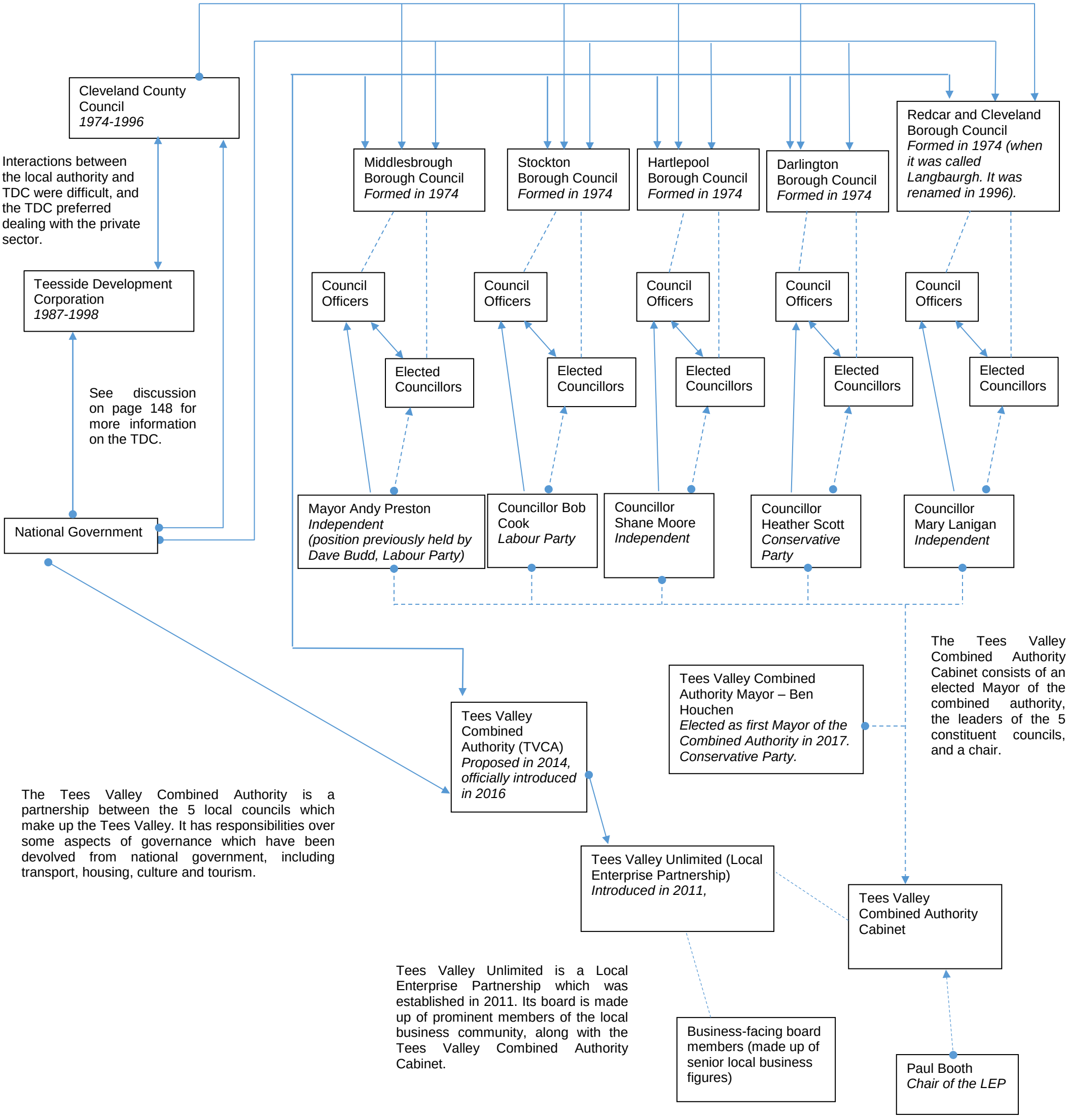


Figure 17. This diagram shows the formal structures of government in Middlehaven (at the time of writing). As illustrated, the structure of governance in Middlehaven has changed considerably over time (and indeed has changed further since the production of this sociogram, with the introduction of a new Mayor for Middlesbrough. The general structure, however, remains approximately the same at the time of writing). See Figure 16 for an explanation of the kinds of arrows used to connect the actors shown.

The aim of demarginalising Middlehaven is outlined in the 'Middlehaven Development Framework', which sets out the council's vision for the redevelopment project. The document suggests that Middlehaven is afflicted by a stigma which positions it as a "notorious estate", and thus claims that "to be successful, regeneration must actively engage in place making, promote a new vision for Middlehaven, both through branding and marketing and also through development on the ground that changes the image and perception of the area and builds confidence." (Middlesbrough Council and HCA, 2012: pp. 29). This section therefore asks what governance to these ends might look like in practice, and where such an approach to governance fits within debates in the literature surrounding urban governance in the neoliberal era. This involves consideration of who is involved in this governance, how governance occurs in practice, what it means to govern a marginalised space, and how such forms of governance emerge in the first instance.

There are multiple actors involved in the governance of Middlehaven, and the relationships between them are complex owing partly to the fact that the practices and politics of governing in (always complex) urban spaces are never static. As Magnusson (2011) asserts, the urban is always in flux, and so any kind of order which may appear can only ever be temporary: "If we know anything about cities, it is that they are always changing. To see like a city is to recognize that the static order we so often associate with the state is an illusion" (9). Indeed, consideration of decision-making processes and practices in Middlesbrough Council makes plain the absence of stasis in the governing 'order' of the local state. While the local state itself incorporates numerous (public and quasi-public) agencies, policies, and financial solutions (Leitner, 1990), focussing on the local council as a local state body, and noting and exploring particular relationships between the council and other actors and organisations involved in governance at the level of the local state and beyond, provides an opportunity to unpack some of the intricacies of urban power in the redevelopment of Middlehaven. Two quotes from Patrick, a council officer in the Planning department at Middlesbrough Council, are illustrative of the way in which order in urban governance is only ever temporary owing to this flux described by Magnusson (2011):

> "I don't think there's anyone in the authority who's been involved with [the regeneration of Middlehaven] since all the way through on a continuous basis, because it has been such a big, such a long project... But there's been so many people involved in it, I think it just reflects how big a regeneration area it is."

> "What the strategy is today is not necessarily what it will be next week, or the week after" – Patrick

This flux in governance therefore operates on different timescales: one in the long term (caused by gradual changes in the composition of the council), and the other in the more immediate term (owing to the decisions made on a rolling basis with regards to the redevelopment project). Both are of consequence for understanding the present dynamics of governance in Middlehaven. Indeed, given the longevity of the Middlehaven project, it is important here to consider how governance has operated in the area since the beginnings of the regeneration scheme in order to illuminate the context in which decisions made in the present arise. Indeed, as Goodwin et al. (1993) suggest in their discussion of economic regulation, the implementation of policies varies between different localities within the nation state, because even when decided at the national level, policies are often delivered at the local level through institutions of the local state, and are interpreted and implemented in different ways depending on the specific local climate. Davies and Msengana-Ndlela (2015) show that individuals working in local government have real agency, and make meaningful choices with regard to local economic development in that even where it is not possible to deliver projects which are in opposition to the neoliberal agenda, this does not preclude agency, as neoliberalism is multiple and is manifested differently in different localities. Local decision-makers therefore "matter in determining which modalities of neoliberalisation become embedded" (ibid.: 136). Following Davies and Msengana-Ndlela (2015), I aim in this chapter to demonstrate the way in which choices made by council personnel affect the regeneration of Middlehaven, and also to reveal the logics behind these decisions in the context of the local socio-economic situation.

While this chapter is focused on the governance of demarginalisation in Middlehaven on a local scale, it is nonetheless important to consider the wider context in which the approaches to governance outlined in the analysis to follow have emerged. While the historical context of the regeneration scheme is discussed in section 1.2. of this thesis, a closer look at the recent history of local state organisation in Middlesbrough provides useful orientation here. As highlighted in Figures 16 and 17, a number of changes in the structures of governance and government in Middlehaven have occurred since the beginnings of regeneration in the 1980s. The Middlehaven regeneration project has been in the pipeline since the late 1980s, when the Teesside

Development Corporation (TDC) was set up in 1987 as the largest of twelve Urban Development Corporations in England following the 1980 Local Government, Planning and Land Act (Imrie and Thomas, 1999). UDCs were able to operate with a high degree of autonomy in their approaches to redevelopment (Bourn, 2002), as the creation of UDCs came at a time when the Conservative national government was seeking to limit the role of local authorities in policy making in favour of increased privatisation (Imrie and Thomas, 1999). The TDC epitomised this aim: renowned for its secretive decision-making style (Richardson, 2016), it was "much more comfortable dealing with the private sector than with local authorities, the voluntary sector, or the local community. The TDC had a mission to regenerate Teesside by encouraging the private sector… to get on with it" (Robinson et al., 1999).

The TDC was wound up in 1998, and its responsibilities passed to the Commission for New Towns (which was merged with English Partnerships soon after, which in turn later passed its responsibilities to the HCA), and to local authorities (Bourn, 2002). It was also in 1998 that Regional Development Agencies were established as part of a drive toward regionalism following the election of a Labour government (Pike et al., 2016), and some of the TDC's responsibilities thus also passed to the OneNorthEast Regional Development Agency. In the context of austerity measures introduced by the coalition Conservative-Liberal Democrat government in 2010, RDAs were then also wound down (Pike et al., 2016) as localism re-emerged in UK politics as part of 'roll-back neoliberalism' involving public sector cuts and privatisation (Featherstone et al., 2012).

As part of this re-emergence of localism, Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs) were established in order to formally bring local business leaders into local governance in conjunction with local councils (Pike et al., 2015). In 2011, Tees Valley Unlimited, an LEP, was set up in the Teesside area. The LEP, whose aims include establishing priorities for investment and reducing unemployment (HM Government, 2010), is made up of local business leaders and council leaders from the Tees Valley Combined Authority (TVCA) (comprising five local authorities), which was established following the 2015 Tees Valley Devolution Deal (HM Government, 2015). A combination of reduction in funding for local government and increased interurban competition since the 1980s (Colenutt, 1999) has meant that local authorities have felt compelled to orientate their policies towards securing private investment throughout the changes to national policy on urban development outlined above, and Middlesbrough Council has

therefore continued to take an entrepreneurial approach to the regeneration of Middlehaven (which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 8).

It is clear, therefore, that changes in national government approaches to local development have had a significant impact on the governance of Middlehaven in the years since the idea first became established, and as a result, there have been numerous shifts in the organisations and actors involved in the redevelopment of Middlehaven which correspond with these changing approaches. In the midst of these changes to governing organisations over the past few decades, Middlesbrough and the wider Teesside area have experienced significant socio-economic change. Indeed, while Middlesbrough owes its growth in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to its iron and steel industries, the dock in the heart of Middlehaven officially ceased to function in the summer of 1980 (Moorsom, 2006), and its industrial economy began to scale back through the decline of the local iron and steel industry. As Warren (2018) puts it, Teesside is a post-industrial area where industry operates on a much smaller scale than it once did, and this economic shift brings with it social and cultural change as identities and employment options in the area are reconfigured. This industrial shift and its implications for the governance of Middlehaven will be considered in more depth later in this chapter.

Here, however, it is pertinent to focus on the local council as a means of interrogating the role of the local state in the regeneration of Middlehaven, particularly given the fact that Middlesbrough Council is in large part responsible for driving the current phase of redevelopment. In the simplest sense, Middlesbrough Council is a hierarchical organisation headed by an elected Mayor who, along with an executive panel of other elected councillors (selected by the Mayor), sets the political direction for the town. This political direction must then be heeded by the unelected council officers who, in theory, are responsible for much of the day-to-day running of the council's affairs. This side of the organisation is equally hierarchical, headed by a Chief Executive who commands various Directors of different departments, who in turn are responsible for the Heads of numerous aspects of those departments, who are in charge of the many staff below them in the hierarchy. Based upon these parallel hierarchies, decision-making in the council could be understood as a rigidly structured reflection of this hierarchical organisational structure. Figure 18 is based on discussions with elected members and council officers about the formal process for decision-making within the council, and shows the trajectory that each decision, in theory, takes from its initial

conception to delivery. These formal processes do occur, and focusing solely on these official processes creates an impression of an orderly manner of governance, in which decisions are made at particular, easily defined points, and by groups or individuals in easily defined positions of relative authority.

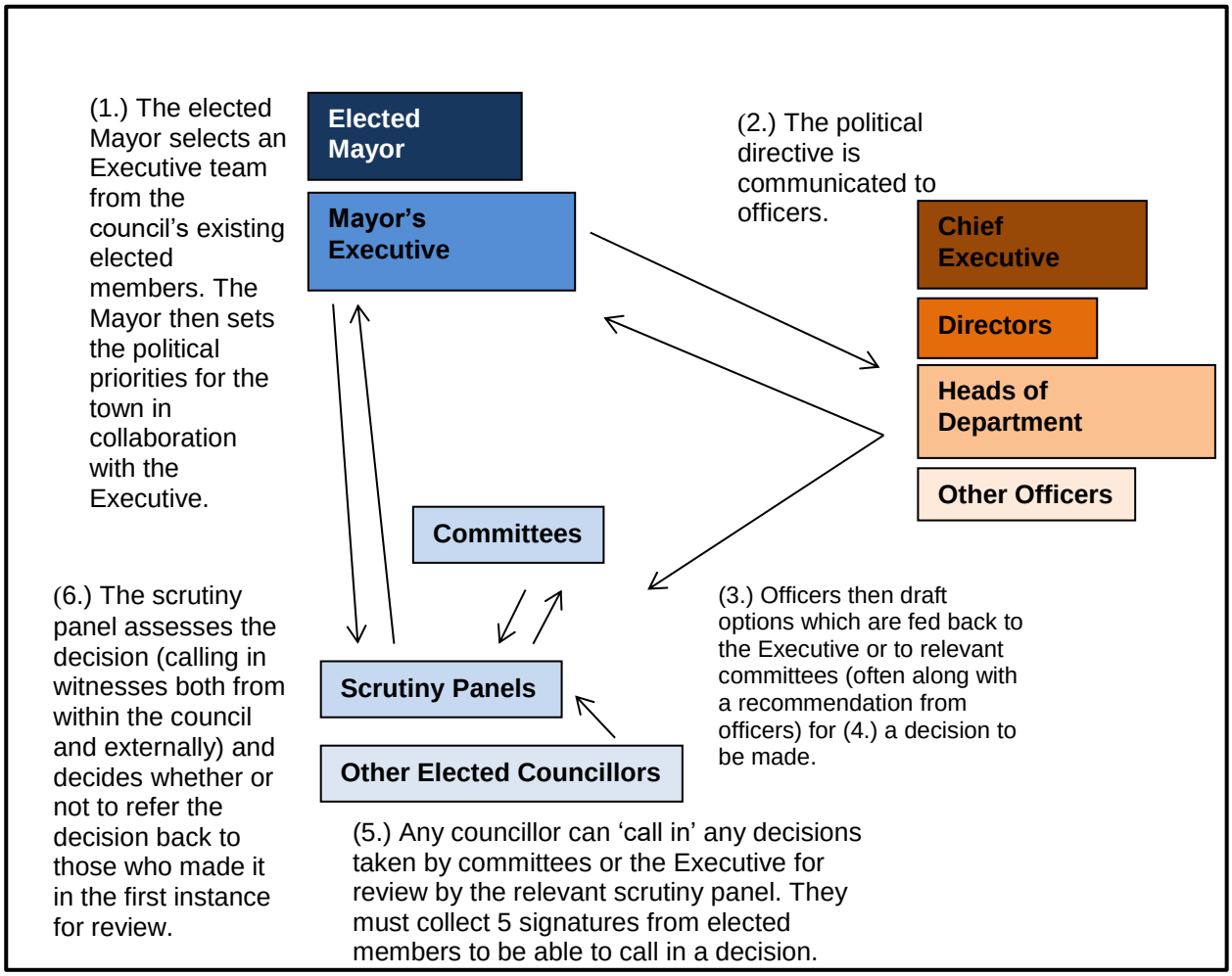


Figure 18. This diagram illustrates the theoretical trajectory of a decision through the council based upon official processes. The actors and groups of actors (shown in boxes) are colour coded according to hierarchy (with darker shades representing higher authority) and role within the council. Elected members are indicated in blue, while officers are indicated in orange. The chronological steps of decision making are numbered from 1-6.

While much attention has been paid in literature on social and economic urban change to a shift from government to governance, understood as a rolling-back of the state and simultaneous heightening of self-regulation, as Whitehead (2003) asserts, such a position is often dualistic, and overlooks the fact that the increased tendency towards self-organisation in private or civic spheres is often endorsed and influenced by local governments through a range of tactics and techniques. A metagovernance perspective recognises this fact, and is concerned with "a hybrid form of governance that is fashioned 'in the shadow of hierarchy" (Whitehead, 2003: 7). Indeed, metagovernance

describes the way in which government authorities take an enhanced role in "organizing the self-organization of partnerships, networks, and governance regimes" (Jessop, 1997:575), and as such is concerned with the way in which governance of urban spaces (which is invariably carried out by a range of governmental and non-governmental stakeholders) is embedded in hierarchical structures through various modes of organisation and regulation, which in turn enables "the effective coordination capacity of local political networks and clans enhanced by virtue of their 'embeddedness'" (Whitehead, 2003: 8). Thus, despite this shift to governance (as opposed to government), hierarchy remains an important part of political processes in urban space, and as such is an important consideration when thinking about issues of urban power. Additionally, it remains important to interrogate the role of local government itself in processes of governance, and in order to understand this role it is imperative that the structures and processes of governing within the council are given due attention

Of course, in reality, these organisational structures are not the whole story of governing in any setting (urban or otherwise). As Pierre (1999) states, the relationship between institutions and their organisational structures is not unidirectional (i.e. the organisational structures are not wholly determinate of the nature of the decisions taken by an institution), and so the values of a government are not, and cannot be expected to be, congruous with the organisational structures which they work within at all times. It is therefore impossible to understand the processes of urban governance without paying attention to the dynamics of this relationship. As has been well documented over the past several decades, local councils are not the only authorities who govern in urban space (even where the local council may be the only one which claims sovereignty (Magnusson, 2011)), not least owing to the prevalence of public-private partnerships (Harvey, 1989), and the installation of Local Enterprise Partnerships (governing bodies formed of representatives of local businesses and local government) in formal urban governance regimes (Harrison, 2011).

Further, in asking who governs urban space, it is usually necessary to look beyond the local state (inclusive of local councils, public and quasi-public agencies, policies, and 'centrally sponsored local institutions' such as housing associations (Jones, 1998)), to multiple other individuals and organisations who claim (however legitimately) authority over space, which may overlap with the jurisdictions claimed (perhaps equally legitimately) by other individuals and organisations. Indeed, as Swyngedouw (2005) attests, there is a need to recognise the emergence of (often

institutionally supported) governance-beyond-the-state, in which the private sector and civil society are increasingly tasked with managing themselves what once was the domain of the (national or local) state in governing arrangements touted as 'socially innovative'. Additionally, it is useful to consider informal practices of governance in the spaces of Middlehaven where regulation by the local state appears less pervasive, such as the streets where buildings have been demolished and have not undergone redevelopment, and where rules imposed by the state, such as parking regulations, appear to go unnoticed (see section 5.2).

As Smart (1985) shows in his discussion of the regulation of informal settlements in Hong Kong - in which great importance is given to titles of owners of informal structures by the local community in sales of their properties, despite the legal irrelevance of these titles - even in activities not regulated by the state, it is important to recognise the informal arrangements and power relations which emerge in the governance of those activities and the spaces they occur within. It is therefore important to pay due attention to some of these actors involved in informal governance and governance-beyond-the-state, as consideration of the role of these actors, along with a focus on local council dynamics, indicates that the formal structures of governance cannot fully capture the operation of urban power.

While the above discussion indicates a dimension of urban governance which transcends the formal structures of decision-making set out in Figure 18, this is not to say that the hierarchies of local government are irrelevant in day-to-day decision-making within Middlesbrough Council, but that the hierarchies are experienced through everyday interactions, rather than only through formal restrictions. As Hunter (1953) articulates, power operates through relationships, and so it is these relationships which must be considered in order to understand how urban power operates within a supposedly hierarchical institution such as Middlesbrough Council. Indeed, Arthur, an elected councillor and scrutiny panel member in Middlesbrough, notes that the position he occupies within the council is not one of any great authority:

> "I'm just a back bench councillor who is part of a scrutiny panel, so I don't have a say on everything." – Arthur

It follows that the notion of hierarchy demands further consideration in an analysis of decision-making at Middlesbrough Council. The following example of the

decision-making behind a major planned development provides an insight into the nature of urban governance in practice, both in terms of the practices and processes of decision-making at the level of the local council, and the role of local business interests in shaping the redevelopment of Middlehaven.

A hoarding which conceals undeveloped land containing little more than a few large sandy-coloured boulders at the side of the street which connects the railway station to Middlesbrough college proclaims in now fading block letters that "the next COOL place is here" (see Figure 19). It is apt, then, that at the time of writing, plans exist to construct an indoor skiing centre just a few hundred metres away, adjacent to the college building and the dock. With original plans to open in September 2019 (since pushed back to 2022 (Cain, 2019b)), the snow centre is being delivered by local company 'Cool Runnings', and will be operated by established indoor snow sports company Ice Factor Group (Love, 2018). Assuming the construction of the snow centre goes ahead, it will likely have a significant impact on Middlehaven given the potential for attracting visitors from a much wider area than previously. As one council officer working on regeneration states, the snow centre is:

> "a £30 million investment, which will generate 2.5 million visitors per year. It will change the perception of Teesside, never mind Middlehaven." – Lance

The snow centre thus stands to change the nature of Middlehaven, transforming it from 'edgeland' to destination, and as such, consideration of the processes of decision-making which occurred in the planning of the snow centre may reveal something of the nature of governance in Middlehaven. As Patrick, a council Planning officer, suggests when discussing plans for a new indoor skiing centre, the hierarchical organisation of the council is important in terms of influencing the priorities of the council as a whole:

> "I think what you'd have found is the support would have come from the top of the council, that level… I think it might have been Ray Mallon that was Mayor when the thing started, so he'd have been championing it from the top. The Labour leadership would have been championing it as part of the aspirations and driving force behind what they're trying to achieve for the town. So it's something which just flowed through everyone, I think." – Patrick

Figure 19. A photograph of a hoarding in Middlehaven, taken during fieldwork in 2018.

Patrick's suggestion that support for the snow centre originated at the top of the organisational hierarchy and subsequently 'flowed through everyone' at the council involved in its delivery suggests that power has operated not by means of forcing others further down the chain to support the decision taken by the Mayor's office, but by convincing them of the need to deliver this project as a means of meeting aspirations and thereby supporting the values shared by the council as an institution. Indeed, the notion of 'championing' and of ideas 'flowing through' the organisation is clearly distinct from coercive techniques in which those with less power are made to behave in certain ways, which they otherwise would not want to, by means of violence or threat (Mansbridge, 1994).

The proposals for the £30m ski centre would see a private developer build a two-slope facility (Love, 2018) on an area of land adjacent to the dock. According to a report by Middlesbrough Council (2017b) produced as part of the planning process, which addresses concerns about the impact of constructing an inevitably tall building on the site, the established framework for development "is not overly prescriptive in terms of heights around the Dock to allow flexibility for market-led responses" (6), and "modern, niche leisure developments such as snow centres have the ability to act as a major driving force for urban development" (7). Evidently then, the values which the

council shares here and which lead to the support of the snow centre are typically neoliberal values of market-led development and absorption of risk by the (local) state with a view to enhancing local economic competitiveness. The way in which the power of the council's leadership operates (i.e. not through threat or force, but rather through championing of causes which filter through the organisation) therefore makes sense when considered in relation to Peck's (2017) assertion that the hegemony of neoliberalism "is realised not simply by way of top-down imposition or ideological fiat, but through cumulative and contested 'governance of normalisation'" (10). In this sense, the notion that there are alternatives to a form of governance oriented toward economic growth is positioned as "unviable and barely even thinkable" (Peck, 2017: 15).

Additionally, consideration of the plans for the snow centre is useful in highlighting the way in which other major players in Middlehaven are involved in the governance of the space. For example, the following quotes reveal that Middlesbrough College and Middlesbrough Football Club, two of the largest developments in Middlehaven, both have what is described as a 'collaborative' relationship with the Council. Given the close proximity of both the college and football club to the site earmarked for the development of the snow centre, it is useful here to consider both institutions when seeking to understand the dynamics of governance surrounding the snow centre in Middlehaven:

> "We've got a very good relationship with Middlesbrough Council, so they keep us very well informed on changes to roads, future developments, prospects that are coming, and they make sure that we're engaged very early with any potential developer so that we can build a relationship with them." – Amanda, member of staff at Middlesbrough College

> "One of my team is present at meetings to discuss what's going on in Middlehaven. And I meet with the Council on a regular basis, Middlesbrough Council this is, talking about general developments and where they go. They consult with us. They don't ask permission. It's not for us to give permission, but they'll consult with us. We have regular meetings on what's going on in the area and so on, so we take an active interest in it… We have a positive cooperative relationship [with Middlesbrough Council]." – Gerry, member of staff at Middlesbrough Football Club

These quotes serve to highlight the fact that the governance of Middlehaven occurs not only within the council, and various institutions highlighted in Figure 16 (see page 143) which play a clearly identifiable role in the regeneration, but also between other actors and organisations which have a key presence in the space of the regeneration scheme itself. In this sense, governance in Middlehaven can be viewed as what Logan and Molotch (2010) refer to as a 'growth coalition' which sees business and local state interests combine and unite around decision-making aimed at securing local economic growth. As part of this growth coalition, Logan and Molotch (2010) identify 'auxiliary players', which are key local institutions (including museums, educational institutions and sports teams). These auxiliary players generally do not stand to profit directly from growth, but are nonetheless supportive proponents of the growth process, often motivated by increases to their support bases (ibid.). The college and football club appear to be prime examples of such auxiliary players, and do indeed play a key role in the redevelopment of Middlehaven.

Amanda's suggestion that the council ensures that the college is able to engage from an early stage with potential developers looking to invest in Middlehaven is testament to the way in which actors external to the council are recognised as crucial for the delivery of the regeneration project. Indeed, as will be discussed in section 6.2., relationships are of key importance in the processes of governance in Middlesbrough, and so it is not surprising that relationships between different organisations (eg. Between the college and snow centre) are highlighted as important for the delivery of the regeneration scheme, to the extent that they are encouraged and facilitated by the council as part of its drive to secure new investment in the space. Indeed, as the following quote illustrates, the collaborative relationship fostered between the council and actors representing key developments in Middlehaven appears also to be reflected in the relationships developed between actors representing these different developments:

> "With the snow centre for example, they're short of car parking, so we're talking about how we can, at no cost, no profit for us, have a mutual agreement so that they could use our carpark at busy times, we could perhaps use theirs at busy times. Just so that we don't need to build more unnecessary car parking when actually we could work it out together. Because their busy times are the opposite of ours. We could have taken a commercial position on that, but we decided not to, because it's more important to us that they come." – Amanda, member of staff at Middlesbrough College

Indeed, while the way that business affects governance in Middlehaven, along with the role of business in the regeneration scheme more generally, will be discussed in greater detail later in this thesis, here, this brief consideration of these business relationships suffices to illustrate the way in which structures of governance in Middlehaven are not confined to those of local government, and that decision-making occurs through relationships which, although often mediated through official channels, are themselves more organic than the structures would suggest, and are based on mutual interest in economic growth, both at the scale of individual businesses and for the area as a whole.

Returning to the way in which urban power operates within the council itself, it is useful to revisit Patrick's assertion that support for the snow centre 'flowed through everyone' at the council (see page 153). Of note here is that it appears that urban power has been exercised from 'the top' via the championing of a cause (ie. securing investment for the area in the form of the snow centre), rather than by some coercive force. This supports the notion that power is not applied as such, but instead operates through networks of relations in which power is continually produced and circulated (Jessop, 2016). As Foucault (2003) states, "power passes through individuals. It is not applied to them" (29). Thus Foucault conceptualises power as circulatory, and as it cannot be 'held' by any person or institution within this circulatory network, it is not something which can be applied by some individuals over others except from within their relative positions in the network (Foucault, 2003). Smart (2002) suggests that for Foucault, "power is not conceived to be imposed from the apex of a social hierarchy, nor derived from a foundational binary opposition between a ruling and ruled class, rather it operates in a capillary fashion from below" (122). Crucially, Foucault's (1978) understanding of power entails a recognition of power relations as immediate within all other relationships, in that power does not emerge out of relationships per se, but is implicit within them from the outset, and cannot be considered secondary to them: "Relations of power are not in a position of exteriority with respect to other types of relationships… they are the immediate effects of the divisions, inequalities, and disequilibriums which occur in the latter, and conversely they are the internal conditions of these differentiations" (Foucault, 1978: 94). Thus, power in a hierarchical organisation such as Middlesbrough Council does not have a single source at the top of the hierarchy, but is produced in each relation within the organisation.

However, Davies (2014) asserts that coercion is a long-overlooked aspect of urban power, and has often been treated, particularly by neo-Foucauldian theorists, as the opposite of power. Indeed, a Foucauldian understanding of power has it that "power is only power (rather than mere physical force or violence) when addressed to individuals who are free to act in one way or another" (Gordon, 1991: 5). Drawing from Gramsci's understanding of coercion by the state as consisting of "violence, administrative domination, and economic compulsion", Davies (2014: 591) argues that cities are themselves sites of coercion, and that coercion is an important consideration in the operation of urban power. As Perkins (2013) writes, the urban can be understood "as a local site where the logics and actions of (extra) local capital accumulation [are] socially (re)embedded through a politics of consent and coercion" (315). Indeed, elements of all three of these tactics of coercion are pervasive within cities: Violence is frequently observed in the form of policing, or in the often punitive treatment those on the margins of society (Smith, 1996); administrative domination is often implemented through the local state in the form of city zoning, and rent collection; and techniques of economic compulsion, such as the implementation of workfare policies, are generally delivered locally (Davies, 2014).

This last point is perhaps most important here, as economic compulsion – which refers to the way in which, under capitalism, people are compelled to live at the whim of the market (often mediated through the state), and must participate in some way in order to survive – has become more pronounced with the implementation of austerity policies which have retrenched public welfare and thus enhanced the need for engagement with neoliberal practices, which usually occurs at the local (and individual) scale (Davies, 2014). It is this element of coercive power which has resonance for Patrick's understanding of support for the snow centre flowing through the organisation from the top. Indeed, rather than seeing coercive power as deliberately repressive and exercised by a few individuals at the top of an organisational hierarchy (ie. the Mayor), the Gramscian understanding of coercion articulated by Davies (2014) reframes it as an integral part of urban power, which operates in ways which compel those working within the local state to make decisions geared towards economic growth.

As Jessop et al. (1999) suggest, the tendency for urban policy to be shared among cities is reflective of the way in which inter-urban competition acts "as an "external coercive power" over individual cities ... [bringing] them closer into line with the discipline and the logic of capitalist development" (Harvey, quoted in Jessop et al.,

1999: 141). It is such that coercive power is exercised over the urban scale from both above and within, compelling those charged with urban governance at the level of the local state to behave in ways which are conducive to continued competitiveness, and thus success in a system which measures success of urban governments by their ability to foster economic growth within their jurisdictions. Therefore, while the support for the snow centre and its adoption in lower ranks of the council is not seen as violent, nor as forced, this is not to say that it was not coercive, as such coercive power operates in such a way that individuals at all levels are compelled to engage in some way with projects which promise to enhance the local area's ability to compete for economic growth. It is through discourses of urban competition, and the notion that such a phenomenon is integral to the survival of the urban jurisdiction, that consent is achieved for such projects which reinforce the hegemonic power of neoliberalism (Perkins, 2013). Indeed, it is such that while in this case support for the snow centre appeared to originate from the top of the organisational hierarchy, the ideology which encourages support for such a project is far more pervasive, and relies on the surrender of those working at all levels of the organisational hierarchy to coercion in the name of economic growth which spans far beyond the scale of local government.

It is worth considering in more detail here the way in which the positioning of neoliberal values as common sense – and thus the notion that is it considered 'barely thinkable' to govern in a way which doesn't prioritise economic growth (Peck, 2017) – affects governance and politics in Middlesbrough. It is this positioning of certain view points as radical or ridiculous which Swyngedouw (2011) argues forms the basis for what he calls 'post-politics'. As Swyngedouw (2007) demonstrates, the consensus-based governance which underpins post-politics often emerges in cities vying for economic growth via entrepreneurialism and creativity. Indeed, in a regeneration scheme which strives to attract businesses in the creative and digital sectors through support (both financial and non-financial) from the council, and which is associated with images of the Will Alsop (2004a) masterplan awash with bright images of often outlandish architecture, this is an issue as relevant in Middlehaven as anywhere. Magnusson (2011) notes that many of the authorities involved in (urban) governance assert themselves as apolitical bodies, and that this claim is often advantageous to their interests, as "such a move often enhances their autonomy, not least in relation to authorities that claim sovereignty" (4). Even within the council, there are claims of this nature. In a joint interview, Patrick, a council officer in the Planning department, and

Sandra, an elected councillor on a planning committee, both suggested that it was not appropriate to make decisions based on 'politics':

> "[Patrick]: Planning is, how can I put this politely? It's supposed to be apolitical. There is no, there should be no political bias. Whilst, you know, the makeup of the planning committee reflects the political makeup of the council, decisions should be made purely on planning issues. And planning decisions which impact around Middlehaven are made on the basis of the good of the town, and what they will deliver.
>
> [Sandra]: Our integrity would be compromised by our taking any kind of political stance on a development. It can't. You, know, we can be called to task for that. And in reality, I think, I believe that the committee works very effectively in that way. It's a very friendly group of people, isn't it?" – Patrick and Sandra

While it may be necessary for council officers to be seen as apolitical, given that their role entails delivering plans to the agenda of the political leadership of the council, it is more surprising to see that politicians elected by the public and representing political parties may be 'called to task' for being too political. So while Patrick may be contractually obliged not to be seen to be making decisions which have anything to do with party politics, it is more striking that Sandra, as an elected ward councillor, also sees her role as one of making decisions in an apolitical fashion.

Indeed, when discussing the planning process in more detail, Patrick concedes that planning is always open to interpretation:

> "Planning is not black and white… So applications can actually go either way. There's no right – some of them, there's no right or wrong answer. And it will just depend upon how a particular issue is dealt with. And how members feel. You know, it may well be that we feel, as officers, one way, but members, quite legitimately and on equal planning grounds, think the other way. Because when you see an application which is submitted, 9 times out of 10, that application is put forward by a planning consultant. Now that planning consultant has had the same planning training as me. So we're both using the same local plan documents, the same policy documents, the same national guidance, the same issues, but we're coming up with different decisions. It's how you interpret that in terms of how it goes forward." – Patrick

Thus, governance in Middlehaven is unequivocally political, as choices are made in the 'interpretation' of planning issues, which, whether consciously or not,

inevitably draw upon the values of the local government which have been inscribed through the processes of 'governance of normalisation' (Peck, 2017). It is such that while there exists much evidence to support the notion that governance is increasingly based on consensus around the need to govern towards economic growth, there is also evidence to suggest that politics is alive and well in Middlesbrough, even aside from the often lively local party politics (see Cain, 2018).

The way in which this silence on politics works in relation to the possibilities (or lack thereof) for politics in Middlesbrough and the local economy will be considered in greater depth in chapter 7. The analysis presented in this section has demonstrated that the political-economic climate in which decisions are made is of importance for the possibilities presented at points of decision-making, and ultimately for the way in which the Middlehaven redevelopment scheme can proceed. And while this section has served to highlight the way in which decision-making in Middlesbrough Council operates through official structures and channels, it has also indicated that these structures do not represent a full picture of the complexities of governance in Middlehaven, or indeed in any setting. It is such that the following section (6.2) considers in greater depth the role of less formal relationships in governance, both within and beyond the local state, while the final section of this chapter (6.3) aims to conceptualise this complexity, and to identify specific spaces of governance in Middlesbrough.

6.2. Friendliness: Business and the Local State

Given that decision-making in Middlehaven is unarguably political, it is worth considering why individuals working at the council consider it important to be seen to be acting in an apolitical fashion, on the understanding that acting in the best interests of the town is not political (see section 6.1). It is useful here to return to the quote from Sandra (see page 160), which suggests that a committee she has experience of working with works well because the members are friendly, and therefore don't take a political stance on the issues to be discussed within their meetings. Implicit here in Sandra's claim is that friendliness points toward not being political, which has the implication that politics is unfriendly. The notion of politics as unfriendly is important here, as when the practices of governance (as opposed to the formal structures set out previously) are considered in more depth, it becomes clear that decision-making occurs through relationships, as Arthur, an elected councillor and scrutiny panel member, attests:

> "The best thing to do is to develop good relationships with officers, so from my positional perspective, I've been in and spoken to officers on particular issues to do with Middlehaven, regeneration, and the town centre on a few occasions now to get a briefing from them, to hear what the situation is… And the main thing is really to work with officers to make sure that we don't, we're not at crossed purposes… So we try and develop relationships… On a personal level as a councillor, the job is really just to get relationships with officers, and get to know them, and get to work closely with them." – Arthur

Of note here is the suggestion that forming relationships with officers is central to the role of elected councillors. As DiGaetano and Strom (2003) argue, and in tune with Magnusson's (2011) contention, the formal structures of local politics are not entirely determinate of the way in which cities are governed, as these structures do not sufficiently point towards the human relationships between individuals (both internally and externally to the sovereign governing institution). As it is these "informal political relationships that determine *how* cities are governed" (Digaetano and Strom, 2003: 365 (emphasis in original)), it is important here to elaborate on the nature of these relationships in Middlesbrough, and the effect of these relationships on the practices of governance in the area. Indeed, as the quote from Arthur implies, officers and elected councillors in reality work together more closely than the formal structure would suggest, and as such, it makes sense that effective operation of the council therefore relies on individuals behaving in a manner not deemed unfriendly.

It is pertinent here to return to Middlesbrough's economic climate as a means of unpacking the reasons for this apparent need to appear friendly in the workplace. Indeed, given Middlesbrough's industrial decline, the town's employment structure has shifted from being based in industrial manufacturing work to a more service-based economy, particularly in the form of call centre work (Lloyd, 2013). As Garrick and Usher (2000) argue, in the post-Fordist work environments which emerge as a result of such a shift, there is a preference for less hierarchical organisational structures, more emphasis on self-management, and a more team-orientated workplace culture. Educating the workforce to these ends purportedly involves not only skill-based learning, but also the ingraining "of 'right' attitudes, dispositions and inclinations", where the 'right' attitude "is invariably connected to being 'flexible'" (Garrick and Usher, 2002). This shift has been observed in Teesside since the 1980s, when ICI – a major employer in the petrochemicals industry – began to introduce a more flexible workforce. As Beynon et al. (1994) attest, this resulted in an increasingly "marginalised workforce of casual employees only partially attached to the company" (136), and not actively involved in trades unions. It appears that, in Middlesbrough at least, also included under what is considered to be the 'right' attitude in the post-industrial workplace is friendliness.

Indeed, as Teesside's industries took on an increasingly flexible mode of operation in the 1980s, trades unions were weakened by the withdrawal of collective bargaining rights and the introduction of non-union status in rival industries across the country (Beynon et al., 1994). The flexibility of post-Fordism is thus linked to a reduction in institutional mechanisms for dispute so as to enable the enhanced competitiveness of private companies (via the acceptance of this flexibility) in the neoliberal economy. The diminishing scope for conflict in local government, epitomised by the understanding that governance ought to be 'friendly', is therefore intertwined with shifts associated with both the post-Fordist economy and neoliberal economy.

In the context of entrepreneurial urbanism, in which local governments behave in a manner which can be likened to that of private businesses, it is important to consider the way in which business expectations affect relationships internal to the council. In a study of business relationships in Sweden, Svensson (2004) draws upon a model of perceived trust between those involved in a business relationship, in which perceived trust is said to be influenced by five distinct factors: 'dependability', 'honesty', 'competence', 'customer/buyer/seller orientation', and 'friendliness'. It is

such that friendliness is considered to be an integral element of the trust between organisations or individuals doing business together, and as such, it makes sense that Middlesbrough Council, in its quest to attract businesses to the area, feels the need to operate itself in such a way that enables these business relationships to flourish, which entails ensuring that they are perceived as friendly by the business community. Indeed, it is of course easier for a local authority to present itself as business-friendly if it co-opts for itself the (typically business-like) characteristics which businesses themselves use and depend upon for building a relationship of trust with their partners, customers, and suppliers. Being friendly, therefore, equates to being business-friendly, which is considered necessary for ensuring the local authority can compete for investment. The need to appear friendly is highlighted by the following suggestion from Bob, an elected councillor:

> "Someone said about our planning. He was retiring, and he said we want to be the 'friendly planning association'. We want to be a business-friendly town, but also people-friendly. I mean, we've – and it'll hopefully spread – we've adopted the living wage, not the minimum wage for our employees, you know. So we like that ethos out there as well. We're about people, you know." – Bob, an elected councillor and Executive Member.

The notion that being a 'friendly planning association' entails being both business-friendly and people-friendly is important here, as it reinforces this notion that business-friendliness is intrinsically linked to relationships. Establishing an ethos in which the wellbeing of people within the organisation is a priority not only produces organisations as good places to work (and hence minimises workplace conflict), but also helps to establish a business-friendly image which is appealing to potential investors. As a result of the way in which Middlesbrough Council in practice operates through relationships, the distinctions between roles highlighted in Figure 18 (see page 150) are less acutely felt in the everyday workings of the council:

> "People often tend to focus on what happens at a six-weekly council meeting. It's a lot more than that. That's just a sort of the tip of an iceberg. It's our involvement. We deliberately meet every week informally. Sometimes with officers, sometimes without. Sometimes with particular things on the agenda, sometimes without. Because we all need to know what each other is doing… The line between what do you do and what does an officer do, it's a grey, murky line. You know when it's not working, but I think we've sort of got that balance right." – Dave Budd, Mayor of Middlesbrough (at the time of being interviewed)

It appears, then, that this relationship-based practice diminishes the importance of institutional structures for the governing of Middlesbrough through the blurring of boundaries, and thus breaking down of hierarchies, between the different strands of local government. Indeed, this is an evolution of local government management which compliments the contemporary approaches to business management (particularly in the creative and digital sectors, which in Middlesbrough are clustered in Middlehaven), which tend to be far less rigidly hierarchical than traditional approaches (Karakas and Manisaligil, 2012). As Stoker (1989) asserts, local government in the post-Fordist era has undergone changes which position it as congruent with the flexibility found in private enterprises in the neoliberal economy. This is a departure from the corporate management style introduced to local government in the 1960s, which saw the emergence of corporate chief executives in councils across the country, which sat at the top of a 'tightly-knit hierarchy' along with a cabinet of elected councillors (Cockburn, 1977). While these basic structures are to some extent still in place, there is recognition that this hierarchy has its downsides, and does not allow for enough freedom in collaboration across the hierarchy (Cockburn, 1977), and so it makes sense that Middlesbrough Council should wish to limit the impacts of this organisational hierarchy through a more relaxed, perhaps informal, structure of working.

Further, given that discussions around particular decisions to be made occur on a rolling basis outside of official meetings as well as within them, this method of working also creates a form of decision-making which cannot be adequately recorded in the minutes of scheduled meetings. As Dave Budd, Mayor of Middlesbrough (at the time of being interviewed), explains when talking about how Middlesbrough Council deals with austerity policies imposed by the national state, while decisions may be presented as having been made within a particular meeting on a particular date, the reality is a more complex, ongoing conversation:

> "There's all sorts of ways of deciding which cuts are acceptable and not, but I think we've worked out a way that, although in legal terms and in structural terms we have a once a year budget, effectively we're looking at that all the time. So by the time we come to a budget which says, you know, we will cut a hundred thousand from social care in such and such an area, we will have gone through that for quite a long time. It will probably be partly happening already. You know, there'll be reasons for doing it, however difficult they are sometimes. But it just doesn't suddenly happen on that day. There is a permanent budget-setting going on." – Dave Budd

Having established that decisions taken within the council are inevitably the result of protracted conversations between various councillors and council officers acting according to a system of values which has been gradually ingrained in the organisational culture, it is pertinent now to consider the role of personality within these decisions. Tickell and Peck (1996) argue that as local governance increasingly seeks to incorporate business interests in the pursuit of economic growth, networks of business elites are drawn upon in decision-making. This approach, it is argued, has led to a re-emergence of 'The Manchester Men' - a group of 19th century businessmen who considered business interests to be congruous with those of the city itself (Cochrane et al., 1996) – who are connected together in an elite network "lubricated by business relationships, personal friendships and other 'informal' links" (Tickell and Peck, 1996). Important here is the characterisation of these Manchester Men as "a 'new order' of businessmen, energetic, tough, proud, contemptuous of the old aristocracy and yet in some senses constituting an aristocracy themselves – an urban aristocracy – men who were beginning to seek political as well as economic power" (Briggs, 1963, quoted in Tickell and Peck, 1996: 598-599). Indeed, it appears that personal characteristics, and even more importantly, personal networks, have long been part of urban governance, particularly in a governance setting where business interests are conflated with the public interest owing to the desire to attract investment. It therefore makes sense that personality is something which is taken seriously within Middlesbrough Council:

> "It takes a long time, and it works through relationships, like anything else. You know, it's not structures - they need to be there for all sorts of reasons, but it's down to people, really. And then things work, don't they?... Because if those personalities and people aren't right, then all the negatives appear… I know the council officers keep going through this – where you create a colour spectrum of personality types… If you get too many of all the same, then it drives in a particular direction, and I think you need a mixture. And sometimes that mixture makes it initially difficult because you're not on the same wavelength, you don't talk in the same way about things. But ultimately it works better. We've had some ridiculously outgoing extrovert personalities, and some absolutely the opposite. And if you can balance those and get them to work together, I think you get the right results, and more importantly sometimes, in the right way." – Dave Budd

So important are relationships and personalities to the workings of the council, that there are measures in place to ensure that the right balance of personalities is achieved within the council (through this attention paid to the 'spectrum of personality

types'). Indeed, Middlesbrough Council's (2017c) 'People Strategy' for 2017-2019, which sets out its vision for its workforce, states that:

> "Leaders recognise the benefit of having a diverse workforce and understand differing personality types ensuring they adapt and connect accordingly to maximise cohesion, respect and trust" – Middlesbrough Council, 2017c

It appears then, that while the decisions taken within the council are made largely through informal, ongoing, and often spontaneous conversations which are used to foster relationships between various individuals within the council, and could therefore be considered more important for the governance of Middlesbrough than the formal organisational structures, these relationships themselves not only work within the formal structures, but are mediated and engineered by them. It is such that these relationships, and the decisions made through them, are less 'organic' than could initially be assumed. Indeed, if business interests are conflated with the interests of the town (as local authorities come to rely increasingly on private investment), the kinds of relationships forged between business actors attempting to strike deals in their mutual interest inevitably seep into the organisations of the local state, as they attempt to emulate this approach.

While Dave Budd, Mayor of Middlesbrough at the time of our interview, suggests that the way in which results are delivered is 'right' when an organisation is made up of the right personalities, when comparing his approach to the regeneration of Middlehaven to his predecessor Ray Mallon's, he suggested that despite their different personalities, the impact of this personnel change on the project has been minimal:

> "I think we talk about it in different ways, but I don't think it's radically different. I mean, some of these things are so long in sort of gestation, that what Ray and I were doing when he was here, will still be being done when I've gone as well… So Ray was really good at publicising things. Far better than I am… There might be different words and different ways of talking about it, but that's just because we're different people. I was just as involved then as I am now in a lot of ways. Nothing suddenly changed… I think it's just a reflection of our different personalities. I can't make long impassioned speeches in the way that Ray can. I can talk in a different way about the whole town, where we're going, what we're doing. But not in the way that he did, does. But that doesn't mean that the policies radically change or anything like that."- Dave Budd

As such, it would appear that while personalities are important in terms of fostering the relationships through which decisions are made, the personality of one individual (in this case the Mayor) has had little impact for a project which has seen considerable involvement from individuals at all levels of the council over a protracted period. As Fuller (2010) argues, institutional change cannot be properly understood without taking into account the inherited discourses which such change cannot operate in isolation from. Indeed, given that Ray Mallon and Dave Budd worked together (with Dave in the position of Deputy Mayor) during Mallon's term as Mayor, and given that the values of government inscribed through the 'governance of normalisation' (Peck, 2017) do not suddenly change upon a shift in the personality of the person at the 'top', it makes sense that the approach toward governing Middlehaven would remain similar.

Indeed, in the neoliberal era, structural constraints mean that in many places across the world, it is not considered feasible to implement projects which contradict the neoliberal agenda, and the proliferation of neoliberal mindsets means that anti-neoliberal ideas often fail to be thought up in the first place (Peck, 2017). However, as Davies and Msengana-Ndlela (2015) suggest, local decision-makers do make real choices, even where all the options considered feasible are in some sense neoliberal, hence the variation in manifestations of neoliberal urbanism across different localities. Dave Budd's claim that there was no "radical change" in policy or delivery upon his ascension to Mayor immediately after Ray Mallon's tenure in the same role nonetheless makes sense here, as this range of choices described by Davies and Msengana-Ndlela (2015), while allowing for agency in decision-making, is predicated on the local context, which inevitably makes some choices more appealing than others. The particularities of Middlesbrough's local context which affects decision-making styles and the relative feasibility of various choices will be outlined in the discussion to follow.

As has been suggested, the boundaries between various roles within the council are considered to be blurred, and there are steps taken within the council to reduce the hierarchical nature of everyday operations. This is of interest in the context of the redevelopment of Middlehaven – which is touted as being a creative hotspot attracting digital and creative businesses – as 'creative' organisations are often considered to be less hierarchical than traditional industries (Townley et al., 2009). Indeed, creativity is considered by councillors to be critical to the operation of Middlesbrough council (as will be discussed later in this section). Key to the reduction in the role of organisational

hierarchy and its constraints on decision-making in Middlesbrough Council is the notion of 'de-risking'. While the absorption of financial risk by the public sector is a long-established means of incentivising private sector investment (Jessop, 1998), of interest for understanding governance in Middlesbrough is the deliberate removal of risk incurred by individuals working at lower levels in the council. The following quote is illustrative here:

> "We're also trying to get away from a completely risk-averse council. And saying to people [who work in the council], 'if you took that decision for the right reason, and it went wrong, we're not going to shout at you. Just do it better next time.' And it's easy to say that, because councils are risk averse, because they've got to be to some extent because you've got to justify what you're doing, but if you don't take any risk at all then you don't change anything." – Dave Budd

Here, Dave outlines a culture of risk-taking within the council. It appears, then, that in order to encourage this risk culture, the risk is effectively removed via a system which enables individuals to suffer no serious repercussions should their risks fail to pay off. It is such that there is deemed to be nothing at risk on a personal or professional level for those taking decisions (provided those decisions have been made 'for the right reason'), and so risks are encouraged simply by ensuring that they are not considered to be risks (at least for the individuals taking them). Of course, the risk is still there, but responsibility for that risk is spread throughout the institution. Of note here, is that it is this same logic of encouraging growth by alleviating individuals of responsibility for the risks they have taken via displacement of that risk which (at least in part) led to the financial crisis of 2007/8 (French et al., 2009). As Harvey (2015) put it, "spreading risk does not eliminate risk. Furthermore, the fact that risk can be spread so widely encourages even riskier local behaviours because the risk can be transferred elsewhere" (276). It is worth considering, then, why this risk-taking culture is considered necessary within the council.

Indeed, this appears to be a risk paradox of sorts; an arrangement in which to encourage risk-taking practices, council management has devised an approach to risk which involves removing the element of risk (at least on a personal and professional level) from decisions taken by councillors and council officers at lower levels of the organisation, such that risk-taking becomes viewed as a non-risky practice. As Currie et al. (2008) suggest, risk-taking is seen to be a key part of entrepreneurial management, in

that ‘pro-actively’ seeking out opportunities and implementing innovative and creative solutions to problems necessarily entails some element of risk. Indeed, in a paper published three months after the collapse of Lehman Brothers in September 2008 (which prompted what French et al. (2009) term “the most destructive phase” (288) of the financial crisis), Currie et al. (2008) found there to be a recognition within the public sector that in order to enhance the entrepreneurialism of the local authority, the risk-averse culture of the public sector would need to be reassessed in order to eliminate the fear of public servants of risk-taking. And while they did note the emergence of a slight shift in this attitude toward risk, they noted also that the hierarchical nature of much of the public sector was such that many “staff blocked rather than supported innovation by ‘passing the buck’ for change higher up the organization” (997). Further, Currie et al. (2008) observed that public sector workers appeared “paralysed” by the notion of risk in areas where the ongoing financial crisis posed threats to their jobs and livelihoods. This is in contrast to the approach to risk at Middlesbrough Council, as described by Dave Budd.

Here, I suggest, the risk-culture of Middlesbrough Council presents an alternative response to the same issue of financial precariousness which caused those public sector workers interviewed in the Currie et al. (2008) study to shy away from risk-taking. Austerity imposed by central government, along with continued cuts to local council budgets, poses a threat to jobs and livelihoods within the public sector in itself. This situation means that councils are increasingly reliant on income from alternative sources, primarily their own tax base, and as such employ a number of strategies in order to expand their own resources. An entrepreneurial approach to governing is employed widely by local authorities in a bid to compete with other urban areas for private investment, as cities vie for their stake in limited resources (Harvey, 1989). This is ever more pronounced owing to the responsibilising effect of neoliberal ideology, in which local councils take on responsibility for their own economic growth, and increasingly succumb to pressure to participate in “what has become the only game in town – with the hand that they have been dealt, however best they can” (Peck, 2014: 398). The following quote from Edward, an elected councillor, highlights a perceived need for a ‘bold’ approach to decision-making regarding regeneration as a means of realising ambitions for the town. Indeed, Edward suggests that not taking the risks associated with ‘ambitious’ or ‘bold’ approaches to regeneration means ‘you don’t get anywhere with it’:

> "I think our view is – and this isn't to say that we will just take a risk with people's money – but ultimately, you have to be bold, you have to be ambitious. And sometimes not every plan comes up, finishes. But if you don't do it, you don't get anywhere with it. And it's about being ambitious and about being bold, and yes, sometimes there is a risk with that." – Edward, an elected councillor

Viewed as a 'compulsion of economic relations' (Peck, 2014), entrepreneurial governance – and the risk inherent within the speculative projects and public-private partnerships which characterise such an approach to urban governance – becomes a necessary means of combating the threat to local government (and the services it provides) posed by the political-economic climate, in order to maintain the competitive position of the local area and therefore secure local access to resources. Indeed, the notion of needing to be seen to be keeping up is important here, as competition is so intense that cities often implement inefficient strategies owing to the logic that "if you do not take the initiative then someone else will" (Leitner, 1990: 154). It is such that consensus emerges around the need for the council to be seen as business-friendly.

The risk incurred in not being seen to keep up (due to not partaking in activities associated with significant risk, such as speculative investment) - which may result in losing out on investment, local employment opportunities and a reduced tax base - is therefore seen to outweigh the risks incurred in the participation in the of the kinds of activities associated with entrepreneurial urbanism. Counterintuitively, not taking risks is seen to be a greater risk to the institutions of the local state than taking risks. In this sense, risk-taking is seen, conversely, as a means of combatting the continued threats to local government.

This section, then, has demonstrated that the way in which governance occurs in Middlehaven is inevitably the outcome of an interplay between formal structures, and a variety of relationships between actors at various points in the governance network. I have identified 'friendliness' as a defining feature of these relationships. It is pertinent here, then, to emphasise that 'friendliness' appears to be understood in two closely related senses within Middlesbrough Council: First, 'friendly' governance refers to a business-friendly approach designed to attract investors to the town and to serve business interests as a means of securing economic growth (in order to provide essential services); Additionally, 'friendly' governance refers to a preference for avoiding conflict, as a means of building consensus around the Council's objectives (which are also reflected in the apparent need to be seen as business-friendly). As has been made

clear, these two facets of 'friendliness', and the reduced scope for conflict which they point towards, must be viewed both as resultant of changes in the post-Fordist economy and as emanating from a neoliberal drive towards consensus. Indeed, a coalescence of post-Fordist approaches to management (entailing a reduction in trades unions powers, and a compulsion to act in a business-friendly manner so as to attract and maintain investment within the locality), with urban entrepreneurialism (which, as well as entailing a business-like approach to governance, is also associated with the neoliberal idea that local authorities need to implement policies advantageous to business interests in order to be successful (Hall, 2006)) work to produce conflict as counterproductive, and thereby promote the kind of consensus associated with post-political urbanism (see Chapter 7).

Additionally, the changing industrial landscape and associated ways of working have been shown to be of relevance for efforts to diminish the constraints of organisational hierarchy within local government. Key here is the way in which the de-risking of decision-making has been implemented as part of efforts to encourage local decision-makers to take the kinds of risks associated with entrepreneurial governance. Of course, the use of risk (and particularly of the removal of risk) in the delivery of schemes geared towards economic growth and regeneration is not in itself unusual: The effective absorption of financial risk by the public sector to encourage private investment is a well-documented strategy of entrepreneurial governance (Harvey, 1989). Indeed, this will be discussed in greater depth later in the thesis (see chapter 8). However, having discussed the processes of governance in Middlehaven, and having demonstrated that 'friendliness' is deemed to be an essential tool in decision-making, the issue of how urban politics operates in such a climate warrants consideration. The following section (6.3) therefore seeks to unpack some of the characteristics of the political processes which occur in the name of regeneration in Middlesbrough, with a view to highlighting the ways in which urban power operates in such a context.

6.3. Conceptualising Urban Governance in Middlesbrough

Having discussed the way in which governance works in Middlesbrough over the past two sections, it is worth pausing here to reflect upon how the approach to governance taken in the town might be characterised. Urban governance has long been a topic of interest within the social sciences, and has been theorised in many ways over the past several decades. Variously characterised as (among other things) entrepreneurial (Harvey, 1989), neoliberal (Fuller and Geddes, 2008), post-political (Swyngedouw, 2011), pluralist (Dahl, 1961), elitist (Hunter, 1953) and speculative (Goldman, 2011), the full complexity of on-the-ground practices of urban governance remains difficult to capture within any single theorisation. Following Magnusson's (2011) assertion that understanding politics through the lens of the urban entails recognition that "the privileged points of intervention can only be discovered in practice: they cannot be anticipated in advance" (4), this section engages with practices of urban governance in Middlehaven, Middlesbrough, so that something of how this complexity is manifested within its particular local context may be revealed.

In seeking to characterise Middlesbrough's urban regime, it is first useful to consider where exactly this urban regime takes place. Allen (2004) suggests that "the diverse cross-cutting arrangements through which power is exercised" reveal a blurring of the distinctions between state governments and markets, such that "the whereabouts of power arise from a combination of far-reaching financial constraints, remote authority arrangements, complexly mediated incentives, distant shareholder interests, and more proximate relations of managerial influence and expertise" (29). The geography of local power relations, therefore, extends beyond the immediate vicinity of the local space itself. Indeed, Rodgers et al. (2014) draw a distinction between understandings of urban politics as politics *in* cities, and urban politics as politics *of* cities: There is a key difference between political struggles which are territorialised in specific cities, and played out in urban space but are not necessarily about distinctly urban issues (such as the Arab Spring (see Mason, 2012), and "a looser politics of cities, which might exceed, extend beyond, filter through or problematize particular scalar configurations or named places" (Rodgers et al., 2014: 1154). The latter understanding of urban politics is of use here for considering the way in which various actors, which may be spatially distant, form governing relationships concentrated in particular spaces regardless of their own individual physical locations, and thus form an accretion of

interests within a specific locality. It is in this sense that Rodgers et al. (2014) characterise "urban politics as a politics that is stretched across space, but also one that defines itself in places, drawing in actors from elsewhere so that they are part of local sets of political relations" (1157).

In their analysis of the urban politics surrounding the London 2012 Olympic Park, Allen and Cochrane (2014) trace the geographies of various different actors and organisations involved in the delivery of the Games and accompanying regeneration project. The geographical reach of some of those key involved actors was wide and varied, and highlights what Allen and Cochrane (2014) call "a politics of connectivity; one that registers its presence through the intersection of relationships drawn from far and wide, yet which combine and settle in cities in very specific ways" (1615). This set of relationships which reach well beyond the territorial limits of a city while at the same time are manifested in concrete ways in the governance of a locality is not unique to London, nor to the organisation of mega-events like the Olympics.

Indeed, such global relationships can also be identified in the governance of Middlehaven. While Middlesbrough is famed for the importation of zero-tolerance policing piloted in New York (see discussion in chapter 4), the connections of governance which intersect in Middlehaven are not limited to matters of policy transfer. Many of the corporations involved in the delivery of the Middlehaven regeneration project have links to various urban spaces 'outside' of the town. For instance, Will Alsop's design studio, aLL Design, has offices in London, Qatar, and China, and has designed buildings in cities across the world, including Toronto, Nairobi, and Abu Dhabi (aLL Design, 2019), while Urban Initiatives (a company which worked on the Middlehaven Development Framework), is based in London and has worked on projects in areas such as Luton, Aylesbury estate, Dublin, and Belfast (Urban Initiatives Studio, 2019). One of Middlehaven's most distinctive buildings – Community in a Cube (Figure 20) – was designed by FAT Architecture of London (FAT Architecture, 2019) and delivered by developer BioRegional Quintain, whose parent company Quintain is based in London and has been responsible for developments at Wembley and Greenwich (Quintain, 2019).

Figure 20. A photograph of the Community in a Cube flats, taken during fieldwork in 2018.

Allen's (2016) suggestion that politics ought to be understood as topological is useful here in attempting to characterise the urban regime via an examination of the way in which these various dispersed interests are manifested in Middlehaven. Drawing from the mathematical tradition, a topological understanding of power positions relationships as of much greater interest than the physical distances separating points of relation. These relationships, Allen (2016) shows, are "transformed through space and time as they are stretched, folded or distorted in some way" (6) such that 'inside' and 'outside' become incongruent with the physical boundaries of the space in which these relationships play out. Indeed, given that a topological understanding of the reach of power focuses on 'presence' rather than distance, individuals associated with companies based in London may be considered to be 'inside' in matters of governance of Middlehaven, while at the same time being physically removed from the space in which such governance is occurring. It is this which produces an urban politics entailing relationships which are located within a city's territorial boundaries and which at the same time "can be seen to reach out beyond the city, to fold in agendas, as it were, in an attempt to shape events within" (Allen and Cochrane, 2014: 1620).

This ‘folding in’ of agendas is of note here, as consideration of how to characterise governance in Middlehaven must also take into account exactly what these agendas are, and how they might be manifested. In seeking to characterise the relationships between various actors involved in Middlesbrough’s governance, it is necessary to explore the precise ways in which diverse interests and agendas are folded together within the (topological) spaces of governance. Of course, the agendas of these various actors are not always complimentary. While this thesis has discussed the neoliberal drive of local authorities to secure investment framed as an economic imperative, this does not mean that all agendas geared toward economic growth are alike. As Ormerod and MacLeod (2018) noted in their study of the local state in Gateshead, there remains the possibility for the local state to “[assert] some form of autonomy” within local governance (7). Indeed, while the previous section of this thesis has identified a tendency toward ‘business-friendliness’ in Middlesbrough, this understanding of ‘friendliness’ must not be allowed to conceal the intricate balancing of (not quite aligned) interests which emerge all the more prominently when considering urban power from a topological standpoint. As the following example highlights, consideration of this balance reveals that Middlesbrough Council, too, is able to assert some autonomy in the governance of Middlehaven.

Following the discussion of the importance of relationships within the council in section 6.2., it must be noted that the relationships which are the focus of a topological understanding of power are mediated in specific ways. While Allen (2016) shows how the reach of power “can be folded in or stretched out by powerful actors to make their presence felt” (11), this does not mean to say that actors recognised as powerful globally maintain such levels of power within specific localities. For example, the Gazette (2005a) reports that Ray Mallon, in his former role as Mayor of Middlesbrough, visited Dubai, and later hosted the then economic development minister of Dubai and head of Emaar (a major property developer based in the UAE) on a trip to Teesside with a view to encouraging the company to invest in Middlehaven and other Teesside developments. However, while the property developer holds immense financial power (appearing on Forbes’ Global 2000 list (2019), which ranks the largest public companies in the world), the company nonetheless was not able to influence changes to the plans for the Middlehaven redevelopment. As the minutes from a meeting of Middlesbrough Council (2005) state, Emaar’s interest in Middlehaven was withdrawn due to disagreement over the proposed use of the site:

> "Emaar's proposals for development were based on retail development rather than the areas of residential development anticipated for the Middlehaven site, [so now] their focus of interest lay with a site on the North Shore at Stockton. The company had not therefore submitted a bid for the Middlehaven site and had no intention to build or develop land in Middlesbrough at this time although development elsewhere in the Tees Valley was not ruled out." – Meeting of Middlesbrough Council Minutes, 7th December 2005

Reportedly, Mallon made clear to Emaar that, similarly to the situation in Middlehaven, changes to the plans for North Shore to include more retail space were "not possible" due to concerns around impacts of such plans on high street retail in Middlesbrough and Stockton (Gazette, 2005a). Indeed, it is clear then, that while on a global scale, Middlesbrough Council is objectively far less powerful than Emaar (lacking both its financial capital and also spanning a smaller territorial area when Emaar's investments in Dubai, India, Lebanon, Egypt, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and the USA are taken into account (Emaar, 2019)), Middlesbrough Council's influence within its own territorial boundaries is comparatively stronger than that of the property developer. Indeed, while the compulsion to attract investment is as strong in Middlesbrough as in any other local authority, the refusal of Middlesbrough Council to accommodate Emaar's desire to develop additional retail space demonstrates the autonomy of the council in balancing the imperative to attract new capital to the town (and thereby create local jobs and generate income to deliver services) alongside the need to maintain existing investment within its jurisdictive territory. Indeed, even where power is understood topologically in this way, it is evident that it was the spatial proximity of the proposed retail developments to existing town centres which proved to be a key limitation in securing investment. It is clear, then, that there is a key territorial element to questions of power in urban governance, even where, as Allen and Cochrane (2014: 1620) state, the relationships which make up an urban regime, and ultimately shape the urban space in which they intersect, "stretch far beyond [the city] as a territorial entity". It is in this sense that "the exercise of power is always already spatial" (Allen, 2004: 30).

However, while the agenda of the seemingly powerful property developer may not have been 'folded' into the town in any lucrative way for the company itself, the following quotes suggest that the power of this company name was indeed important for the regeneration of Middlehaven:

> "He [Ray Mallon] went to somewhere in the Gulf and got a potential investor interested. We're looking at the whole Will Alsop stuff. So I think, it sounds crude, but drumming up interest. And that's one of the reasons that people are interested now, I think." – Dave, Mayor of Middlesbrough (at the time of interview)

> "There is no doubt that EMAAR and the surrounding publicity about its interest in Middlesbrough and the Tees Valley acted as a catalyst throughout the world as far as engendering interest in Middlehaven is concerned" – Chief Executive of Tees Valley Regeneration, quoted in the Gazette (2005a).

Here, the role of this relationship with Emaar is highlighted as integral for creating interest in the regeneration site, even despite the lack of actual investment which occurred. Indeed, attaching the name of such an internationally successful property developer to Middlehaven is considered powerful enough to act as a form of boosterism in itself. However limited the influence which the company was able to exert on the regeneration of Middlehaven, the relationship of this company to the site is recognised as part of Middlesbrough's arsenal of powerful names and actors which shape the future of the space via the assumed enhancement of the town's competitive position. Of course, this makes sense, since it is well known that actors in powerful positions tend to be linked to a network of other powerful actors (see Hunter, 1953). The way in which the relationship with the UAE developer was used to 'drum up interest' also raises the idea that even while neoliberalism sees the "economisation of political life and of other heretofore noneconomic spheres and activities" (Brown, 2015: 17), it is not only injections of capital translating as direct economic growth which are key to the fulfilment of a neoliberal growth agenda.

Where the city is understood as a 'growth machine', relationships such as this which do not result in direct investment, but instead act as a catalyst for investment from elsewhere, can be seen as the oil which keeps the cogs turning, so as to speak. As Molotch (1976) argues, "the means of achieving this growth, of setting off this chain of phenomena, constitute the central issue for those serious people who care about their locality and who have the resources to make their caring felt as a political force" (310). Staying with a topological approach, it seems that while the property development company was unable to fold its agenda into Middlesbrough owing to the incongruent agenda of the local state, through the catalysing of other interest in investing in Middlehaven, the local state is considered to have succeeded in folding the power of this relationship into the town.

Returning here to the notion of metagovernance (which was briefly discussed in section 6.1), provides an opportunity to further examine the way in which urban governance operates in Middlesbrough. Metagovernance refers to the way in which the local state (or indeed higher levels of authority) encourages self-organisation of the various actors, institutions and organisations which form the city's governance regime (Haveri et al., 2009). As Whitehead (2003) asserts, by understanding local governance through a metagovernance perspective, it is possible to reconcile the hierarchical power (of the state, or local state) with the "horizontal self-coordination" (8) of the actors (including businesses) involved in governance. This is useful here, then, for enabling consideration of the way in which the relationships and interactions between the local state and businesses/investors are negotiated, by highlighting the processes and practices which ensure local governments are able to regulate and shape local governance configurations. Jessop (2004) refers to this process as 'negotiated decision-making' (70). This recognises that "metagovernance does not eliminate other modes of coordination. Markets, hierarchies and heterarchies still exist" (70) and interact in this negotiation such that government does not dictate outcomes, but shapes them in conjunction with other actors involved in governance (for example, through regulation and incentivisation (Haveri et al., 2009)).

This would seem to be of assistance in characterising the governance regime in Middlesbrough, as while a wide range of actors are involved in some way in the governance of the town (as revealed in the sociograms in section 6.1), it appears that the local state does attempt to 'steer' (to borrow terminology from Haveri et al. (2009)) these actors to deliver particular outcomes. For example, in setting out a vision for the redevelopment project in Middlehaven across various documents, Middlesbrough Council makes explicit the kind of uses it wishes to see in the site, and attempts to unite investors and other actors involved in governance around a common goal – namely to deliver a successful regeneration project which overcomes the site's Over the Border stigma while at the same time producing economic growth. The Middlehaven Development Framework states that the after regeneration, Middlehaven will be "an attractive extension to Middlesbrough town centre with a number of different character areas, a mix of uses, an urban street based environment, new open spaces, access to the river, and a revitalised heritage"; "a new place for business and innovation…benefitting from existing creative hubs such as Boho and the College, and the Enterprise Zone designation"; "a new place to live"; "a network of well designed, safe and pedestrian

friendly streets and spaces"; and "a rich and diverse place that is attractive for a range of development propositions and that harnesses the interest and activity of local people in the regeneration process" (Middlesbrough Council and HCA, 2012: 31). In combination with a range of incentives, such as business rate relief for certain types of businesses (including businesses in the digital sector), the shaping of this shared identity for the space has resulted in the alignment of different actors' agendas around this vision via, for example, the attraction of 'like-minded' businesses to the area. Bob, an elected councillor, pointed towards this when discussing the advantages of Middlehaven's Boho Zone, which he stated is:

> "a basis for creative industries to be and have a synergy and work with one another. For instance, there's a marketing firm and there's also a firm doing something like ebay, it does, but it calls itself something else. So they gel with the marketing firm and work with them to sort of sell that. So that's the sort of thing people seem to need in new office space – it's not just a box to work in. It's to work with like-minded people" – Bob, an elected councillor

This relates to one mode of metagovernance identified by Sørensen (2006): Metagovernance by storytelling, she argues, enables the government (or local state) to shape the interests of actors involved in governance in order to align these interests around a specific shared meaning or identity. When Sørensen (2006) writes that "through storytelling, it is possible to shape images of rational behaviour through the construction of interests, images of friend-enemy relations, and visions of the past and possible futures for individuals and groups and for society at large" (101), she is pointing to the way in which particular discursive framings produce some options in decision-making as desirable and others as impossible. As is discussed elsewhere in this thesis, in the context of neoliberalism, Peck (2017) argues this discursive framing is frequently employed to create the impression that governance not aimed at economic growth is not a possibility. As has been made clear, the vision promoted in local council documents reveals a narrative of the regeneration scheme as building a vision of Middlehaven which ultimately aims to secure such economic growth. This involves, among other things, the positioning of the space as a creative and digital hub, and a 'revitalised heritage' which emphasises the town's roots in large-scale industry and associated historic economic and population boom (see chapter 5).

However, the local state is by no means the only actor shaping this vision and shared identity. Key to understanding the urban governance regime through a

metagovernance perspective is recognition that relationships at different levels between government and governance are integral to shaping decision-making. So, while the local council has set out this agenda, this agenda itself appears to have been influenced and shaped by a coalition of interests. For instance, through its Digital City initiative, which provides digital support to creative businesses in Middlehaven, Teesside University is clearly also a key player in the urban regime which is delivering the agenda to attract creative and digital businesses to Middlehaven (see Chapter 8 for a more detailed discussion of the role of Teesside University in the governance of Middlesbrough). Indeed, as Jessop (2004) asserts, "as the range of networks, partnerships, and other models of economic and political governance expand, official apparatuses remain at best first among equals" (70). So while Middlesbrough Council is responsible for formally setting out the vision for the space, and for imposing parameters for the redevelopment through planning restrictions and investment incentives, the actual processes and practices of governing to this end operate in a manner which is not singularly hierarchical nor horizontal: As Whitehead (2003) argues, metagovernance reveals that "just as hierarchical power is realised in and through local political practices and negotiations, so too is the effective coordination capacity of local political networks and clans enhanced by virtue of their 'embeddedness' within hierarchical structures" (8).

It is important to note here that the production of a narrative which creates some sense of shared purpose (often that of economic growth) is one key aspect of the consensus-building which forms the basis of post-political urbanism (see Swyngedouw, 2007), which will be discussed at length in the context of redevelopment in Middlesbrough in the following chapter of this thesis (Chapter 7). Previous sections of this chapter highlighted the role of business interests, and of 'friendliness' within the processes of governance in Middlesbrough Council – both within the institution itself and within the interest groups shaping the redevelopment of Middlehaven in various ways. It appears, then, that a wide range of concepts from the urban governance literature have all been of use in some way in characterising governance in Middlehaven, suggesting that no single one of these concepts is sufficient alone for capturing each facet of complexity in Middlesbrough's urban governance regime. When taken together, however, the range of concepts employed here (and elsewhere in this thesis), have served to illuminate something of the tensions involved in the governance of the town. The analysis contained in this chapter has, in line with understandings of

metagovernance, signalled a departure from a hierarchical system of government in decision-making toward a more networked arrangement of actors negotiating decision-making through relationships at different levels and on different spatial scales.

In this chapter, I have identified a struggle within the local council to move beyond an internal hierarchical system of operation as a means of acting in a manner more consistent with the changing nature of governance in the town – which necessarily involves interaction between a host of private investors, companies, and organisations alongside the local state. This suggests that while metagovernance is understood to operate 'in the shadow of hierarchy' on the scale of the urban (Whitehead, 2003), similar processes are also to be observed internally to the local state itself, wherein hierarchies, while still important for setting the overall agenda of the council, are seen as an impediment to efficient operations and dealings with actors in the governance network.

In seeking to identify the specific spaces of governance, and to thereby locate urban politics, a topological approach has been useful here. Similar to the way in which Harvey (1989) argues that boosterism projects associated with urban entrepreneurialism are often located both within a specific territorialised space and reach out to encompass (and represent) broader spaces, identifying the location of urban politics via a topological approach highlights the way in which power operates through relationships which may be spatially disparate but which connect various spaces (and their associated actors and agendas) together in the governance regime. Urban politics, then, appears to 'happen' through a range of relationships (both internally to the local state and externally). As this section has demonstrated through discussion of the relationship between Ray Mallon and a Dubai-based developer, the nature of urban governance is such that actors (and their capital and power) shape the spaces which they may be considered to be *of*, but which they are not technically *in*, such that elements of Middlesbrough's governance regime are not necessarily physically located in its namesake town, nor is the local agenda formulated around exclusively local interests (see Rodgers et al., 2014). Equally, discussion of the constraints which prevented investment by this developer highlights the tension between this spatially 'loose' understanding of governance, and the distinctly territorial facets of planning concerns.

Drawing together all of the various aspects of governance discussed in this chapter requires that the nuances offered by each different concept employed are not

dismissed. Rather, it is useful to consider what the application of each of these different concepts has in common, in order to reveal something of the overall character of Middlesbrough's urban regime. It is such that the importance of engaging with a range of different conceptualisations of urban governance is recognised here, and continued throughout the thesis in order to continue to unpack the intricacies of governance in Middlehaven and the surrounding area (for instance, through engagement with post-political urbanism in Chapter 7, and entrepreneurialism in Chapter 8).

Here, then, a few key understandings of the character of Middlesbrough's urban governance regime are set out: Firstly, it appears that Middlesbrough's governance regime is oriented towards securing investment in the town through both incentives, and through the construction of a 'common good', or vision. Second, governance is understood as operating through a simultaneously hierarchical and non-hierarchical arrangement (both internally within the local state and in the wider urban governance regime). Importantly here, too much hierarchy is understood within the council to be burdensome to the goal of economic growth. Third, Middlesbrough's urban regime is understood to be constituted by both formal and informal relationships between the local state and non-state actors (including private companies), located both within the territorial jurisdiction of the town and without. These relationships are understood to be 'friendly', both in the sense of being business-friendly, and in the sense of collegially minimising conflict. While this characterisation clearly misses out on a lot of the nuances revealed through the engagement with various concepts which appears throughout this thesis, the key ideas identified here underlie (implicitly or explicitly, and to varying degrees) each of the explanations of governance offered by analysis using the various concepts employed in this study. These nuances are picked up again and developed in greater depth over the following chapters, while this basic characterisation of governance in Middlesbrough (and more specifically, Middlehaven) provides a useful orientation to how the various concepts fit together to illuminate the nature of Middlesbrough's governance regime as a whole.

7. Crafting Consensus: Neoliberal Governance in Regeneration

7.1 The (Post?)Politics of Demolition: Housing Market Renewal in Middlesbrough

Displacement of people from their homes is an obviously political issue, and often occurs in the midst of strong opposition from residents (see for example, Minton, 2012; 2017); and given that this was part of the Middlehaven regeneration, it demands attention here. Indeed, in Middlesbrough, demolition of housing has taken place in various locations across the town, and has faced varying levels of resistance from the local community. These events have taken place against a backdrop of a widespread trend in which governance is in many places becoming increasingly oriented toward achieving consensus. This tendency towards consensus underpins what has been referred to as post-political urban governance (Davidson and Iveson, 2015). As Swyngedouw (2017) asserts, this consensus around a neoliberal 'common good' involves both "a politicization of 'the economy' [and] an economization of 'politics' under the aegis of a naturalized market-based configuration of the production and distribution of goods and services" (54), and so post-politicising trends in contemporary local governance are inextricably tied to a neoliberal rationale and associated aims, as discussed elsewhere in this thesis. While there is much variation in the terminology used to describe this condition (including post-politics, anti-politics, post-politicising, etc.), all share a recognition of a reduction of 'politics proper' to a system of governance in which 'common-sense' renders certain options unthinkable, and stifles politics by the disavowal of disagreement as against the interests of a common good. The use of such terms in this section is based upon this recognition.

Another important term in this discussion is post-democracy, which is closely related to, yet distinct from, post-politics: Post-democracy as "a form of governance which formally retains all democratic institutions and rituals, but relocates political power and decision-making to arenas where corporate interests rule largely insulated from democratic participation and accountability" (Blühdorn, 2014: 149), is also intertwined with neoliberal hegemony, as state governance the world over is increasingly orientated towards economic growth. Under the post-democratic exercise of such rituals, through the economic framing of choices and decision-making,

democracy loses its (political) "commitments to equality, liberty, inclusion, and constitutionalism" in favour of "the project of economic growth, competitive positioning, and capital enhancement" (Brown, 2015: 26). Indeed, as Brown (2015) argues, neoliberalism increasingly produces economic competition between individuals, such that "when neoliberal political rationality is complete, when there is only homo oeconomicus in every sphere and the domain of the political itself is rendered in economic terms, the figuration of human beings as human capitals eliminates the basis of a democratic citizenry, namely a demos concerned with an asserting its political sovereignty" (65). Importantly, the enactment of seemingly democratic practices, such as public consultations, is an integral part of the consensus-building which characterises contemporary post-political governance, as will be discussed later in this section.

Here, I will unpack the intricacies of post-politics and post-democracy, exploring the particular manifestations of post-political governance in the specific context of demolition, and of living with the threat of demolition in Middlesbrough. While other parts of this thesis discuss the extent of post-politics and its impacts on governance in Middlesbrough through examination of consensus in the name of economic growth and business prosperity (see chapter 8), consideration of demolition (and the threat of demolition) provides opportunity here to discuss in more detail the possibilities for disruption to the post-political narrative in Middlesbrough. In doing so, this section will ask how the political silence articulated in chapter 6.1 works in relation to possibilities and lack thereof for politics in the town and its local economy.

Introduced by national government in 2002, the Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders (HMRP) programme provided funding to Pathfinder partnerships (made up of local authorities and other stakeholders, such as regional development agencies) in areas identified as in need of the scheme. Much critiqued for its widespread use of Compulsory Purchase Orders (CPOs), and frequently accused of being orientated toward social cleansing (Webb, 2010), HMRP was disbanded by the coalition government in 2011. A parliamentary briefing which outlines the programme following its conclusion states that the purpose of HMRP was "to renew failing housing markets and reconnect them to regional markets, to improve neighbourhoods and to encourage people to live and work in these areas" (Wilson, 2013). The Tees Valley was not initially identified as an area in need of HMRP funding, but was given Pathfinder status in 2005 (Wilson, 2013). Following its designation as a Pathfinder area, Middlesbrough Council announced plans to demolish 1500 homes in the Gresham and Middlehaven

wards as part of the government's HMRP Programme (Gazette, 2005b). While the majority of house demolitions in Middlehaven did not fall under this scheme, HMRP did occur in a similar time frame, and residents' experiences of the Programme therefore provide insight into the approach to demolition taken by Middlesbrough Council, as well as the impacts on local communities of such an approach, and focusing on HMR in Gresham thus enables consideration of the specific articulations and manifestations of post-politics which emerge at the local level in this context.

In considering what these articulations and manifestations of post-politics might look like in Middlesbrough, it is useful to begin with an examination of some defining characteristics of post-politicising or anti-politicising activities more broadly. The anti-politics literature is distinguished from the post-politics literature in that it views politics as being constituted by an array of institutionally ingrained practices and arenas which 'facilitate discussion' (including parliaments, elections, etc.), as opposed to the understanding of the political as emerging from dissensus (Rancière, 2001) (see Chapter 2.3), which is implicit in the post-political literature. However, as Clarke (2012) asserts, "while there is some disagreement between the two literatures about what constitutes politics, there is little disagreement about what constitutes its negative form" (37). Clarke (2012) therefore draws from both the post-politics literature and broader anti-politics literature in identifying three characteristics of activities which have the effect of evacuating politics from particular spaces. The adoption of the HMRP scheme in Middlesbrough in many ways typifies these three characteristics: First, the evacuation of politics from the public sphere by, for example, replacing choice with an assumed necessity. In framing the HMR programme as a response to Housing Market Failure, it becomes possible to present the scheme as necessity, and thus becomes easy to discredit opposing views as not attuned to the realities of the situation. Elsewhere, it is a similar logic which has been used to produce what Slater (2014) calls a 'false choice' between gentrification and the blight of disinvestment. In presenting this choice as a moral one, politics is evacuated from the decision, and the processes of uneven capitalist development which manufacture such inequality are left out of the equation (Slater, 2014). As Mouffe (2005) puts it, "politics is being played out *in the moral register*" (75, emphasis in original), such that political opposition is framed as morally wrong, and debate is thereby effectively closed off.

The second observation set out by Clarke (2012) is closely related, and reveals that anti-politics (or post-politics) is characterised by "activities which seek to replace

the communicative rationality of the political domain with another rationality" (37). Such rationalities enable the effective dismissal of opposition or disagreement as immoral (where the communicative rationality is replaced with moral rationality), or as ignorant to technical scientific 'facts' (where the communicative rationality is replaced with technocratic scientific rationality). Again, this is clearly observable in the dismissal of critics of HMRP as ignorant to the 'facts' of housing market failure (see Allen, 2008).

The third characteristic of anti-politics as articulated by Clarke (2012) is the drive for consensus at the expense of disagreement, so that those who don't conform to the established consensus, and do not discipline themselves to behave in the expected way, are presented as "extremists" thought to be sabotaging this consensus which is presumed to be in the interests of a common good. The deliberate exclusion of a dissenting voice from the conversation surrounding HMRP by the suspension and subsequent expulsion of a councillor from his political party (Gazette, 2007) is illustrative here (and will be discussed in further detail in section 7.2). And so while there are examples of dissensus (see section 2.3.) emerging in the form of community responses, it is clear that this was against a backdrop of attempts to, deliberately or not, evacuate politics from governance in Middlesbrough in the name of economic necessity. Here, each of these issues will be discussed in more depth, and the opportunities for politics to emerge in this context considered.

Allen (2008) argues that 'official views' which position particular places as 'failed' or 'failing' are produced at a distance, and are thus representations which reflect the social position of those which produced them, rather than the lived experience of the places they purport to objectively describe. Indeed, far from being arbitrary, Allen (2008) argues, knowledge about spaces produced within those spaces themselves (i.e. residents' knowledge about their own neighbourhoods) often challenges 'official' narratives, and reveals the disparities between lived reality and official representations, thus enabling the justifications for regeneration schemes provided by the 'official' narrative to be called into question and scrutinised more closely. As such, here, I engage with the views of residents threatened by displacement due to the demolition of their homes, both in Middlehaven (through interviews provided by journalists and researchers working on other projects which engage with the space in question here), and in Gresham (through data generated by a group interview conducted specifically for this research, and through testimonies published online and in council documentation).

It is helpful to begin here with the initial premise of the HMRP scheme; that the areas identified as needing the scheme were suffering housing market failure (Wilson, 2013). This is a point of contention among the former Gresham residents interviewed over the course of this research, who were threatened with demolition for a period of approximately five years between 2005 and 2010 before their homes were eventually spared demolition. Henry, a resident of Gresham, argues that 'housing market failure' was simply a means of justifying the demolitions, which had no real basis in the reality of living in his neighbourhood:

> "They had to use these justifications as to why it was unfeasible as a community, and they came up with things like voids, landlords, all of those type of things. What they said was it stands the risk of housing market failure. Whatever this housing market failure is… But it wasn't that it suffered from housing market failure. It was the risk of housing market failure… Unfortunately, the moment there was uncertainty, the moment that nobody could ever get any more loans. So they actually manufactured the circumstances of failure by earmarking them for demolition. They created the failure. That's what created the failure. And some of the failings that we now suffer from. Because obviously, we've had an outflowing of home-owners, we've had an influx of landlords who have used it as an opportunity" – Henry, Gresham homeowner.

Indeed, it makes sense that earmarking homes for demolition should artificially cause the housing market to cease to operate normally, given the fact that selling a property which may be compulsorily purchased at any moment becomes an almost impossible task. Indeed, as Best (2017) suggests, "seemingly mundane material phenomena like… the value of currencies and assets depend intimately on market sentiment and expectations" (382), and so it follows that the declaration of housing market failure would likely create the expectation of such failure, thereby resulting in stalling of the local market as investment in the area becomes viewed as too risky. Importantly in relation to Smith's (1987) rent gap theory, the looming threat of demolition sparked a cycle of disinvestment and resulting deterioration in the materiality of the properties in the Gresham area. The following quote from Frank is illustrative here:

> "They start knocking houses down here, and knocking houses down there, instead of knocking the whole area down. They didn't. You've then got half a street. They were coming down, knocking it down, made it worse for us again because you couldn't spend money on your house because it's coming down. So your house would be deteriorating." – Frank

Figure 21, a photograph taken in Gresham, shows several partially demolished streets, and highlights the extent to which the adjacent houses have fallen into disrepair. It is this kind of disinvestment caused by the threat of demolition which leads to the widening of a rent gap, in which property values become sufficiently low in comparison to the potential values developers could achieve following renovation or regeneration (Smith, 1987). Therefore, slating properties in Gresham for demolition appears to have had the effect of increasing the likelihood of gentrification, or at least of attracting landlords looking to profit from the area by buying up properties cheaply. This is of particular interest given that part of the justification given by the council for the demolition programme was the idea that there were too many rented properties in the area and not enough owner-occupiers (Gazette, 2005c).

Figure 21. A photograph showing several partially demolished streets in Gresham in front of a nearby Teesside University building. The photograph was taken during fieldwork in 2019.

It is such that following the wind-up of the HMRP programme, the Gazette (2013b) reported that homeowners in the area would be given grants of up to £6000 in order to carry out necessary improvements, which had understandably been neglected owing to the threat of demolition. It is pertinent here to consider the importance of this

£6000 grant in matters of stigmatisation and regeneration. Of course, the grant was an important and necessary measure designed to go some way towards correcting the damage caused by the HMRP programme and the associated demolition threat. However, the way in which areas identified as 'in need' of assistance of this kind can lead to further stigmatisation is well documented (Qvotrup Jensen and Christensen, 2012). As Slater (2014) asserts, "to target for 'regeneration' a place and its people is to imply that they must be *de*generate, and 'revitalising' a place suggests that it is full of *de*vitalised individuals, or people *not vital* to a city" (523: emphasis in original). Therefore, in marking the Gresham area out as in need of such assistance, the risk of further damaging the area's reputation (and subsequently adding further strain to the local property market) cannot be overlooked.

The HMRP programme saw widespread use of Compulsory Purchase powers in order to acquire the properties which fell within the remit of the scheme. In 2004, the year prior to Tees Valley's inclusion as a HMRP area, the law regarding Compulsory Purchase was revised in such a way that altered the criteria for the use of CPOs in order to make it easier for local authorities to seize private property on the grounds of economic interests (Minton, 2012). Indeed, the 2004 act states that Compulsory Purchase Powers must only be used where the local authority "think that the development, re-development or improvement is likely to contribute to the achievement of any one or more of the following objects— (a) the promotion or improvement of the economic well-being of their area; (b) the promotion or improvement of the social well-being of their area; (c) the promotion or improvement of the environmental well-being of their area" (Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004, chapter 5, section 99). Thus, there is wide scope for CPOs to be used, on a number of different grounds. Moreover, while the Compulsory Purchase Act requires local authorities to compensate land owners for their assets, there are provisions to ensure the maintenance of a rent gap. Three clauses in the Land Compensation Act 1961 which set out how the amount of compensation due to any land owners should be calculated (as set out in chapter 33, section 5 and 6A (HM Government, 1961a; 1961b)) are illustrative here:

> 5 (2): The value of land shall, subject as hereinafter provided, be taken to be the amount which the land if sold in the open market by a willing seller might be expected to realise.

> 5 (3): The special suitability or adaptability of the land for any purpose shall not be taken into account if that purpose is a purpose to which it could be applied only in pursuance of statutory powers, or for which there is no market apart from . . . the requirements of any authority possessing compulsory purchase powers.

> 6A (2): Any increase in the value of land caused by the scheme for which the authority acquires the land, or by the prospect of that scheme, is to be disregarded, and any decrease in the value of land caused by that scheme or the prospect of that scheme is to be disregarded.

The above clauses are intended to be used in assessing what level of compensation landowners should be afforded as a result of compulsory purchase by the local authority. Key here is that the legislation sets out the expectation that property owners should receive market value for their land, and that the potential value (which will likely be higher than 'market value' given any 'special suitability or adaptability' which the land may be put to following and directly as a result of compulsory purchase) cannot be taken into account in the valuation. And while the requirement that the valuation should not retrospectively be adjusted is designed to protect landowners from potential falls in land values during the clearance process, it also prevents them from gaining financially from the increasing land values often associated with regeneration, thereby retaining the rent gap to ensure that profit is reserved for potential developers, rather than land owners. The requirement to pay market value, of course, caused problems for homeowners who were being threatened by demolition:

> "It seemed like the world was against you, because there was no way you could ever buy another property. They were turning home-owners into tenants. And a lot of people spent a lot of money, their life savings, on those properties. It was like you were just being made homeless. Starting again, in fact. Starting from scratch." – Dexter, Gresham Resident

> "I think there was a statement made by the Mayor, who was Robocop… he said 'oh, I will pay £60,000 per house if I have to'. Well what a statement, because actually, he's not in power to do any of that kind. Anybody in the council who had made any of that deal would have been prosecuted, because they're only legally entitled to give you market value. There is no market value anymore because you couldn't get a mortgage on it. The market was immediately destroyed. So whereas prior to announcement, you might have had a valuation of £55,000, £65,000, immediately it was £30,000, £20,000. Because there was nobody to buy – there was no mortgage to get. And so it was just incredibly crazy, you know. Everybody had the headline figure of £65,000. 'Oh, that's alright. We'll be alright, then.' But no. They can't do that." – Henry, Gresham resident

Returning to the notion that housing market failure was produced by the announcement of plans for demolition, it is interesting to note that this particular production of housing market failure noted by those living in the area – experienced through the inability to secure a mortgage, and a change in community following the departure of many home owners and influx of opportunistic landlords – can also be quantitatively demonstrated. While the effects of HMR are often difficult to measure owing to uncertainties which arise in trying to distinguish the effects of the programme from trends in the housing market more generally (such as the impact of the 2007/2008 financial crisis) (Turcu, 2012), Figure 22 clearly illustrates that Gresham's housing market trend began to deviate drastically from the trend for Middlesbrough as a whole in 2005, thereby coinciding with the implementation of HMRP in the area. Figure 22 shows the prices of all properties in the Gresham demolition area which were sold between 1995 and 2014, compared with the average (median) price of sold properties across Middlesbrough for the same time period.

In order to establish whether or not the housing market in Gresham was failing (in accordance with claims made in justifications of the HMRP scheme), data of all residential properties in the demolition area were collected from Rightmove.co.uk (2018). Given that I am interested here only in the market performance of properties slated for demolition as part of the Pathfinders scheme, some property sales were excluded from the data set (for instance, on Princes Road, where only properties with an even number between 10 and 162 were slated for demolition (BBC Tees, 2005), properties with odd numbers, and any numbers which fell outside of this range, were not included). A total of 2092 property sales listed on the Rightmove website are therefore included in the graph. The median price of homes in Gresham was calculated as an annual figure based upon all sales included in Figure 22 in any given year, while the annual data on median price of terraced housing in Middlesbrough was sourced from the Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2015). This enables comparison between the Gresham housing market and the housing market in Middlesbrough as a whole.

As Figure 22 makes evident, while the houses in Gresham on average sold for around £9000 less than in Middlesbrough more broadly between 1995 and 2005, the general local trend was clearly followed in the area of Gresham which was earmarked for demolition at the end of this period. Indeed, in accordance with Henry's suggestion

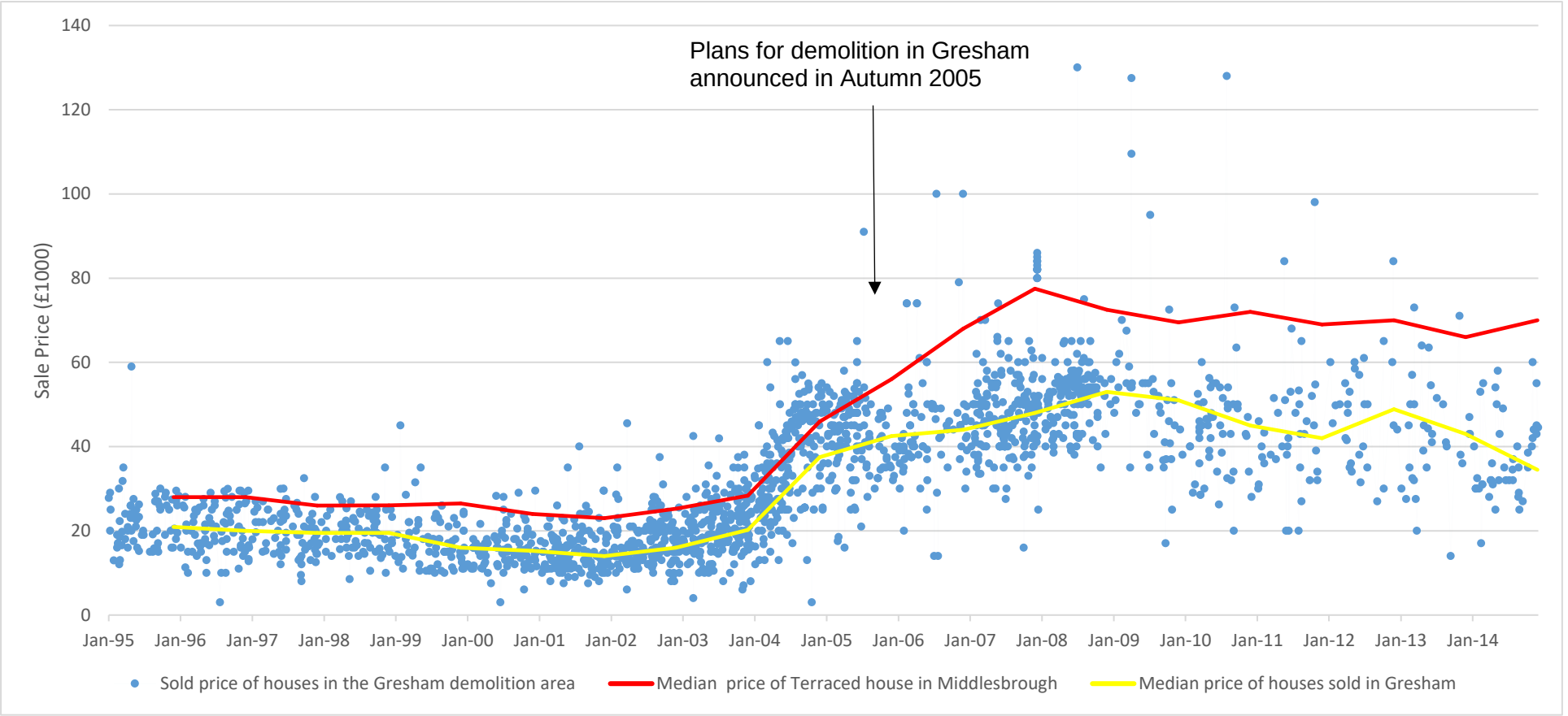


Figure 22. A graph showing the sold prices of houses on 39 Gresham Streets which were set to be demolished under (now scrapped) plans announced by Middlesbrough Council in 2005, which would have seen the demolition of around 1500 terraced homes, compared with the median sold price of the same kind of housing across Middlesbrough. Data from ONS (2015), and Rightmove.co.uk (2018).

that the announcement of demolition plans created the housing market failure in Gresham, post-2005 the sales of homes in the demolition area were significantly depressed compared with the trend in sales for Middlesbrough as a whole. Additionally, the actual number of sales in Gresham was drastically reduced in the decade following the announcement of HMRP in the area, with a decrease of approximately 45% in the number of houses sold between 2005 and 2015, compared with sales in the preceding ten years. And while some of this decrease is inevitably attributable to the fact that the housing stock itself was reduced due to demolition, of the approximately 1500 homes originally scheduled for demolition, only 280 had been demolished by 2015 (although 598 households were displaced, and found alternative accommodation by the council) (Middlesbrough Council, 2015). Additionally, it is not clear who was involved in the sales displayed in Figure 22, and so it is possible that many of the sales which occurred throughout the HMRP scheme's duration were bought by the council in order to clear the area prior to demolition. And while some of this slow-down in sales is likely to be due to the wider recession, which is reflected in the house sales for the rest of Middlesbrough shown in Figure 22, the recession alone cannot explain the widened gap in house prices between Gresham and the wider area.

Regardless of the reasons for this drop in property sales and prices relative to the median price of terraced house sales in Middlesbrough as a whole, Figure 22 reveals that the trends in Gresham's housing market did not start to deviate from the trends for the town overall until the onset of the HMRP programme, thereby illustrating clearly that despite claims that demolition was a pre-emptive measure to prevent predicted housing market failure (Middlesbrough Council, 2012b), 'housing market failure' appears more credible as an outcome of demolition in Gresham than as a justification. It is notable that the effects of the 2007/8 financial crash are immediately evident in the overall housing market trend for Middlesbrough, with Middlesbrough's median house price showing a clear decrease from late 2007, as shown in Figure 22, while the same is not true of the trend observable for Gresham, where house prices continued to climb until around 2009 – albeit at a depressed level. This would appear to represent a case of "functional disconnection from macro-economic trends", in which areas are "increasingly disconnected from short-term fluctuations in the economy", which Wacquant (1996a: 124) identifies as a key feature of advanced marginality. Thus, in seeking to revive a not-yet-failing housing market in Gresham, it appears that the HMR Pathfinders programme in fact had the effect of increasing the marginality of the area.

It appears, then, that naming the area as at risk of Housing Market Failure was pivotal in the stagnation in Gresham's housing market which followed. This can be linked to the behaviour of the economy in relation to risk on a wider scale. Indeed, the downgrading of sovereign credit rating, which occurs in response to an increased risk of sovereign states defaulting on debt payments (Abad et al., 2018), is known to negatively influence stock markets and currency exchange values due to associated "implications for the future relative economic status of a country" (Alsakka and Gwilym, 2013: 146). As Ferri et al. (1999) argue in their discussion of the 1997 financial crisis in East Asia, the downgrading of sovereign credit ratings to a 'speculative' level or 'below-investment-grade' in Indonesia, Thailand and Korea led to an amplification of the crisis due to the increased difficulty of securing investments, and increased interest rates on loans. It is argued that in response to a crisis which the agencies were unable to give investors warning of, the credit ratings agencies "downgraded East Asian crisis countries more than the worsening in their countries' economic fundamentals would justify" (336) as an attempt to secure their own reputations should these countries' economies continue to prove to be more precarious than the agencies were able to predict, and in doing so exacerbated the financial crisis (Ferri et al., 1999). It is this same identification of risk of failure – as opposed to actual failure - that can result in the intensification of economic failure on an international scale which worked here to produce Gresham's housing market as increasingly precarious from 2005 onwards.

The lack of quantifiable evidence to support the notion that the housing market was actually failing in this area prior to the announcement of the demolition plans does not necessarily mark Gresham out as at odds with the HMRP scheme. Webb (2010) shows that the studies which informed the development of the HMR initiative took a simplistic view of the causes of low demand in the areas targeted by the scheme. These studies suggested that as people's incomes improved, they moved away from the 'worst' areas, and therefore improvements in the economy were bound to result in worsening housing market failure unless changes were made to the housing stock to reflect rising aspirations. Inner city Victorian terraced housing, of the kind which makes up Gresham, was identified as a characteristic of areas more likely to suffer from housing market failure, due to the notion that such housing "may be less appropriate for housing contemporary households and lifestyle arrangements" (Nevin et al. 2001, quoted in Webb, 2010). Webb (2010) argues that based on characteristics such as this, areas under HMR rationality are understood as 'structurally uncompetitive', which perpetuates the notion that state intervention is

required if their markets are to be revived. Thus, areas such as Gresham which exhibit some of the characteristics associated with housing market failure but are not actually experiencing such failure are opened up to "pre-emptive strikes" (Webb, 2010:322) by housing providers, justified by the discourse of structural uncompetitiveness, which owing to the presumed standardisation of causes of market failure across the country, is not adjusted sufficiently for different localities.

Clearly, then, it is the framing of low demand housing and so-called housing market failure as rooted in the undesirability of low-cost housing which provided the justification for the implementation of HMR in Gresham. This framing, Webb (2010) suggests, results in the undermining of views which oppose the HMR initiative by implying that they lack the foresight of the initiative, and by suggesting that certain areas will inevitably fail – if not now, then at some point in the future – due to their inbuilt inability to compete by meeting rising household aspirations. Evidently, the framing of the HMR initiative is one which supports the political goals of the scheme, but in such a way that genuine political engagement is dampened through consensus achieved by the presentation of the scheme as an economic imperative. As Swyngedouw (2009) notes in his consideration of environmental politics, a political consensus arises and is legitimated as a result of its basis in scientific consensus, so that politics is reduced to "the administration and management of processes whose parameters are defined by consensual socio-scientific knowledges" (602). Likewise, a programme based on the economic 'truth' of housing market failure, which is supported by so-called objective facts, operates via politics which are reduced to the management of processes framed by an economic consensus. This reduction, Swyngedouw (2009) argues, is a threat to the properly political, as it leaves little room for alternatives not framed by this consensus. It is important here, then, to consider the extent to which the implementation of the HMR programme – in terms of the process of consultation, the acquisition and demolition of houses, and residents' opposition to the threat to their homes – supports or disrupts the post-political narrative in Middlesbrough. The following section (Chapter 7.2) considers this issue in further detail.

7.2. Democracy, (Post?)Politics, and Processes of Demolition in Gresham

It makes sense to begin this consideration of the extent to which local politics in Middlesbrough's urban regeneration aligns with or challenges a post-political narrative with the point at which Gresham's Housing Market Renewal story began for its residents. Dexter, a Gresham resident, recalls himself and his neighbours being informed of the plans for the demolition of their houses via a leaflet pushed through their letterboxes:

> "Do you know how we found out? We got a glossy through the door and it had a map on it. And if your house was on that map, your house was coming down. That's how brutal it was." - Dexter

This leaflet, Henry (another Gresham resident) says, followed a series of 'sounding boards', in which residents were consulted on investments in their area. However, in line with Lees' (2014) findings on the charade of public consultations in the Aylesbury estate – which were presented as a "prototype in tenant-led democracy" (Lees cited in MacLeod and McFarlane, 2014: 865) and were used to give the impression of consensus even where residents were not given real choice in developing the measures finally implemented – there is frustration with the nature of this consultation among the Gresham residents I spoke with. The sounding boards were described as 'misnamed', and 'just a chat-show' which gave 'the indication that it was a community thing, and community voices,' while in fact residents felt that 'it was just the opposite'. Henry recalls being misled with regard to what the sounding boards were actually for:

> "One of the tick-boxes to get the government money was this consultation, blah-blah-blah. So they always had this consultation body prior to the demolition announcement. And I talked to people on that thing, and at no point had ever they talked about demolition. Until the very last week. It was 'money is coming in your area', so they were all interested to give their ideas about parks, how you could make the roads nicer, do changes to the facades of the housing. They spent months talking about that, but in the background to that, there was all sorts of big documents that were going to Westminster or wherever it was to get this grant money which always had a predesigned notion to knock down houses. And then the last meeting was the first time that they mentioned demolition, three or four days before a glossy brochure came through our letterboxes saying 'if you're in this coloured area, your house is coming down. Thank you very much.'" - Henry

The experiences of Denise, a former resident of the (now demolished) St Hilda's area, echo that of Henry, as she explains that she was not party to any public consultation prior to the announcement that her home was set for demolition, and was taken completely by surprise by the news:

> "[The old] Middlesbrough police station… had to come down, so they said they were going to build it over in St Hilda's. Oh, that's fine. The next minute you know, Mayor Ray Mallon calls a meeting for all the residents in St Hilda's. Never, didn't know anything about what was going on, or what the heck was happening. And he just come out and he said, "You're all coming down. I'm flattening the lot." What? People were like, "What's he talking about?" You know, absolute shock. Could not believe what he was talking about. And that was it. There was no [consultation]. Nothing at all. Just said 'you're coming down'. That was it." – Denise (pseudonym), speaking to journalist Ciara Leeming prior to the demolition of her house

It is such that the nature of the kind of public consultations described by Henry often appear to be orientated less towards encouraging political engagement from the community and more towards carrying out an exercise for appearances' sake which gives the impression of having involved the local community in decision-making, while residents were not made aware of plans to demolish their homes until the latest stage of consultation. This kind of approach to decision-making is not novel given the well charted rise of post-politics in recent years, in which "the political – understood as a space of contestation and agonistic engagement – is increasingly colonised by politics – understood as technocratic mechanisms and consensual procedures that operate within an unquestioned framework of representative democracy, free market economics, and cosmopolitan liberalism" (Wilson and Swyngedouw, 2014: 6). In setting out to engage the public in supposedly participatory public consultations, the 'tick box' of representative democracy is checked, and decisions are therefore legitimated, even where only a narrow range of options is offered at such consultations (ibid.). This also resonates strongly with Blühdorn's (2014) suggestion that "semi-participatory, flexible forms of stakeholder governance" which are a prominent feature of post-democratic urban life, "are a powerful tool for reducing opposition and social conflict, and they generate a form of democratic legitimacy" for policies and actions which in reality fail to "empower the underprivileged" (160-161) in the way democratic engagement is purported to do.

The lack of meaningful consultation is exemplified by Ray Mallon's assertion regarding the plans to demolish St Hilda's, in which he said "there will now be a consultation period and no doubt numerous people will have their say… However, I am convinced that at the conclusion of the consultation period, housing in St Hilda's will still be razed to the ground" (Gazette, 2013a). Clearly, where residents are consulted in such a way which gives them no real input in developing the options they are faced with, such a process cannot be considered properly democratic (Lees, 2014). And so while this clearly leaves little room for meaningful political engagement within the consultation setting, and supports a narrative of post-politics or post-democratic politics in Middlesbrough, this does not in itself foreclose possibilities for the properly political to emerge in alternative ways.

It is useful here to consider the question of how political justice can emerge in such a setting. Indeed, as Lane (1986) argues, in capitalist society, there tends to be a preference for market justice (based on the drive for private profit in a supposedly free market) at the expense of democratic justice (based on elections, a free press and the upholding of rights for minorities). Of course, market justice and democratic justice are inevitably closely linked – for example, democratic rights are often to some extent based upon market justice, which is clearly demonstrated by the legislation discussed earlier on CPOs, in which it is the right of property owners to receive some level of financial compensation for their homes – though Lane (1986) is clear that "neither is merely the disguised servant of the other" (383).

This resonates with what Mouffe (2000) calls the 'Democratic Paradox' in liberal democracy, which is characterised by the tensions between liberty (associated with freedom and the protection of human rights) and democracy (centred around equality and popular sovereignty). This conflict between the two "cannot be overcome but only negotiated in different ways" on a continuous basis (Mouffe, 2000:5). This same kind of relationship is the basis of what Žižek (2006) calls 'the Möbius strip of politics and economy'. Žižek's (2006) analogy of the single sided loop connected to itself serves to highlight that while politics and economy are interconnected, their relationship is such that a choice must be made as to which one of the two to prioritise, which inevitably subsumes the other. In focusing on the political, Žižek (2006) argues, the economy "is reduced to the empirical 'servicing of goods'", while focusing on the economy reduces politics to "a theatre of appearances, to a passing phemonenon" (247). As Mouffe (2000) writes, democracy and liberalism, while existing in tension with one another, should not be understood as completely distinct and external to one another, as "once the articulation of

the two principles has been effectuated – even if in a precarious way – each of them changes the identity of the other" (10). As such, it becomes clear that the privileging of liberty, or the market, in articulations of neoliberal democracy has implications for the way that democracy itself can unfold and manifest in such an articulation. Indeed, the focus on market rights and economic growth has a tendency to reduce democracy to a question of economics owing to a "liberal insistence on a supposed neutrality of the state" (Mouffe, 1993: 111).

In much the same way, Lane (1986) argues that justice, and in particular, whether or not a sense of injustice over a certain issue arises, is dependent on the choices made regarding this market justice/democratic justice relationship. Indeed, while events which are seen to be directed by political choices may provoke a sense of injustice in those affected negatively by those events, the opposite is true of events considered to be driven by the market (Lane, 1986). As has been discussed elsewhere in this thesis, under neoliberalism, market forces are often presented as natural and inevitable. It is this characteristic which causes events framed as market-driven to be less likely to evoke feelings of injustice, because, as Lane attests, "if one believes that outcomes are attributable to one's own acts – that the self is to be credited or blamed for one's own fate – one does not invoke justice sentiments" (385), as opposed to events framed as driven by political choices, which conversely removes the individual from blame for their own situation.

This sense of individuals being blamed and accepting blame for their own misfortunes as a result of so-called market forces is ingrained by the responsibilising effects of neoliberal dogma. As McKenzie (2015) suggests, public and government rhetoric surrounding poverty tends to attribute blame and responsibility for problems in society to the level of the individual. And individuals stigmatised with morally loaded labels, such as 'underclass,' or 'unemployed' – which have this same effect of blaming those they label for their own marginality (Uitermark, 2014; Jones, 2012) – have been shown in some studies to internalise this stigma, and thereby accept for themselves the stigmatising labels imposed on them (Wacquant, 2010b). Representations of low-income residents in the media (in television programmes such as Channel 4's 'Benefits Street', for example) have been influential in perpetuating such stigmatising discourses.

Baumberg (2016) identifies a quote from Charles Murray, which claims that values associated with a so-called British 'underclass' 'contaminate' neighbourhoods, as

exemplifying the stigma attached to unemployment and welfare benefits. This notion which Murray expressed in the 1990s is echoed in a statement made by former Mayor of Middlesbrough Ray Mallon regarding the Gresham demolition plans, in which he argued that "if a person has cancer a surgeon does not cut a little bit here and a little bit there. He cuts a big piece out to save the rest of the body" (Ray Mallon quoted in the Gazette, 2005d). It appears, therefore, that the framing of the HMR project as a scheme driven by the market may work to diminish political justice, as a scheme which is implemented on the basis of market failure (and which is therefore presented as apolitical) is subsequently presented as merely fulfilment of market justice.

The violence of this language works to cast Gresham in a negative light, but also to paint its demolition as a necessity for the common good. Indeed, the analogy of demolition providing life-saving surgery to the body of Middlesbrough immediately works to produce opposition as selfish, or as detrimental to the town as a whole. Indeed, as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1999) argue, 'moral panic' such as that raised by the notion of ghettoization, has the effect of depoliticising social issues by framing them as moral issues, and in doing so causes such issues to be "stripped of any reference to any kind of domination" (43). And so in producing demolition, or 'surgery', as grounded in a strong community-orientated moral outlook, steps are taken toward evacuating politics from the decision-making process (Clarke, 2012). The production of such a moral discourse as a justification for demolition and the entailed displacement of residents is not unique to Middlesbrough (see Slater, 2017). Likewise, a dampening of politics through such means is also widespread, where local authorities increasingly orientate their work to ensuring private investment and economic development as their budgets become increasingly constrained (McKenzie, 2005). This positioning of the demolition of Gresham as essential for the town is despite what is arguably a lack of evidence that such measures were needed. As Henry and Dexter, former residents of the demolition area, point out:

> "They couldn't possibly know the state of 1500 homes. They couldn't possibly know the state of repair. Nobody ever did that kind of study to know. Yes, some of them were probably in a bad state of repair, but some of them were unbelievable." - Henry

> "I don't think they'd really care. The fact was, the government was offering the councils buckets full of money. And all they had to do was come up with buzzwords like housing market renewal. And they thought, there you go, just identify a place,

> say it's got problems with housing market failure, and we'll get all this money. I think you can understand that." - Dexter

It is clear, then, that claims of housing market failure for the area are viewed cynically by residents, whose experiences of the area tell a different story than that which is constructed by local and national government. As Allen (2008) argues, the notion that an area is experiencing low demand for housing immediately positions that area in relation to other spaces. Conversely, residents tend to relate to their neighbourhood "as a lived space and not a position within the space of positions" (Allen, 2008: 117). It is such that, in his study of HMR in Kensington, Liverpool, Allen (2008) observes that residents' 'lived views' of their neighbourhood do not align with official representations of the space as in decline and in low demand. In this case, then, despite the claim that the plans for demolition in Gresham were a direct result of the performance of the market, given that these claims are contested by residents whose lived experiences do not match official views, the notion of market justice having been achieved is not sufficient to dampen political engagement, or the search for political justice.

As Rancière (1999) posits, "for the political community to be more than a contract between those exchanging goods and services, the reigning equality needs to be radically different from that according to which merchandise is exchanged and wrongs redressed" (5). Thus, it is by seeking justice beyond that offered by the ebbs and flows of the market that a community may partake in politics. In other words, while framing schemes such as HMR as market-driven, and claiming to deliver justice for those affected through monetary compensation point towards post-politics, there remains potential for politics proper to emerge by approaching the scheme in alternative ways distinct from market justice. Indeed, there are multiple examples of political action taken by residents in opposition to the threat on their homes, some of which will be briefly discussed here in order to highlight the possibilities for politics which emerge in the area in the midst of the construction of a post-political narrative.

Indeed, while 'market justice' may have been judged to have been achieved through the delivery of supposedly fair compensation to those affected, this does not prevent a sense of injustice among residents. In both Gresham and St Hilda's (where houses were demolished as part of the Middlehaven development scheme), the plans for demolition were met with considerable opposition. This took the form of street protests

(Gazette, 2012), petitions signed by over 1,600 people (Weaver, 2005), what one resident describes as a walking-bus turned protest march on the town hall, and in the case of some residents, refusal to move from their homes despite the demolition or boarding up of surrounding properties. Evidently, then, there was room for residents to engage in politics in ways beyond what was expected of them in public consultations.

Indeed, in one instance, residents walked out of a meeting with the council in order to protest against the undemocratic manner of the event, since residents had been told they could not ask questions of the Mayor (Gazette, 2005d). In doing so, residents joined a trend of political demonstrators the world over who turn their backs on the kinds of formally and officially recognised institutions and processes of democracy – which are often geared toward consensus-based governance which 'sutures' the properly political in the name of neoliberalism – and instead demand 'Real Democracy Now' (Wilson and Swyngedouw, 2014). The question remains, however, of whether the voices of residents were heard through such means. Indeed, all residents at St Hilda's lost their homes to demolition, and while some homeowners, who demanded 'a house for a house' on signs painted onto the sides of their properties, did eventually secure a deal which they were satisfied with, the fight to secure this deal with the local authority was long and difficult. Denise, a former St Hilda's resident, attests to this:

> "Over the last five year, we have put up with, oh God, we've had empty properties. Only me and [my neighbour] left. We've put up with druggies, they were squatting in the houses, urinating up the street, drinking, needles all over. We've had everything threw at us. And they said 'we'll demolish them. And we had to sit in here while they demolished. And you can see how far I am. Next door but one… I mean, we have fought hard, me and [my neighbour]. We've had meetings with Ray Mallon the Mayor, the deputy Mayor, I've been on that One Show, we're really, haven't we, kept on it…. Why should we go into rented accommodation or try to get another mortgage what we couldn't get, we couldn't afford? Why should we?... But I think we haven't caved in. I don't look at it as caving in. We haven't. We've got a decent – a good deal, I think. But by God, we've had to fight for it." – Denise, speaking to journalist Ciara Leeming prior to the demolition of her house

And while many of the properties in the Gresham demolition area were eventually spared, the role which community opposition played in this reprieve is unclear. Indeed, the withdrawal of HMR funding from central government is cited in a Middlesbrough Council Executive Report produced shortly after the announcement from central government as the reason for the reduction in scale of demolition plans in Gresham (Middlesbrough Council, 2011). It must be noted that while many Gresham houses were not ultimately demolished,

and while some St Hilda's home-owners did eventually secure a deal with which they were satisfied, there were efforts to prevent dissenting voices from taking part in discussions surrounding the plans. Ken Walker, a Labour councillor for Gresham, opposed the demolition plans, and was ultimately suspended from the Labour party. "The only reason" for this, he argued, was that he "did not accept that I should not speak out against the proposed demolition [and] am supporting the residents who don't want to see an end of their homes" (Ken Walker, quoted in Clover, 2005). This is a quite starkly obvious example of post-politics in local planning, which exemplifies with no subtlety at all "the depoliticising consensus-inducing tendencies inherent in policy transfer and mobility" (MacLeod, 2013: 2199). Indeed, in this case, dissent against nationally agreed Labour party policy, implemented in various areas across England, was quelled simply via the removal of the dissenting voice from the policy sphere.

Returning here to Gresham resident Dexter's suggestion that he didn't think the council would "really care" about whether or not the houses slated for demolition were in a state which warranted this course of action, it is worth considering the implications of such a position for local democracy and justice. The apathy which Dexter assumes the council to have acted with is noted by Mouffe (1993) as often underlying the kind of consensus which poses a threat to democracy by evacuating disagreement from the political sphere. Indeed, such consensus usually arises from the perceived need to secure economic growth as a priority, and as such, even despite spatial variations, local government in much of the UK has for several decades been increasingly focused on reducing costs, enhancing efficiency, and coming up with new ways of overcoming the tightening of budgets, meaning that questions of democracy, and of local justice, have generally not been high on the local agenda for some time (Newman, 2014). Indeed, where government is assumed to be neutral, stepping in only in its neoliberal capacity to relieve a supposedly failing market, it makes sense that democracy gives way to such apathy: As Mouffe (1993) asserts, the reduction of democracy to supposedly politically neutral processes, along with the rise of consumerism at the expense of citizenship, and assumed state neutrality, "have emptied politics of all substance. It has been reduced to economics and stripped of all ethical components." (111).

Liberal democracy, Mouffe (1993) argues, is also "endangered by the growing marginalization of entire groups whose status as an 'underclass' practically puts them outside the political community" (6). The labelling of Gresham, and by association its residents, in such a negative way as was done in advance of the demolition (see page 201)

therefore becomes pertinent with regard to local democracy. For pejorative labelling not only has the effect of justifying state intervention in the local community, but can also work to exclude those most affected from meaningful political engagement with regard to their own futures. In local areas which deal with a territorial stigma, then, the struggle for local democracy is likely exacerbated further, beyond even the widespread issue of post-politicising consensus.

In the current neoliberal era, the democratic ideals of equality sought by citizens working towards a common good are replaced by a selfish individualism in which citizens, reframed as consumers, relentlessly pursue their own interests (Purcell, 2006). However, consideration of the HMR project in Middlesbrough is revealing here of the way in which liberal values become disguised as democratic ones: In the current order of liberal democracy described by Mouffe (2000), the negotiated relation between liberalism and democracy favours liberalism. This is very much reflected in the HMR programme, given the way in which the housing market is viewed to be failing, and therefore must be 'fixed', even where homeowners do not view their homes to be in need of fixing. However, given the way that this 'fix' is framed as being necessary for the common good, it is clear that under this order, what is viewed as the common good is strong market performance, and by association, the liberal values enshrined in the market. In this way, it appears that in neoliberal democracy, individuals' ability to partake and personally benefit from the performance of local markets is understood to constitute a common good, and so democratic values of equality and the common good are co-opted as a means of furthering the neoliberal ideal of individual freedom, measured through economic gain.

It is useful here to return to the notion of exceptionalism. As Best (2018) asserts, emergency exceptionalism is one logic through which the tensions inherent within liberal democracy are mediated, in that it is mobilised at specific points of crisis as a means of limiting threats to sovereignty (often manifested in economic struggles). Best (2018) uses the term 'technocratic exceptionalism' to describe the practices which operate "on a continuous basis in the background, suspending normal political processes over certain issue areas or certain individuals deemed dangerous enough to exempt from normal politics" (328-329). Indeed, in the case of the Gresham demolitions, while housing market failure was framed as an economic threat, HMRP cannot be considered a true response of emergency exceptionalism, since Figure 22 (page 193) reveals that there was no such emergency to respond to. Best's (2018) understanding of exceptionalism is nonetheless useful here. As a logic, exceptionalism suspends normality in order to enable normality to

be reinstated following a period of intervention in which recognisably 'normal' rights are suspended. This logic is evident in the case of HMRP, in which a supposedly failing housing market underwent (abnormal) state intervention, with the aim of enabling the housing market in Pathfinder areas to recover and ultimately function 'normally' without state intervention.

Given the reprieve of many homes in Gresham from demolition, it is pertinent to consider here the temporalities of politics and of post-politics. As MacLeod (2013) asserts, post-politics is not the end of politics, as politics is always in the process of being constructed on a continual basis. Indeed, to live in a post-political society is to live in a society where politics is orientated towards achieving consensus, rather than one where politics is extinct altogether, as politics (and post-politics) is constantly being made, contested, and re-made (Paddison, 2009; MacLeod, 2013). This emergent understanding of politics is particularly important given the nature of the object of politics in question here. The physical fixity of the houses previously threatened by demolition lends itself to highlighting the temporal dimension of (post-)politics. Indeed, while many of the houses still stand, they are a constant and physical reminder of the threat of displacement their occupants once faced. Indeed, just as Goffman (1963) argues that a person who sheds their stigmatising characteristic does not become a person who is not stigmatised and is instead someone who used to have a stigmatising characteristic (and is essentially therefore still stigmatised), a house reprieved from demolition is not just bricks and mortar, but retains its distinction as a house once threatened, and therefore still at risk and under threat. As Henry, a resident of Gresham puts it:

> "There's always a lingering problem. There is a lingering problem, even now, in that we are essentially homes under threat. It hasn't gone away because there was a demolition order placed on our houses historically. They know that. There's always a chance that comes back… This might revert back to fighting the logical battle against somebody… I mean, other areas, you get these areas with preservation orders, conservation areas. That's what we should be looking at. So they've fought it in that way. It's still the same type of terraced houses, a bit further out of town." – Henry

Thus, in addition to the problems caused by landlords buying houses cheaply during the period in which they were scheduled for demolition, and now, post-reprieve, failing to properly maintain them, the lingering doubt brought about by the demolition threat

continues to affect Gresham's residents. Because it has happened once, there is the fear, and the very real possibility, that their homes could once again be scheduled for demolition. There are resonances here with Beer's (2018) study of steel plant closure on Teesside: Beer (2018) suggests that industrial change is experienced through futures, as "rumours, phone calls, conversations and even the soundscapes of the [steel] plants function as modalities for relating to a future works closure" (104). Indeed, living with the threat of demolition is inherently to do with the future, and the loss of an imagined future of a life based in the home threatened with demolition. But this threat is experienced in the present in the form of information leaflets, speculation over when houses will be demolished, which houses will be spared, and when residents might have to leave their homes, and suspicion over whether 'in the know' landlords may have profited from the predicament many residents found themselves in.

This temporal element of the threat of demolition, perceived to be ever-present, is important for a consideration of local politics. Indeed, the notion raised by Henry of having to continue to 'fight the ideological battle' highlights the way in which politics and post-politics are not fixed, and cannot remain established without constant intervention. Political 'battles' surrounding houses and the potential for destruction which they are symbolically marked with are drawn out, and the abandonment of individual political projects (in this case HMR Pathfinders) does not equate to the abandonment of the political rationale manifested in such projects. The specific ideological battle which Henry here refers to is, of course, is against the local government's claim that demolition of their homes was needed in order to revive the supposedly (though seemingly not actually) failing housing market (see Figure 22).

As previously discussed, this claim on the part of government is based on a consensus-forming post-politics which has its roots in a rationale that places the market at the centre of decision-making (see Wilson and Swyngedouw, 2014). Indeed, in the wake of successive national government policies which have left local councils with increasingly restrictive budgets, Middlesbrough Council has, like many local authorities across the UK and further afield, taken the approach of lending to developers in order to finance the delivery of new building projects in the local area (see section 8.2). The returns from this investment are then used to deliver essential services to the town's citizens. The "increasing *size* of financial markets and institutions and the increasing *role* of finance in nonfinancial sectors" (Weber, 2015: 38., emphasis in original) is known as financialisation, and has been occurring in the public sector since the 1980s (Weber, 2015). In the UK

context, this coincides with the markedly neoliberal agenda pushed by national government during the Thatcher era. Speaking about the lack of powers afforded to local government by successive national administrations, Dave Budd, Middlesbrough's Mayor (at the time of interview), reflected that:

> "that's not necessarily a political party point, either. I think centralisation's been through governments of whatever colour. And I don't think [national government] has ever felt like [local government] is important." - Dave

This is the context in which public sector financialisation is occurring. It is such that placing the market at the centre of decision-making in local governance is the result of the position of local government in the national political landscape, and the corresponding role of market performance in local service delivery. Of note here, then, is Henry's suggestion that this 'ideological battle' might be fought with preservation orders, as such a tactic does – as Ranciere (1999) claims is essential for building a political community beyond the logics of the market – exploit a non-economic rationale. The priority given to exchange-value as opposed to use-value in urban space in cities across the world is well documented in the urban geography literature (see for example, Purcell, 2002; Braimoh and Onishi, 2007), and this same priority appears to exist in the case of demolition in Middlesbrough, where demolition was deemed by the local authority to be necessary due to market forces, despite opposition from residents who valued their homes for their uses and emotional attachments.

Indeed, as Weber (2002) argues, given that value of the built environment is arbitrary and frequently contested, the (often local) state works to produce a particular understanding of value in ways which "discursively constitute, code, and order the meaning of place through policies and practices that are often advantageous to capital" (524). And so, while the relationship between the preservation of historical buildings and the neoliberal economy is discussed in more detail elsewhere in this thesis (see section 5.2), drawing attention to historical value as a means of challenging a market-driven justification for demolition does, at least at surface level, provide an alternative means of attributing value to the built environment, which is more likely than use-value to be recognised as legitimate by a governing authority which bases its (post-)political rationale in the supposedly neutral forces of the market. And so, while such a tactic may not dethrone the dominant political rationale, it does nonetheless provide some challenge to it, and reveals that opportunities for political engagement (and indeed, action) can exist

within the confines of the particular expression of post-politics in Middlesbrough. Evidently, the way in which value is inscribed and recognised in urban space matters for the trajectories which regeneration may take. The following section (7.3) therefore addresses this issue in further depth in the context of Middlehaven.

7.3. Quality Control: Building Consensus

Douglas, a council officer, states that:

> "We will all prosper if the business community succeeds and thrives in the Tees Valley." – Douglas

The notion of a common good is one which occurs frequently in justifications of the approach to regeneration taken in Middlehaven, including the issuing of CPOs. And while the consensus-building effects of the notion of the common-good will be examined in more detail later in this section, here, it is useful to consider to what extent Douglas's above claim reflects the realities of the regeneration of Middlehaven. Indeed, as Leitner (1990) asserts, entrepreneurial governance which favours capitalist interests tends to produce heightened inequalities, as "economic growth has assumed primacy over distributional issues in policy making" (Leitner, 1990: 146). The way in which the promise of investment in Middlehaven seemingly had a direct influence on the displacement of the St Hilda's community is of note here (see section 8.1), as business interests have been shown to take priority over concerns of a long-established and marginal population.

Also of interest here is the commitment of the council to securing 'high quality uses' for the Middlehaven area, which was mentioned by both Douglas and Lance – both council officers working on regeneration in Middlesbrough – in interviews:

> "We're not desperate to see the site full of inappropriate buildings. We could probably get carpet warehousing and all sorts of stuff down there, but would that really fulfil our ambitions for the area, and for the town, and for the region? No it wouldn't. What we want to do is have *good quality* stuff." – Lance (emphasis added)

> "Middlesbrough, historically in the service sector, has had low-paid, low-skilled employment. And then it's a self-fulfilling prophecy there. It's a bit of a cycle. People have low skills, low aspirations, and it permeates through all of the social as well as the economic impacts that we have in the town. We want people to get better jobs. We want people to get better education. Because each of those factors has the propensity to improve their life chances across a range of outcomes, rather than just their personal wealth, and mental health, and everything else. We want to address all of these issues. And by having *quality uses*, when I say quality uses, we want skilled employment, we want knowledge-intensive businesses. We want to shift our mix, because historically, across the Tees Valley, we've had all our eggs – far too many eggs in far too small a basket. So when you get an economic shock like the steel industry closing, you're more susceptible to it. But if you're spread across a number

> of industries and one particular industry suffers, it doesn't have such a major impact on the whole area's economy." – Douglas

Here, Douglas suggests that 'high quality' regeneration in Middlesbrough is needed to improve the life chances of the town's population. Indeed, as this thesis has already made clear (see Chapter 1.2), the drive to create a hub of digital and creative industries in Middlehaven has occurred in the context of de-industrialisation and the associated loss of employment in the steel industry for many people on Teesside. The number of creative businesses in Middlesbrough has increased from 455 to 624 between 2007 and 2016 (Gardiner and Mateos-Garcia, 2016), coinciding with the onset of development of the Boho Zone in 2008. However, while attracting 'appropriate' businesses such as these to Middlehaven also means bringing jobs to the area, it is important to consider who has access to these jobs, and who is excluded from the employment such businesses offer. Given the focus on 'high quality uses', which Douglas understands to be distinct from low-skilled employment which is prevalent in Middlesbrough (Shildrick et al., 2010), it appears that many people in Middlesbrough will be unqualified for much of the work offered by the businesses replacing the 'suboptimal uses' traditionally occupying the Middlehaven area. And while high-skilled jobs are important for boosting the town's economy, and - as Douglas asserts – for improving opportunities in the local area, by referring to such jobs as 'high-quality', the implication is that lower-skilled jobs are also considered to be of inferior quality. An important question to answer here, then, is what gets to count as high quality, and how distinctions are drawn between those uses which pass this arbitrary mark of quality and those which do not.

It is instructive here to consider Florida's (2002; 2007) arguments surrounding the creative class, and the benefits to cities which he argues are part of having a creative workforce. Florida suggests that a large proportion "of the non-creative class workforce never has the opportunity to do rewarding creative work. We are in effect wasting that great reservoir of creative capital" (Florida, 2007: 188). In this statement, Florida claims that many of the low-wage service sector jobs which urban economies rely on are neither creative nor rewarding, and thus produces the argument which the notion that low-wage jobs are low quality and undesirable is based upon. However, as Wilson and Keil (2008) suggest, such jobs underpin the growth in the sector which Florida (2002) deems to be creative, by servicing the offices, cafes and restaurants, and other leisure facilities which Florida's creative class seek out. Low-income workers, who take low-skilled, are thus

essential to the local economy and to everyday life within the local area. Additionally, as Wilson and Keil (2008) assert, to define the creative class (as Florida (2002) does) as a group of high earning professionals working in conventionally creative sectors is to exclude low-wage workers from the concept of the 'creative class', and thus to overlook the high levels of creativity implicit in the everyday negotiation of poverty by many low-income workers across the world. McKenzie (2015) identifies such creativity in the resourcefulness of low-income working class women 'making ends meet' in St Ann's, a council estate in Nottingham.

As discussed in Chapter 5.1., Club Bongo International is one establishment in Middlehaven which is considered not to 'fit' with the aims of the regeneration project owing to its reputational connections to the 'Over the Border' label. However, the nightclub is arguably an example of a culturally important site in Middlesbrough's history, and has been a successful enterprise with a global reach, and so the notion that it doesn't 'fit' the desired (creative) image for the area warrants attention here. This devaluing of existing cultural and creative attractions in the midst of regeneration projects aiming to produce new cultural value is not unique: Although the Bongo remains open, the case of Quiggins – a former shopping arcade in Liverpool known for its independent 'alternative' retailers, which was compulsorily purchased to make way for the Liverpool One Development (Minton, 2012) - provides a useful comparison here. Jones and Wilks-Heeg (2004) argue that the closure of Quiggins to make way for a mainstream commercial shopping centre in Liverpool in advance of its year as European Capital of Culture in 2008 exemplifies the way in which narrow definitions of 'official culture' – specifically meaning that which is ripe for marketing – result in the disappearance of authentic diverse cultural offerings, which actually underpinned the initial success of Liverpool's bid to become European City of Culture. As Peck (2017) asserts, where a focus is placed on attracting commercial developers to a space through the implementation of urban policies (often borrowed from other cities) designed to encourage interurban competition, a bland form of creativity or innovation is wont to emerge.

Given that Middlehaven has for many years been affected by a territorial stigma which has seen its (now displaced) low-income population blamed for the decline which has befallen the area, it is important to bear in mind the role of this stigma in the council's desire for 'high quality' redevelopment. Indeed, it appears that the regeneration attempts to shed the stigma of the area by replacing the low-wage labour which was prevalent in Middlehaven when the stigma took hold with so-called 'high quality' uses designed to distance the space

from its previous incarnation. The following case study, focused on a pub in Middlehaven, illustrates these issues in detail, and reveals the implications of the ambiguity of the notion of 'high-quality'.

The case of the Captain Cook Pub is instructive in revealing what gets to count as high quality in Middlehaven: The pub has a long history in the area, and is one of Middlesbrough's oldest buildings, having been serving the St Hilda's population for most of its 170 year existence (Brown, 2016). Here, though, its trajectory since the onset of the current redevelopment project is of particular interest.

Figure 23. A photograph of the Captain Cook Pub, taken during field work in 2017, seven years after the pub was purchased by Middlesbrough Council.

The pub (see Figure 23), which had been run by a life-long St Hilda's resident, was bought by the council in 2010 for £321,529 and subsequently closed down. It remained closed for seven years, until the council was able to "dispose" of the pub under rules of Single Programme Funding, which has a clawback period during which the asset bought by the council cannot be sold on at a loss (Middlesbrough Council, 2016a). After that period had passed, a deal was drafted between the council and a property developer which was set to see the council charging the developer £250 rent per year for 10 years,

and no less than £3000 per annum thereafter. In the entrepreneurial fashion in which the public sector subsidises private investment (see Leitner, 1990; Harvey, 1989), the council has here stepped in to provide the property developer with financial incentives in order to secure investment in the area (indeed, it will take 117 years for the council to recover the £321,529 paid for the pub by them in 2010, not taking into account inflation, and based on the minimum rents outlined in the executive report (Middlesbrough Council, 2016a)). While this is indicative of the entrepreneurial approach taken toward securing private investment, this case is also useful in consideration of the issue of defining 'high quality' uses.

Indeed, in thinking through this issue, it becomes important to explore why the council considered that it was better to leave the pub - which it claims was a "maintenance liability" (Middlesbrough Council, 2016a: 5) - standing empty for 7 years and to sell it on for a loss, rather than to allow the previous landlord to continue operating the pub. The council is able to justify its decision to sell the Captain Cook pub at a loss by pointing out that:

> "if left vacant, the building will only fall into further disrepair and subsequently the level of investment required to bring it back into use will increase. It is therefore, on balance, deemed appropriate to dispose of the property" (Middlesbrough Council, 2016a: 5).

Indeed, it appears that the council is keen not to be financially burdened by an historic building in need of repair. However, the building was in need of refurbishment at the time of purchase by the council (Gazette, 2010b), and so it is important to consider why the council felt it necessary to purchase such a building. An answer lies within the following quote from the council's executive report on the disposal of the pub:

> "The previous business was run down and not necessarily fitting with the aspirations for the wider Middlehaven area. The previous owner had indicated that they were willing to sell voluntarily. As such Middlesbrough Council acquired the property to support the wider regeneration of Middlehaven and to complement the emerging Urban Pioneer and Urban Park developments." Middlesbrough Council, 2016a: 2

The notion that the business was "not necessarily fitting with the aspirations for the wider Middlehaven area" is of particular relevance here given that the property developer tasked with refurbishing the building intended to keep it as a pub, according to council

documents and local news reports. Returning to the issue of what gets to count as a 'high-quality use' then, it appears that the Captain Cook pub, whilst being run by a St Hilda's resident and frequented by locals and employees of businesses in the St Hilda's area, was deemed by Middlesbrough Council to be the wrong kind of pub. It did not match the 'Vision' highlighted in the plans for the area. As discussed in chapter 4.2, the Vision for Middlehaven is one which is by its very nature exclusionary, and is designed to appeal to a middle class habitus (Bourdieu, 1984), and so it makes sense that a pub which does not appeal to this habitus would be considered ill-fitting for the area's proposed 'designer landscape'.

This is not to say that the Captain Cook pub, when it was considered to be the wrong kind of pub, had positive social and economic effects. Indeed, it is entirely possible, given the defensive territoriality identified by Amin et al. (2002) in the area, that the pub was exclusionary in a different way. And it must also be noted that the previous owner of the pub commented to the Gazette that "I'm just keeping my head above water, so the time is right to come out of it" (previous owner of the Captain Cook pub, quoted in the Gazette, 2010b). However, regardless of any social or financial issues with the pub prior to its closure in 2010 when it was purchased by the council, of importance here is the implication that the pub was cast as being of the wrong kind for Middlehaven, and as not fitting aspirations for the area. It is the construction of this vague discourse of 'high-quality' which enables the council to select what is and is not 'appropriate' for the regeneration area, and to attempt to manufacture an environment which reflects the glossy Vision aimed at boosting the town's image to enhance its interurban competitiveness. As Lund Hansen et al. (2001) attest, boosterism and creative city marketing are designed to attract middle class people to an area, in a process of gentrification by design, and it appears that the deselection of one pub in favour of another with a new image is consistent with Middlesbrough council's efforts in boosterism.

It appears, then, that by discursively producing particular uses as 'high-quality', the council is able to justify the removal, or prevention of access to Middlehaven, of businesses which do not fit the Vision for the area set out in the Greater Middlehaven Strategic Framework Plan (Alsop, 2004a) and subsequent planning documents. And just as such efforts to boost the image of the area by tailoring space in Middlehaven to the Vision set out in plans for the regeneration are based on the notion of a common good (in this case, the notion that 'what's good for business is good for everyone') and favour consensus-based governance (Hiller, 2000), interrogation of documentation on the

Middlehaven regeneration reveals that this preference for consensus is prevalent in the governance of the area. It is this increasing prevalence of neoliberal governance that seeks to achieve consensus which Swyngedouw (2011) argues has led to the 'suturing' of the properly political (as defined by Rancière (2001) (see literature review)) via the construction of disagreement as a rejection of shared values which are constructed as invariably 'good'.

A draft of the Alsop Greater Middlehaven Masterplan (2004b) explicitly sets out its preference for consensus-based decision-making on issues regarding the regeneration:

> "Through our Developer Workshops we are beginning to put into place a powerful delivery vehicle based upon co-operation rather than competition, thereby ensuring that best use of the site is always the solution of choice" (Alsop, 2004b: 7)

This phrase effectively constructs a consensus around achieving 'best use' for the Middlehaven site: The suggestion that 'best use' can only be achieved by excluding 'competition', and that such competition risks the solution of choice being anything other than 'best use of the site', effectively constructs any competing or conflicting views as being unreasonable and threatening to the success of the regeneration project (and, ironically, seems to run counter to the supposedly free-market principles of neoliberalism, which highly value competitiveness (see Springer, 2010)). Indeed, the Greater Middlehaven Strategic Framework Plan (2004a) goes on to suggest that a decision had been made at the Developers Workshops, to which around 20 developers were invited to contribute, that a "consortium (sophisticated sharing)" approach to redevelopment, in which no single developer takes control of the site and there is no 'free for all', is preferable in order to minimise risk for individual developers who would not have to take on responsibility for the whole site. The document states that:

> "In formalising a list of the advantages that a proposed Development Consortium could bring, the following points were made:
> • there would be a shared sense of ownership
> • there would be transparency
> • there would be a unity of principles, objectives and vision
> • confidence would be instilled in all quarters, that the project was well-managed, de-risked and profitable
> • for all the above reasons, conflicts would be avoided." (Alsop, 2004a: 36)

It therefore appears that there is an assumption that since all parties want to achieve the same objectives – maximum profit and minimal risk to themselves – they should avoid engaging in conflict with one another. This appears to be a somewhat paradoxical attempt to ensure interurban competitiveness via an anti-competitive approach to planning. Under this approach, anyone who disagrees with the 'consortium' marks themselves as not sharing in the 'unity of principles' outlined by the Alsop Vision, and therefore poses a risk to the identity of Middlehaven developed through the project. Indeed, consideration of Rancière's (2001) notion of the 'partition of the sensible', which is carried out by those who claim legitimate authority (in this case, those leading the Developers Workshops), is of use here: The 'partition of the sensible' defines how, in what form, where and by whom political participation can be achieved, and necessarily entails exclusions. It is, according to Rancière (2001), "on the one hand, that which separates and excludes; on the other, that which allows participation" (20). It is such that through building consensus through a discourse of shared values, the 'partition of the sensible' is drawn in such a way which precludes democratic political engagement in the planning of the regeneration. Indeed, as Allmendinger and Haughton (2012) suggest, in a consensus-based approach to governance, particular ideas are not able to emerge, as only those which are compatible with the already agreed approach are considered reasonable to debate.

As Brown (2015) asserts, neoliberal values permeate through all of society, resulting in a form of reasoning which excludes ideas which may conflict with the neoliberal drive to enhance financial value by economising all aspects of life (either directly or indirectly via self-investment). This economisation, and more specifically the way that all values are measured in an economic sense, Brown (2015) suggests, is undermining democracy, as possibilities which appear to hold low economic value (regardless of their use value), are framed as unfeasible, and undesirable. Therefore, a 'consortium approach' to redevelopment which builds economic value by ensuring a low investment to returns ratio and reducing risk to investors is framed as the most sensible option, while other possibilities disappear.

Given that the 'Over the Border' label is associated with morally coded connotations (as discussed in chapter 4), the way in which morality (in particular, the notion of 'goodness') is employed as a means of securing consensus around the demolition of St Hilda's is worth considering. As Gray and Porter (2015) argue, exceptional measures such as the issuing of Compulsory Purchase Orders (CPOs) are often justified by local authorities using a discourse of necessity, and by the notion that such measures are in the

interests of a ‘common good’. This discourse of necessity can be located in the CPO Statement of Case and Statement of Reasons documents published by Middlesbrough Council (Middlesbrough Council 2014a; Middlesbrough Council 2014b), which set out the reasons for the issuing of CPOs for housing at St Hilda’s in order that they may be demolished. As has been previously discussed, the stigma attached to the St Hilda’s area works to construct it as an exceptional space in which regeneration emerges as necessity. Thus, the notion that regeneration (and the issuing of CPOs) is necessary is drawn upon in the CPO documents, as well as the notion that such regeneration is in the public interest. Indeed, the documents provide a brief history of the repeated cycles of redevelopment in St Hilda’s, concluding that:

> “Unfortunately, none of these regeneration efforts ultimately proved successful. The St Hilda’s area is, once again, in dire need of assistance to ensure its long-term viability and survival.” (Middlesbrough Council, 2014b: 10).

It is such that the documents state that the demolition of the St Hilda’s area is “essential” to the progression of the regeneration programme at Middlehaven, and that it is in the interests of a common good that demolition must go ahead:

> “The Council is satisfied that there are compelling reasons for acquiring the Order Land in the public interest which outweigh the effect of acquisition on individual rights” (Middlesbrough Council, 2014b: 8).

Clearly, this appears to contravene the notion that “we live in a world… where the rights of private property and the profit rate trump all other notions of rights one can think of” (Harvey, 2008). It is only by framing regeneration as necessity that the council is able to justify the ‘exceptional measure’ of issuing CPOs (Gray and Porter, 2015). Indeed, as Gray and Porter (2015) assert, the discourse of necessity in relation to regeneration works to justify the use of CPOs, which in turn facilitate state-led neoliberal development of urban spaces. It is such that while property and profit are held as important rights, these particular rights are not available to everyone, but are reserved for those in a position to most advance the neoliberal agenda of the local authority. Indeed, as Bob, an elected councillor and Executive Member, states:

> “We try and gain control of land, basically. Sometimes, because one of the things about when developers arrive and want to parcel stuff up, if several people own the land it gets immensely complicated. Selling, of course, the last bit of land, always

> gets that bit more expensive and awkward to buy when people see land values rising. So we do encourage developers that way…But that's the sort of thing we do. We try and seal it. We try and clear the land so it's ready to build on. Making sure it's ready for the urban pioneers, and indeed for industries as well... We're talking to the Homes and Communities Agency, who own land over there about getting that land under our control so that we can then say 'look, this is what we plan to do'. Because there's obviously a problem that speculators see land for sale that might be valuable in the future, it does happen that they buy it, and it stifles our ambitions, or can do. So if we can say to people 'look, that's ready if you want it. It's there'" – Bob

It therefore appears that the council aims to prevent present land-owners from making significant profits on their land by purchasing land from them prior to the emergence of interest from potential investors, thus ensuring that such profits are reserved for investors. Neil Smith's (1987) concept of the rent gap, in which the disparity between the current ground rent and potential achievable rent must be large enough to ensure a sizable profit for investors/gentrifiers (as previously discussed), reveals that such an approach to land ownership by the Council is part of a process of planned gentrification. Indeed, while Harvey (1989) asserts that a speculative approach to development is a key part of entrepreneurial governance, the council has taken steps to ensure that such speculation is limited to those who have the means to develop the Middlehaven site in line with the Vision highlighted in the Greater Middlehaven Delivery Plan (Alsop, 2004a) and Middlehaven Development Framework (Middlesbrough Council, 2012).

It follows that some residents of St Hilda's objected to the CPOs they were issued with on the grounds that they were not felt to be in the public interest:

> "The acquiring authority says there are no developers unless the land is cleared. To me this is the private interest and not the public interest."

> "Empty land is more sellable to a private developer. How is private development in the public interest?" – Former owners of St Hilda's properties (Middlesbrough Council, 2014a)

However, where neoliberal urban development occurs, this private interest comes to be viewed as the public interest. Indeed, drawing on Harvey (2007), Molotch (1976) and Smith (2002), Gray and Porter (2015) suggest that "central to this urbanising logic is an ideology of economic growth as a means by which the "common good" can purportedly be realised" (386). And while the urban growth which this ideology aspires towards is in

practice deeply uneven and tends to generate the greatest benefits for elite actors (Molotch, 1976), the notion that neoliberal ideals of individuality and self-responsibility (both characteristics associated with Florida's (2002) creative class), can reap rewards for urban space remains prominent.

As this chapter has demonstrated, local governance in Middlesbrough, as elsewhere, is dominated by a tendency towards consensus which has the effect of post-politicising the processes of regeneration and demarginalisation. While the intentions of those council officers and councillors implementing policies and ideas designed to attract investment and deliver the regeneration project are 'good', this section has highlighted the importance of interrogating how certain options come to be constructed as 'good' in the first instance. Likewise, the notion of 'high quality' in the redevelopment of Middlehaven has been shown to be vague and arbitrary, while still providing justification and legitimation for decisions which position particular land-uses as either of a high enough quality for inclusion in the regeneration area or not. As the discussion of the Captain Cook pub illustrates, re-making place is not only an economic activity, but also has important cultural dimensions. As Bourdieu (1999) argues, social position is expressed in physical space, and so dissipation of an established working class community from an area inevitably alters the character of the place.

In a context in which those at the helm of governance in urban centres feel increasingly compelled to implement neoliberal policies which place great emphasis on economic growth, it follows that efforts to regenerate Middlehaven take an approach which is rooted in a desire to achieve consensus over what is good for the town, which invariably means economic growth. In this sense, neoliberalism, and the perceived risk of losing out on investment, is put to use as a tool of immanence to bring forth change in line with the desired image set out for Middlehaven in various planning documents. While this chapter has considered the implications of such an approach for local democracy, the following chapter (8) takes a more detailed look at how the interests of the town become aligned with business interests.

8. Open for Business: The Role of Private Enterprise in Shaping the Governance of Middlesbrough

8.1. Priming Sites for Investment: Entrepreneurialism and the Role of Business in the Governance of Middlehaven

Having previously discussed the bold and bright designs which make up a key part of Middlehaven (see Chapter 4), it is useful here to return to the notion of boosterism. In particular, given that Harvey (1989) suggests that boosterism is a strategy of entrepreneurial governance, here I will consider the ways in which the governance of Middlehaven can be considered to be entrepreneurial. As Leitner (1990) reveals, there exist multiple conflicting theorisations of entrepreneurial governance, but there is an acceptance that such an approach to governance is orientated toward an economic growth agenda (as discussed in chapter 2.3.). It follows that there is a strong focus on business in Middlesbrough, as is revealed in the council's Middlesbrough Investment Prospectus (Middlesbrough Council, 2017a). Indeed, the introduction to the prospectus is sub-headed with:

> "Middlesbrough is open for business - and looking forward to the future with ever-growing confidence and ambition." (4)

The suggestion that Middlesbrough is 'open for business' positions the town itself as a commercial entity. It appears, then, that (as highlighted in Chapter 6) entrepreneurial governance in Middlehaven takes the form of 'business-friendly' services and incentives offered by the council to investors, as well as endorsement of business and industry by the council. As Jessop (1998) suggests, many urban governments promote themselves as entrepreneurial in order to attract investment, and so appearing 'business-friendly' is in the local authority's best interests. While businesses and local authorities serve different interests and constituents, in the context of increased interurban competition, these interests are melded together in order to maintain economic growth which is positioned as integral to any locality (Molotch, 1976). Indeed, as Logan and Molotch (2010) suggest, the consensus amongst a range of groups (including local authorities and businesses) that economic growth is of critical importance unites these groups, with the result that any matters on which their interests are not closely aligned are considered secondary to their

aims, and are thus overlooked in order that the city may be produced and maintained as a 'growth machine'.

It is in this context that Middlesbrough Council attempts to align its approach to regeneration with business interests, which have become increasingly influential in UK public policy since the 1980s (Peck, 1995). Indeed, in line with Peck's (1995) assertion that this business influence is facilitated by the state through the provision of platforms from which to exert influence, business leaders in the Tees Valley are given such a platform in the form of the Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP), whose board consists of both elected councillors and select individuals from the local business community. The relationship between businesses and the council appears to be one of shared interest, though it is important to note that in the 'growth machine' context outlined above, local authorities are seemingly faced with a choice between remaining competitive (and appealing to business) or losing investment to other local authorities who are taking steps to remain competitive (Leitner, 1990). It follows that it is in both the council's and business interests to secure investment in Middlehaven, and businesses are not at the mercy of the council when it comes to local policies which affect them, but are actively involved in local governance. Indeed, Keith, a property developer, highlights the way in which business-leaders have influence on Middlesbrough Council's approach to the redevelopment of Middlehaven:

> "We worked closely with Ray Mallon, the then Mayor, and he ultimately assisted in having the remaining properties – residential properties – 'Over the Border' demolished… So we saw a potential for the future, but until those houses were demolished, nothing really happened… Ray Mallon, one of his desires and promises was to remove all the old derelict housing from Middlehaven. And a lot of it actually wasn't old. A lot of it - Tower Green - I remember them building it. It had only been built 20 years. But it had become a no-go area... So that was one of his desires. I think by us meeting him, showing him what we were doing, I think it pushed it up the agenda and it made it happen more quickly. Because what we were saying to Ray was 'we cannot regenerate [our building], and spend a million quid on it, if you've got this derelict property, vandalism, crime right opposite'. And I think that assisted in moving that process forward." – Keith

Here, Keith positions himself in his capacity as a business owner/property developer as instrumental in Middlesbrough Council's decision to demolish the housing at St Hilda's. Based on Keith's recollection of his role in influencing this decision, it appears that a business appetite for Ray Mallon's plans for St Hilda's was crucial to his ensuring that the housing was demolished within a particular time frame. Indeed, entrepreneurial

governance often involves the prioritisation of the interests of businesses at the expense of those with fewer capital assets, owing to a shift in focus from welfare to economic competition (Brenner, 2004). This goes some way to explaining the seemingly non-consultative way in which the council is reported to have gone about the demolition: Speaking to the Gazette following the announcement of the initial proposals to demolish the homes at St Hilda's, Ray Mallon, then mayor of Middlesbrough, stated that:

> "There will now be a consultation period and no doubt numerous people will have their say about the proposals and the importance of the community of St Hilda's. However, I am convinced that at the conclusion of the consultation period housing in St Hilda's will still be razed to the ground" – Ray Mallon, quoted in the Gazette (2013a).

These comments were made by Ray Mallon in advance of a consultation process, which set out to allow residents to share their views on the *potential* demolition of their homes. Indeed, a council report written at the beginning of the consultation period highlights that demolition was not officially a certain outcome:

> "[The report] seeks support to the principles of the master plan as a basis for wider consultation. In particular, it will highlight… the principles of a consultation process, which will be robust enough to accommodate the strategic aspects of the longer term regeneration vision and deal sensitively with the implications for residents and businesses of the potential eventuality of clearance" (Middlesbrough Council, 2004)

It becomes clear, then, that in the case of St Hilda's, consultation with businesses in Middlehaven had a seemingly far greater impact than consultation with local residents, to such an extent that the outcome of the public consultation on the proposed demolition of housing at St Hilda's was, in Ray Mallon's view, a foregone conclusion. The explicit way in which this public consultation is revealed here to be symptomatic of post-democratic politics, in that the result was apparently predetermined, is striking. Brown's (2015) understanding of the economisation of everyday life under neoliberal reasoning is useful for considering further this charade of democracy, as she reveals that the hegemony of neoliberal reason subsumes almost all areas of life into economic considerations, such that governance (understood as including and exceeding government) comes to be judged by its propensity for securing economic growth, and democracy risks being "hollowed out from within" (18). It is no surprise, then, that Ray Mallon took such a position, which favours business interests (and thus economic growth), in the context of a normative system of

reasoning which positions economic competition above all else. Indeed, as Lees (2014) asserts, under the system of capitalism, working class residents are often constructed as disposable in order to facilitate accumulation by dispossession (see Harvey, 2003b), and so it appears that Middlesbrough Council's favouring of the interests of capital are consistent with the trends in urban governance which have risen along with neoliberal capitalism.

It appears, then, that neoliberal interests take precedence in the governance of Middlehaven, and that business interests therefore are prioritised in the regeneration plans. The influential role of business interests in governance is nothing new in Middlesbrough. Indeed, the governance of early Middlesbrough was largely controlled by those involved (at high levels) in the iron or retail industries, and Henry Bolckow (one of those credited with founding Middlesbrough's iron industry) was both the town's first Mayor and first Member of Parliament (Sadler, 1990). Clearly, Bolckow occupied the positions of business leader and politician simultaneously and explicitly. This represents a departure from the way in which the relationship between politics and business – in particular the involvement of business leaders in local politics – tends to be framed in the present. As the following quote from Douglas, a council officer, suggests, the construction of business interests as politically neutral is critical in the legitimisation of this prioritisation of business interests in the present:

> "[It's important to have business leaders on the board of the LEP] because people will take the economic case, the evidence, the strategic direction from people who've lived it, breathed it, and done it in the private sector. The public sector and politicians, and civil servants, and even on a national level, we can say things until we're blue in the face, and it's almost a case of 'well you would [say that], because you're the public sector'. It seems to have a new level of authenticity and credence and credibility when it comes from the private sector. A person from a successful business who hasn't got a particular political axe to grind, and understands the cold-faced real world of the business community, seems to have a lot of gravitas to add to the arguments." – Douglas

Here, Douglas suggests that business leaders have no 'political axe to grind', and understand the 'real world'. It is such that business leaders are understood as being politically neutral, and are viewed as authorities on market-related issues. This is despite the key role which businesses have in the governance of Middlehaven, either directly (via the LEP and initiatives such as Digital City, as will be discussed later in this chapter), or indirectly (via the way in which Middlesbrough Council makes concerted effort to cater to their needs). This resonates with Hall's (2005) discussion of 'New Public Management', in

which (local and central) government takes on the management practices traditionally associated with private enterprise with the aims of improving efficiency and encouraging entrepreneurialism. In championing this logic from the late 1990s onwards, New Labour "spread the gospel of 'market fundamentalism'—markets and market criteria as the true measure of value—far and wide" (Hall, 2005: 323). The understanding that there is an intrinsic 'truth' to market values (and business interests) has therefore been entrenched in local government for at least two decades.

It is this guise of political neutrality which works to ensure that what is portrayed as necessity by these businesses is considered to be nothing more than 'reality', and one which cannot be questioned without ignorance to the 'cold-faced real world'. It is such that Middlesbrough Council, through its entrepreneurial approach to governance, strives to contrive a 'reality' in Middlehaven which is conducive to lucrative business activity. The dismissal of the authority of public sector figures via the declaration that "you would say that because you're the public sector" also warrants attention here. The sentiment that viewpoints from the public sector are inevitably less 'credible' simply because they are from the public sector is seemingly accepted by Douglas. This appears to be an example of symbolic violence: Bourdieu identifies symbolic violence in the valuing of practices associated with a middle class habitus at a higher level than those associated with a working class habitus such that "differences of economic and cultural capital are misperceived as differences of honour" (Weininger, 2005: 142). In this case, symbolic violence exists where neoliberal interests are misrecognised as an objective 'cold-faced' reality, so that private viewpoints become more highly valued than those from the public sector. As Hastings and Matthews (2015) assert, this misrecognition enables the domination entailed in symbolic violence to go largely unnoticed, and thereby functions as "a form of 'hidden persuasion' which diverts attention away from alternative understandings of the world, such as from conceptions of policy priorities and problems capable of challenging class dominance" (549), or the dominance of neoliberal interests.

It is worth considering here how this 'reality' is presented as common sense in such a way that it becomes understood in policy as the only reality, as opposed to one of many coexisting realities experienced by a range of diverse interest groups. Indeed, while this 'cold faced' reality of the business world is clearly orientated toward capital accumulation for business elites, when treated as simple common sense it can be presented as politically neutral. As Keil (2002) asserts in his discussion of "neoliberalism as governmentality" (582), neoliberal governance has led to increased individualisation and responsibilisation

of citizens, who are expected to behave as 'clients' in the market place, owing to a reduction in the distinction between society and the market. This lack of distinction is explained by Brown (2015) as the 'economisation' of areas of life previously considered separate from the economy or markets, in which "all conduct is economic conduct; all spheres of existence are framed and measured by economic terms and metrics, even when those spheres are not directly monetized" (Brown, 2015: 10). Given that neoliberal reasoning has led to this 'economisation' of the vast majority of domains of life (Brown, 2015), it follows that a reality based upon experiences of the market can be presented as the only one which matters: Any other 'reality' is subsumed to the 'reality' with most resonance for the neoliberal rationale.

Indeed, Middlesbrough Council has taken on the role of entrepreneurial local authority in order to make Middlesbrough as attractive as possible to potential investors. As Keith asserts, Middlesbrough has:

> "a very proactive council.
>
> Q: Proactive in what way?
>
> A: In terms of engaging with businesses, can-do attitude. I mean, we practice across the North. We're in other towns in the North and in the North West, and Middlesbrough council is by far the most proactive council, than any we deal with." – Keith, a property developer

This 'proactivity' is key to Middlesbrough council's offering to the business community. Indeed, as Douglas, a council officer working on Middlehaven's redevelopment, asserts, given the cuts to local authority budgets taken in the name of austerity, while the Tees Valley Unlimited LEP is able to offer businesses some financial incentives (such as up to 100% business rate relief for 5 years to businesses locating in the local enterprise zone which makes up part of the Middlehaven regeneration area (Tees Valley Unlimited, 2015)), Middlesbrough Council is increasingly forced to limit its spending and can no longer afford to provide other financial incentives to businesses investing in Middlesbrough. It follows, then, that Douglas considers the role of the council in securing investment to be one of "less delivery and more enablement":

> "So we're there to enable, make life easier for the businesses, hold their hand through the planning applications and developing their area, championing the area, and singing from the roof tops about how good we are, but mainly to give confidence and just enable these businesses to come to what is a natural bedfellow for them… It doesn't necessarily mean giving them money, or financial support or anything like that. It's more about, if there was a mantra, I would say it's 'don't make it more difficult than it has to be'. Investors have to jump through an awful lot of hoops… They just want certainty, and they just want to know that the information they're getting is correct – it comes from a certain source. They know they can pick up the phone and speak to one of my team, one of the client managers for the council, and get the information quickly and relevantly. Because getting correct information in a quick timescale can make the difference between investment happening and not. And I think they're really appreciative of the personal touch that we give, in terms of we build strong client relationships with businesses. And as I say, it's not about money, because we very rarely have any money to give them. And it's not about doing work for them. It's just making sure that the path that they've carved out for themselves is as easy as possible, and that makes the difference. Because not all local authorities, by a long way, not all local authorities do that kind of service." – Douglas

It is clear, then, that (in Douglas's assessment) Middlesbrough council prides itself on providing a 'service' to the business community which is not available in many other locations. By behaving in this manner, going out of their way to help businesses to invest with ease in Middlesbrough, the council sets itself apart from other local authorities in its attempt to remain a competitive urban unit (see Leitner, 1990). In Middlehaven, particular emphasis is placed on attracting businesses involved in the creative and digital industries. Bob, an elected councillor and Executive Member, explains that this is because:

> "We know that high-tech's the way to go, because you can't, you can't really compete in a global market with cheap manufacturing. It's the ideas thing, the development and the link to the college, and the link to the university." – Bob

Indeed, other individuals working on behalf of Middlesbrough Council, either as elected councillors or officers, echo this sentiment, and go on to suggest that replacing industrial businesses in the Middlehaven area with businesses which form part of the knowledge economy is an economic necessity:

> "[Redevelopment was needed in Middlehaven because of] social and economic deterioration in the area. There was, as I say, a lot of poverty over there. A lot of opportunity as well, in terms of these industries, many of the businesses over there, and industries that had located over there, had come to the end of their life in terms of the economic cycle. Those industries had wound down, not to be reinvented anywhere else. They were old, turn of the century, early 1900 industries that served their purpose at the time. We knew that the manufacturing and process sectors,

> especially in the heavy industries like steel works, and everything else, were on a downturn and were unlikely to recover. So the time was right to actually fundamentally change the type of activity that was on there, and it was such a large area that it gave an opportunity to fundamentally rethink what could be done in that riverside area." – Douglas

The idea that a shift in the industrial make-up of Middlehaven is required is, according to Douglas, based on the notion that the industrial businesses located there had 'reached the end of their life'. However, as previously discussed, many of these industrial businesses are still in operation, and are concerned about being displaced during the regeneration process (see quote from Yvonne in Chapter 4.1.), and as such, it is reasonable to suggest that these businesses have not all reached the end of their lives. Important here is the neoliberal notion of success outlined by Lance, a council officer working on regeneration in Middlesbrough:

> "Everybody when you sign a contract wants to have a bit of a party and say 'haven't we done well?'. And you can't do well until it's been up and running for three or four years, and you know it's successful. And I think we're still in a stage of development of Middlehaven. It's still got, it's got a lot there, but it's got a long way to go still. And I don't think you can ever be complacent, until such a time as you get to a point where you're seeing almost a finish line, and values have risen, and the place is working, and the market's delivering it." – Lance, a council officer

The notion that success can be assumed once the 'market is delivering' and 'values have risen' in Middlehaven is one which is based on the neoliberal ideal of the freedom of the market from (local) state interference, and envisages 'the market' as a force in its own right (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). Given that the regeneration of Middlehaven is intended to involve demarginalisation of the area, this notion of success warrants further attention. Indeed, the suggestion that rising values is a marker of success, while clearly in line with neoliberal ideals, overlooks issues of affordability, local employment and wages, and equality. In the context of a marginalised space, such considerations are clearly important when considering what might constitute 'success'. It is useful here to interrogate the notion of market delivery in Middlehaven as a condition of success. Indeed, given that the industrial businesses which the council hopes to replace with creative industries were still in operation before the onset of regeneration, it appears that such a principle was not employed in such a decision, as arguably, it is not the market which is threatening the closure or displacement of such businesses, but the council itself. As previously discussed,

actually existing neoliberal governance involves not the roll-back of state 'interference', but a shift from welfare to business orientated policy (Keil, 2009; Leitner et al., 2007) and so the neoliberal approach of governance in Middlehaven is indisputable. Of note here though, is that while the council is clearly behaving in a manner which favours business, it does not apply its neoliberal ideals indiscriminately: The 'business-friendly' approach to the regeneration of Middlehaven favours a particular kind of business.

This makes sense when viewed in relation to the vision set out in the Middlesbrough Investment prospectus, which proudly declares that "by 2025 Middlesbrough will be the thriving, distinctive cultural centre at the heart of the Tees Valley. Culture will be the golden thread running through the successful development of our people and our place" (Middlesbrough Council, 2017:9). Indeed, this comparison of culture to precious metal is revealing, as it suggests that the attraction of the creative economy is enriching to the town both terms of culture and in terms of monetary value. While the emphasis placed on creativity in Middlehaven (including the creative digital industries) is important in terms of attracting the lucrative creative class to the area (as has been discussed in Chapters 4 and 5), further analysis of the structures of governance in Middlehaven reveal that this focus is no coincidence. As Figure 16 (see chapter 6.1.) indicates, Teesside University, which runs a range of digital and creative courses, has an important role in the governance of Middlesbrough. Such is the case that Douglas, a council officer, believes that:

> "Teesside University is probably – I'm trying to think who I'm going to offend here. Hopefully no-one – Probably the most important partner that we have in Middlesbrough bar none at the moment. They're at the forefront of many of the investments and regeneration initiatives. They supply our town with skilled graduates. They are a massive factor when it comes to attracting businesses to the area. They have meaningful and professional employment opportunities. [Businesses] need to know that they've got a pipeline of potential staff, well-skilled staff, coming through, and that is often a major tipping point in them choosing the area over any other given area... [Teesside University has] been heavily involved with the Boho initiative, and they are our pipeline for the digital media cluster which we're developing at Middlehaven at the moment. So we have digital and creative businesses in the Boho cluster, and I would argue that 80-90% of them come from Teesside University… Boho has been a very popular zone. It seems to be the focal point for the Tees Valley". – Douglas

Clearly, Teesside University is considered to be a highly valuable asset to Middlesbrough, and has been an important player in the redevelopment of Middlehaven

via the Boho Zone. Consideration of the LEP, Tees Valley Unlimited, further reveals the extent of Teesside University's role in the Middlehaven redevelopment: Prior to a reshuffling of the board members of the LEP in 2017, four of the eight business-facing board members had affiliations with Teesside University. One role of LEPs, as set out in the Local Growth white paper (2010), is "working with Government to set out key investment priorities, including transport infrastructure and supporting or coordinating project delivery" (HM Government, 2010). Given that the LEP is influential in determining investment priorities, it makes sense that Teesside University's interests should be well served by redevelopment at Middlehaven. Indeed, Teesside University leads Digital City, which provides digital services to businesses in the Boho Zone of Middlehaven, and is therefore important in attracting businesses to the area and in producing it as a digital hub. According to Vincent, a business owner in Middlehaven, tenants of business space in some of the council-owned Boho buildings are required to vacate the premises after a set period of time in order to ensure that there is both a constant supply of suitable creative office space for graduates of Teesside University, and a constant demand for such graduates in the regeneration area. Indeed, parts of the Boho Five building are designed specifically for the 'incubation' of start-up businesses in their early stages (Love Middlesbrough, 2019). Thus, while Middlehaven's demand for young entrepreneurs in the digital sector is met by Teesside University's involvement in local governance, through such initiatives Teesside University is also able to provide good prospects for its students.

As previously discussed, the disempowered nature of local governance and shrinking council budgets since the 1980s is such that private investment and securing commercial growth is high on the agenda for many local authorities. As Arthur, an elected councillor and scrutiny panel member, asserts:

> "The council, basically, doesn't have any money any more. We don't particularly fund everything ourselves anymore because a lot of the cuts have impacted greatly on what we can do directly as a council. So what we tend to do is facilitate the circumstances for private developers and people to come in and to carry out work, and to bring areas back into use. So there's been a lot of that around in Middlehaven thus far." – Arthur

It is important, then, to bear in mind this backdrop when considering why relationships with companies and institutions such as Teesside University have become so important to Middlesbrough Council. Florida (2002) argues that universities as 'creative

hubs' are important to urban economies for their role in producing "the 3Ts of creative places – technology, talent and tolerance" (292), but that local policy makers often consider the value of universities and their creativity to lie within their propensity for producing commercially valuable research. As such, it is clear that Teesside University represents an exchange value which the council deems to be important to their agenda for economic growth and development.

Here, this section has highlighted the role of business interests in the regeneration of Middlehaven, and the entrepreneurial approach taken by the council as a means of attracting investment to the area. Of importance here is the way in which business interests are constructed as being based invariably on 'economic realities', which works to form a consensus around courses of action which favour these interests as the distinction between economy and society becomes blurred under neoliberal logic (see Brown, 2015). Also at stake here is the capacity of local authorities to enact positive change amidst a perceived compulsion for local authorities to act in the interests of business as an indirect means of serving their constituents. In a climate of continued budget cuts and austerity, this is a key issue for examination here. This financial context will be explored in further detail in the following section (8.2).

8.2. A Novel Approach: Regeneration under Conditions of Austerity

Following the framing of the 2007/2008 financial crisis as a crisis of sovereign debt (Blyth, 2013), local authorities across the UK have experienced significant budget cuts under the auspices of 'austerity'. In the five years after austerity measures were officially introduced by the conservative-liberal democrat coalition government in 2010, centrally-imposed cuts to the Local Government division of the Local Government and Communities Department amounted to a reduction in funding of over 50% - the largest of any cuts to government departments in that period (Gray and Barford, 2018). Middlesbrough Council is no exception to this, and has seen its spending power for the 2018/19 financial year diminished by £45.8 million compared with 2010/11 (Ottewell, 2018). It is no coincidence that 900 council jobs have been cut in Middlesbrough since 2010 (BBC News, 2019). As Gray and Barford (2018) show, the effects of austerity in the UK are geographically variable, and the spending cuts implemented locally are profoundly uneven: As one of the English local authority areas which previously relied on central government grants for over 70% of their budgets (approximately one quarter of English local authorities fall into this group), by 2016, Middlesbrough had undergone a 34% reduction in spending on service provision since 2010 (Amin-Smith et al., 2016). It is such that Middlesbrough Council has had to find alternative means of funding the services it provides, as articulated by Dave Budd, the (now former) Mayor of Middlesbrough:

> "How local government still exists with effectively 50% cuts beats me sometimes. We've had to concentrate on what we can do, rather than what we can't do. But everywhere we look, whether it's the health service, or police, or local government, it's fraying round the edges. And we've lost hundreds of people working for the council as well. But what it's meant is that we know that we've got to change this place in order to provide any services at all. So we've got to get businesses here, we've got to build houses to increase council tax and business rates and so on. Otherwise, those services would collapse in a heap. So we made a decision some time ago to quite deliberately grow in as many ways as we can, to enable us to keep some services going." – Dave, Mayor of Middlesbrough at the time of the interview

And while it would be overly simplistic to suggest that austerity is the only factor contributing to this approach to operations within the council, it is also too significant to ignore. Indeed, this is of particular relevance when considered in relation to the creative image which Middlesbrough Council aims to construct for Middlehaven. While much emphasis is placed on the creative appearance of the landscape, and on the role of creative industries in the regeneration of Middlehaven in various planning documents (see for

example Alsop, 2004a), it appears that creativity has become increasingly important in governance itself. As Ward (2007) suggests, the drive toward creativity in urban spaces is closely related to, and characteristic of, the entrepreneurial urbanism which has been extremely prevalent in urban governance for several decades already (Harvey, 1989). However, Merrifield (2014) asks whether the creativity assumed to be present in entrepreneurialism – and in particular the methods by which already wealthy elites acquire an even greater wealth through their investments in urban space and activity – is simply the 'pretence' of creativity, rather than genuine innovation, given that such 'creativity' is invariably based on accumulating wealth and often fails to seek value beyond the economic.

Nonetheless, it makes sense that creativity is seen as important in the governance of Middlesbrough given Jessop's (1998) assertion that a key motivation for urban governments carrying out creative entrepreneurial projects is the fact that this enables them to go on being entrepreneurial by marketing themselves as entrepreneurial (or creative), thereby attracting further investment. Indeed, as Leslie (2005) suggests, the industrial economy has been superseded by the symbolic economy in attempts at city boosterism, which are seen as integral to growth. And so while the governing logics which lead to a creative approach to regeneration in Middlehaven (in terms of the manner of delivery on the part of the council) are long established in towns and cities across the world, Arthur, an elected councillor and scrutiny panel member, suggests that the challenges presented by austerity are a key factor in Middlesbrough Council's current approach to investment and growth in the town:

> "It's something we, me and a colleague of mine were discussing this at the party conference, whether austerity, despite the fact we hate it, might actually have forced councils to do things in a more interesting and innovative way because they've had to. Because we haven't got any money, so we need to think differently about how local government works and how we do things. And that probably is true to an extent. But the two things aren't mutually exclusive. We could have done so much more [with the regeneration] if we had more money… councils, the way we operate has had to change drastically. And in a way, you end up kind of, rather than direct public investment, the public sector needs to be a facilitator for private investment. So it's how can you draw private sector investment into your area… But would I like a bigger cheque from government? Yeah I would, yeah. A much bigger cheque. But it won't happen, so." - Arthur

It appears, then, that in Arthur's assessment, creativity from within the council is premised upon not just "the colourful landscape, radical design and state-of-the-art

buildings" (Tees Valley Regeneration, 2004) designed to attract creative professionals, but also on the council's approach to securing investment, and to financing its projects. Peck (2017) asserts that entrepreneurial approaches to urban governance in the present involve "the churn of relatively shallow 'innovations'" (13) which preclude the possibility of genuinely creative approaches owing to the tendency of local authorities to import and recycle increasingly mainstream urban development strategies for fear of losing out in the game of interurban competition (Leitner, 1990). Indeed, as local authorities in the UK attempt to reduce their financial dependence on central government in order to cope with extreme cuts to their budgets, urban financialisation has risen to prominence in the form of Tax Increment Financing (Strickland, 2013), Business Rate Retention and the growth of Enterprise Zones (Muldoon-Smith and Greenhalgh, 2015).

However, as Strickland (2013) asserts, Tax Increment Financing - which involves local authorities borrowing against projected increases in revenue from taxes which may be achieved through development in a particular location which enhances rental values in that space - may produce uneven effects across the UK, owing to varying rates of growth in different localities. Indeed, think tank Centre for Cities identifies Middlesbrough as having one of the lowest increases in business rates in the UK, and therefore suggests that Tax Increment Financing may be unsuitable for the town and others in a similar economic position (Wilcox and Larkin, 2011).

The Business Rate Retention scheme (BBRS), introduced by national government in 2013, allows local governments to retain up to 50% of business rates received from businesses in their jurisdictive areas (Gray and Barford, 2018). The scheme is thereby designed to encourage local authorities to take steps to attract investors in order to maximise the funding they can earn through the scheme. However, as Muldoon-Smith and Greenhalgh (2015) explain, places which have experienced recent industrial decline, including Teesside, are not in a strong position to benefit as much as many other local authorities from the BBRS due to low rental values and low demand from potential investors. Efforts to increase the provision of business-taxable property floor space in Middlesbrough through the regeneration of Middlehaven – thereby financialising the town's assets under the BRRS (see Muldoon-Smith and Greenhalgh, 2015) – and the entrepreneurial approach to competing with other urban areas for investment, as discussed in the previous section (8.1), must be viewed in light of the funding mechanisms available to local government.

Lacking the means to fund development projects directly, and in the interests of presenting as an entrepreneurial, innovative local authority, Middlesbrough Council nonetheless pursues what can be understood as creative financial approaches:

> "In many ways the fact that we don't have that type of money any more has been liberating, because we've had to be more novel about the way we support schemes in our town centre. For example, the Holiday Inn hotel, which we partially financed, was a situation where there was a £12.5 million hotel renovation project. The business case stood up against the scrutiny of every professional body that could look at it. The problem was that the banks, the mainstream banks, were still nervous after the recession, and were unwilling to lend… Some would lend, but it was on commercially non-favourable rates, or non-viable rates. So the council actually, with much due diligence and much negotiation, stepped in and actually took the role of being a bank… So we could borrow money under the potential borrowing act, and then lend it out to a third party for a higher interest rate than we were paying, so we make a financial return on that money…It's another signal that Middlesbrough's open for business, and that we get the business world, and that we're willing to support it. So the money that we got in from that scheme, it's paying its loan off, and we're making a healthy profit on top of that after we've paid all of our costs, and that profit is being directed to services, so instead of cuts to the equivalent of the money we're making back from that scheme, we don't have to make those cuts anymore." – Douglas, a council officer

Here, Douglas, a council officer, outlines what he describes as a 'novel' approach to financing a development in Middlesbrough town centre, as necessitated by the reduction in funding to local government. As investors in the hotel project attest in Middlesbrough's Investment Prospectus (Middlesbrough Council, 2017a), this was a scheme understood by the involved parties as requiring "vision, ambition and creativity" (15) to bring it to fruition. But while the financial details of the delivery of this scheme may be novel in local government, the premise of the scheme itself is not: It was in 1976 that Molotch conceptualised the city as a 'growth machine', in which securing economic growth is understood to be the organising principle of governance in the urban setting. The impetus for the council's financial involvement with the development of the Holiday Inn Express in Middlesbrough is, according to Douglas, to enable the council to continue funding services in the town using the profit from the interest gained on the third-party loan. It is such that, on this basis and in the context of continued cuts to local authority budgets, sustained growth via investment in the local area would be required in order to continue to deliver such services. It therefore follows that creativity and innovation are required in governance as a means of securing developments (which are often in themselves creative, aesthetically

or otherwise) in order to deliver the mundane, existing services integral to sustaining urban communities.

It appears, then, that governance orientated towards economic growth in Middlesbrough is also orientated towards providing services for local people, and more specifically, toward securing finances to enable the provision of essential services in the face of major budget cuts from the level of national government. However, as Harvey (1989) asserts, during the drive for economic growth which entrepreneurialism encapsulates, governance which disadvantages those less equipped to accumulate capital is commonplace. Indeed, as this thesis has made clear in chapters 6 and 7, while the regeneration of Middlehaven relies on investment from businesses in order to secure its success, the focus on the digital and creative industries leads to a high degree of selectivity in terms of the types of businesses which are sought. As a draft of the Alsop Masterplan suggests:

> "Middlesbrough has an international reputation for animation and the aim is that the tree-lined Victorian terraces and warehouses [in Middlehaven], with their winding staircases and creaking floorboards will become full of film-makers and editors, animators and computer graphics whiz-kids". – Alsop, 2004b (73)

Indeed, it is precisely this clustering of creative industries (or more specifically, creative people) which Florida (2002; 2007) argues is key to the economic vitality of urban spaces in the twenty first century, and which Mike, the owner of a creative business based in Middlehaven, sees as important both to the success of digital companies based in Middlehaven and to the image of Teesside as a whole:

> "Being part of the wider cluster and being part of the wider growing creative and digital sector, feels like that sort of, that's the sum of its parts, if you like. There are a number of companies round here that are contributing to that. The growth of the digital and creative economy on Teesside – we feel that we're a part of that. We feel it's really important that we're making the case to the combined authority, and the wider North East, and sort of what's happening with the Northern Powerhouse, that actually we help collectively put Teesside on the map, and just showcase what's happening here, and some of the capabilities of the companies that are starting, growing, and building here… I think in the last 10 years, creative and digital is starting to stand up on its own as its own sector, and the eyes of certainly, certainly the North East, the UK, and hopefully the wider world, are looking at this as somewhere that's really exciting. Up and coming part of the UK that's growing some really, really innovative digital companies from gaming to web development, to software applications to mobile. Yeah, it's a really, really exciting time, I think, to be on Teesside and to be part of this digital cluster." – Mike

As such, it is clear that the clustering of digital and creative businesses in Middlehaven (and particularly within the Boho Zone) is viewed by the business community as having positive effects, both for their own company performance, and for the image of the town as a whole. This shift to a creative industry in Middlehaven must be understood in relation to the threat of displacement of industrial businesses in the area which are framed as having come to the end of their economic life (as discussed in section 8.1). Indeed, at the same time as particular spaces are framed as in need of regeneration, and certain land uses are identified as unsuitable for aligning Middlehaven with the council's ambitions for the space, efforts are made to secure an economically sustainable future via the attraction of creative industries to the area.

The impetus behind the entrepreneurial approach taken towards regeneration has been discussed in detail in this section, and the use of creative approaches to investment and growth as a means of delivering mundane, essential objectives has been highlighted. The financial constraints on Middlesbrough Council, including austerity, and the local lack of viability of financialisation techniques (such as Tax Increment Financing), have produced an approach to growth which individual councillors consider to be 'novel' or 'innovative'. Thus, while entrepreneurial governance is often not truly innovative, due to the spread of the same 'creative' practices between competing cities (Peck, 2017), the particular conditions of regeneration in Middlehaven preclude the use of many of these practices. And given that the neoliberal rationale positions growth as the only option, it follows that Middlesbrough Council is compelled to deliver growth in comparably innovative ways. By setting the regeneration in the context of austerity, this section has unpacked the driving forces behind the creative approach to regeneration (both in terms of the techniques employed by the council in attracting investment, and the creative 'ethos' of the regeneration itself).

Overall, this chapter has sought to unpack the logics underpinning the approaches to regeneration which have been taken in Middlehaven to date. As has been made clear, austerity – and the significant cuts to the local authority budget which have occurred since 2010 – has had a key role in re-shaping the priorities of the Council. Indeed, the reduction in central government funding has served to intensify the perceived economic imperative of competing for and attracting investment at the local level, often via an entrepreneurial approach (Muldoon-Smith and Greenhalgh, 2015). Of note here is that along with these

shifting priorities, the tightening of the local budget has also given way to a shift in the processes and decision-making involved in regeneration as a means of capitalising on land assets in order to boost local growth to secure the necessary financial capacity to deliver local services. This chapter has therefore concretely highlighted the way in which the regeneration of Middlehaven is intrinsically driven by and affected by a broader economic and policy context, which is itself inseparable from urban neoliberalism. The important role of business in the Middlehaven redevelopment project has been examined, and the way in which business interests are presented as apolitical has been shown to be critical in legitimising the influence of business interests in urban governance.

9. Conclusions

The central problem which this thesis stems from is one of urban inequality. As Rolnik (2019) highlights, urban inequality is worsening in towns and cities across the world. In the UK, for instance, austerity measures heighten already existing inequalities, with policies such as the removal of the spare room subsidy (known as the bedroom tax) targeting people "already living on the edge" (Rolnik, 2019: 1). Where urban inequality exists, marginality often appears alongside it, and bolsters that inequality. Indeed, as Wacquant (1999) reveals, marginality is both a consequence and cause of urban inequality. While many studies have sought to elucidate the forms of marginality which emerge in different urban settings across the world, considerably fewer have taken demarginalisation, and the processes and discursive moves involved in it, as their focus. This thesis has set out to explore the phenomenon of demarginalisation, and to consider how the processes involved operate in the territorially stigmatised area of Middlehaven. Through a combination of interviews, document analysis, walking ethnography and social network mapping, I have unpacked various elements of the processes of demarginalisation in Middlehaven, and revealed the role played by territorial stigma in the regeneration project.

Given the focus of the study on one particular locality, I conclude here not by making generalisations about marginality and demarginalisation, but by clarifying findings which have emerged over the course of this research, which can only be specific to Middlehaven. I also consider the contributions this study has made to the literatures outlined previously, and consider the implications of the findings outlined here. The research presented in this thesis has sought to reveal the ways in which territorial stigma is intertwined with regeneration in Middlehaven, and what forms attempts to demarginalise the area have taken. In considering the historical context of the area, as well as the discursive constructions surrounding the current phase of regeneration, the thesis has demonstrated how such attempts at demarginalisation have been justified by Middlesbrough Council and others involved in the redevelopment project, and thus enables reflections on what demarginalisation means – in terms of the processes and logics underlying this aim – in the context of Middlehaven. Such reflections are presented in this concluding chapter.

The nature of the process of regeneration (or gentrification) which has taken place in Middlehaven is such that demarginalisation in the context of this research can only be understood in relation to the space itself, rather than the population of that space.

Following Wacquant (2008), space is conceptualised as distinct from place, as localities of advanced marginality become spaces experienced as "potential voids" and "possible threats" (Smith, quoted in Wacquant 1996a: 126), rather than places in which communities may feel a sense of belonging and security. As Chapter 4 has shown, this distinction between the demarginalisation of space and population must be made owing to the fact that the regeneration attempt in Middlehaven set out to deliberately displace the former residents of the regeneration site (St Hilda's) in a demarginalisation effort centred on the 're-making of place' with a view to crafting a 'designer' urban landscape. However, as this thesis has demonstrated, the notion that territorial stigma can be removed via the removal of the population afflicted by that stigma is based on a morally-loaded perception of that population as responsible for the stigma which affects them. Such an understanding of territorial stigma therefore appears to be based on a misdiagnosis of Wacquant's (2008) blemish *of* place as a blemish *on* place. It follows that the displacement of the pre-regeneration population of St Hilda's has not resulted in the immediate eradication of the 'Over the Border' stigma. This serves to highlight, then, that the way in which territorial stigma is understood by those involved in governance and policy making has serious implications for the way in which that stigma can be dealt with.

The research presented in this thesis is the result of engagement with five key research questions, which are designed to enable consideration of several facets of demarginalisation via regeneration in Middlehaven. The research questions therefore form the basis of the conclusions drawn in this chapter. Here, the questions are laid out once more, and addressed one at a time in order that the conclusions arising from each one may be clearly articulated:

1. What are the origins of the 'Over the Border' label in Middlehaven?
2. What is the role of creativity in the Middlehaven regeneration scheme?
3. To what extent is the regeneration of Middlehaven contingent on the production or mobilisation of a territorial stigma?
4. What does it mean to be positioned on the margins of regeneration in Middlehaven?
5. How (and to what ends) does urban power operate in the governance of Middlehaven?

9.1. What are the origins of the 'Over the Border' label in Middlehaven?

This question began as a simple inquiry into the historical trajectory of the 'Over the Border' label which is used to inscribe a territorial stigma on the space it names. Indeed, consideration of the history of the Middlehaven/St Hilda's area has been important in revealing how the 'Over the Border' label came to be associated with a range of negative connotations, and in particular a criminalising discourse. Of course, as the literature review section of this thesis has made plain, the moral judgements evoked in the labelling of territorially stigmatised spaces – and the associated effects on resident populations whose reputations are all too often tarnished on account of their postcodes – are well documented (see, for example, Qvotrup Jensen and Christensen, 2012). This has placed the current phase of regeneration in Middlehaven in a context of cyclical regeneration over a period of more than a century. Having explored this historical context and engaged with the town's industrial history at various points in this study, through the use of document analysis, as well as existing literature, this thesis has argued that the 'Over the Border' label itself has a long and convoluted history in the Middlehaven area.

Indeed, it became apparent over the course of this research that answering this question must look beyond a linear history of the phrase 'Over the Border'. As engagement with Ruth Glass's (1948) writings on social planning in Middlesbrough reveals, the space of St Hilda's – which is now referred to as 'Middlehaven' – was not always considered to be peripheral with regards to the town's social infrastructures and service provision. Indeed, such a shift came later, following the decline of Middlesbrough's key heavy industry, which was largely based in the Middlehaven area. The 'Over the Border' label, which refers to the physical dividing line between Middlehaven and the town centre, formed by the railway line and A66 road, is therefore more complex than simply tracing a linear trajectory could reveal.

This thesis has argued that this drive to create a new place (branded as Middlehaven) from scratch in order to distance the space from the 'Over the Border' stigma associated with it conversely cements in the public imagination the notion that the 'Over the Border' label is intrinsically negative. Indeed, the label is not associated with the flashiness presented by Alsop's (2004a) Greater Middlehaven Delivery Plan and subsequent planning documents. Therefore, not only does this abandonment of the 'Over the Border' label by those planning the redevelopment result in a separation in public consciousness between the space they recognise as 'Over the Border' and the imagery

associated with ‘Middlehaven’, it also does little to offset the stigma associated with the term ‘Over the Border’. And while, following Butler (1993), this thesis has demonstrated that there is room for positive appropriation of the term by incoming residents, use of the ‘Over the Border’ label by these residents has been shown to be generally coupled with the simultaneous distancing from the term by the very individuals who claim to use it in a positive sense. It appears, then, that an approach to ‘remaking’ place which attempts to disregard its previously long-held identity does not replace that identity, but reinforces it as intrinsically negative.

However, as discussed in Chapter 4, despite the manifold negative impacts of living in a territorially stigmatised space which residents of the now-demolished St Hilda’s estate are reported to have faced, there remains a strong sense of attachment to the ‘Over the Border’ label within parts of the local community. Likewise, the use of the label by incoming residents has been shown to be markedly different from the more traditional uses of the term, which cast the space in an overwhelmingly negative light. And while it may be that claims which suggest that the ‘Over the Border’ label can be a ‘fun’ way of distinguishing the regeneration space from the rest of the town are countered by the way in which those who use the label in this way caveat their use of the term by explaining that the traditional perceptions of the space are misplaced, this does serve to highlight the diversity in understandings of the term; a diversity which focusing exclusively on the physical boundaries which ‘Over the Border’ refers to, or on the Victorian roots of the label, cannot reveal.

And so while the origins of the ‘Over the Border’ label are ostensibly to be found in the long history of industrial decline, poverty, and cyclical processes of regeneration in the site positioned on ‘the wrong side of the tracks’ (Amin et al., 2002), in answering Research Question 1, this thesis has shown that given the multiple meanings that the label holds for various interest groups and individuals, uses of the term themselves draw upon a far more diverse range of understandings. Indeed, understandings of the ‘Over the Border’ label, and the spatial imaginaries elucidated by the term, have their roots variously in the long history of territorial stigma in Middlehaven, industrial change, pride in one’s roots (particularly in cases where generations of one family have been raised in the area), and understandings of the space formed by a desire to ‘stand out’ in Middlehaven.

9.2. What is the role of creativity in the Middlehaven regeneration scheme?

This research question seemed somewhat obvious when approaching this research. To have avoided addressing it here would have been to overlook a significant aspect of the redevelopment project underway in Middlehaven. Indeed, with its silver-scaled college building, orange-cladded 'Boho Five' building, and brightly-coloured underpasses linking the town centre to the regeneration area, Middlehaven appears to epitomise a drive towards innovative design as a means of attracting external investment. And so while I have engaged with the literature which critiques Florida's (2007) notion of the creative-class, and indeed have found much to support such critiques, I maintain that creativity remains an important lens through which to understand urban transformations. This is particularly important in the setting of Middlehaven, where Will Alsop, an architect widely-renowned for his outlandish designs, was chosen by the local authority and Middlehaven Partners to produce the Masterplan which inspired many of the changes to the local landscape which have taken place to date.

An important finding which has arisen from this research is that the demarginalisation of Middlehaven is intended by planning documents, including the Greater Middlehaven Delivery Plan (Alsop, 2004a), to entail the transition of the space from a no-go area to a 'Designer Landscape'. Indeed, it appears that via the selection of arbitrarily defined 'high-quality' uses for the Middlehaven site which are reflective of Alsop's plans for a glossy urban space made up of architecturally distinguished 'icons', the regeneration of Middlehaven is oriented toward ridding the area of issues associated with advanced marginality (as defined by Wacquant (1996a; 2007; 2008)), though not necessarily of those associated with exclusivity. Indeed, while there are a few community-orientated features at Middlehaven, including the college, Customs House youth centre and Stages Academy, it remains important to recognise the exclusions implicit within Alsop's 'Designer Landscape'. While the regeneration site is noted to have been an exclusive and territorially defensive space prior to redevelopment, plans which aim to produce a 'Designer Landscape' inherently also tailor potential developments to a middle class habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). As such, plans for a demarginalised Middlehaven employ some of the same principles of exclusion which the project aims to address.

This is not necessarily at odds with approaches to urban development which in recent years have been propagated in locations across the world. Indeed, in order to manufacture a landscape considered desirable by investors, uses which run contrary to a

glossy, commercially-favourable image are increasingly excluded, often using punitive tactics (Miraftab, 2007). Interrogation of the governance of Middlehaven reveals that the Council takes a distinctly entrepreneurial approach to the delivery of the regeneration project, and in line with Jessop's (1998) arguments surrounding entrepreneurialism, Middlesbrough Council actively portrays itself as entrepreneurial in order to appeal to the businesses it hopes to attract to the area. Moving beyond the physical expression of creativity in Middlehaven's landscape, then, this thesis has demonstrated that creativity is also evident in the local authority's approach to securing investment.

Indeed, while the regeneration area's small residential offering caters largely to individuals employed (or often self-employed) in Middlehaven's fast-growing digital and creative industry, making creativity an evidently important element of the project, this thesis contends that less tangible elements of creativity are of at least equal importance in shaping the regeneration project. Through a discussion of entrepreneurial governance in Chapter 8, this thesis has demonstrated creativity within the local authority to be of importance for the delivery of public services. Indeed, while Peck (2017) shows that contemporary approaches to entrepreneurial governance - in which local authorities recycle supposedly innovative strategies implemented elsewhere as they try to keep up with interurban competition – tend not to be genuinely innovative, this research has shown that the local economy in Middlesbrough has meant that some such financial innovations (for example, tax increment financing) are nonviable in Middlehaven. As such, this research has shown that the approaches taken to securing investment and delivering redevelopment in Middlesbrough has tended to be more creative than much of the existing literature has found. This thesis contends that such creative approaches have been implemented as a means of delivering existing essential services, which are in themselves mundane, but which require a creative approach as the local authority has faced austerity and continues to navigate centrally-imposed budget cuts.

Research Question 2 has therefore been addressed through a consideration of techniques of attracting investment understood through a lens of entrepreneurial governance (Harvey, 1989), as well as through examination of the creativity inherent in the space of Middlehaven itself – expressed both through architecture and the design of public space (such as the urban park), and through the creative and digital industries encouraged to cluster there via a range of incentives. Of course, given the key role of such industries in the regeneration project, the role of people working in businesses in Middlehaven, who can be largely understood as creative professionals, cannot be overlooked in an assessment of

the role of creativity in Middlehaven. Indeed, in a regeneration project designed to attract skilled workers to populate its ‘digital hub’, the techniques involved in populating the space in this way are of importance here. This is discussed in greater detail in answer to Research Question 3.

9.3. To what extent is the regeneration of Middlehaven contingent on the production or mobilisation of a territorial stigma?

As has been elucidated over the course of this thesis, the stigma itself has played an integral part in the regeneration project at Middlehaven, and so there is a clear relationship between stigma and gentrification in the area. The research presented in this thesis has explored the various ways in which the 'Over the Border' stigma has been mobilised and continually reproduced in different ways and for different purposes. It is contended here that territorial stigma has played a few distinct roles in the regeneration of Middlehaven: Historical narratives are drawn upon in order to position the stigma as ingrained in the space, while the 'Over the Border' stigma is mobilised simultaneously as an obstacle to redevelopment which must be overcome if the area is to succeed in attracting investment, and also as a selling point for the area. Each of these mobilisations are discussed here.

First, the stigma has been framed in policy documents as something which must be overcome in order to deliver regeneration. This finding supports existing literature which argues that territorial stigma is often used as a justification for regeneration in marginalised areas (Kallin and Slater, 2014). Indeed, the 'Over the Border' label and its negative connotations have been instrumental in the justification of regeneration and associated 'exceptional' means of delivering redevelopment – namely, the issuing of CPOs to businesses and residents of the Middlehaven area, and demolition in Gresham. This thesis has demonstrated that by drawing on the history of repeated cycles of failed regeneration attempts in St Hilda's, some of which aimed to improve living conditions for the existing population, planning documents have been able justify the demolition of St Hilda's properties and subsequent displacement of the population as necessary. Building on this idea, this thesis has shown that recollection of histories of Middlesbrough – in particular St Hilda's as the original heart of the town - as a 'Capital of Sin' (Blackburn, 2016) also work to produce plans for regeneration which aim to 'overwrite' these histories as not only necessary, but desirable. Indeed, where a shared sense of historical shame is mobilised, the impetus to remove the stigma is heightened through the broadening of the spatial reach of the stigma in such a way as to encompass the historical roots of the entire town.

The positioning of the stigma as an obstacle which it is necessary to overcome is closely linked to the role of private businesses in the regeneration of Middlehaven, which was discussed in Chapters 5 and 7 of this thesis. Indeed, where investors articulate a desire for the demolition of a stigmatised housing estate to the council, the territorial stigma becomes cast as both obstacle and motivation for regeneration: It is an obstacle, in terms of

reducing the propensity for a rent gap to form (Slater, 2015), and also a motivation, in that responding to territorial stigma with regeneration is understood to be essential (again, invoking the notion of necessity which is so often a part of regeneration schemes in stigmatised spaces (Gray and Porter, 2015)) to manufacturing a commercially favourable environment conducive to the private investment which local authorities are increasingly reliant on.

Secondly, the stigma has been mobilised as a means of crafting an image which is attractive to so-called urban pioneers. The conclusions related to this research question are inevitably linked closely to the previous question on the role of creativity in the regeneration project, since this thesis has demonstrated that in pursuit of attracting so-called 'urban pioneers' working in creative and digital industries to Middlehaven, territorial stigma has been employed as a means of marketing the space as authentic and edgy – qualities understood to be valued by Florida's (2007) 'creative class'. Given Middlesbrough Council's explicit aim of attracting what Florida would call a Creative Class, as well as 'urban pioneers' to Middlehaven in order to boost Teesside's share in the knowledge economy and digital industry, the notion that the 'Over the Border' stigma is itself an important means of achieving this aim has emerged. As this thesis has shown, at the same time as the 'Over the Border' label is repeatedly dismissed as outdated and no longer relevant, instances of the stigmatising use of the label are also recurrent.

Indeed, the draw of an 'edgy' urban aesthetic for so-called 'urban pioneers', or first wave gentrifiers who are often employed in creative industries, is well documented (Smith, 1996), and so it is entirely plausible that the territorial stigma associated with Middlehaven is employed not only in justifying the redevelopment, but also in marketing the area to the population targeted by Alsop's plans. This thesis contends that in keeping with neoliberal ideals of individualism – which is a key part of the neoliberal responsibilisation which sees an increasing transfer of responsibility for welfare from the state to individuals (Keil, 2009), and which in the neoliberal era is of importance for crafting identity and is often achieved through individual participation in consumer culture (Wacquant, 2008) – the 'Over the Border' stigma is used as a means of crafting for individuals an identity as brave pioneers who stand out from the crowd. It thus appears that the demarginalisation of space in Middlehaven is about replacing a marginal working class community with one of professionals in the creative sector, and that this process of demarginalisation occurs not in spite of territorial stigma (as part of advanced marginality), but is fuelled by it. Indeed, in answering Research Question 3, this thesis has shown that alongside the creativity

(apparent both in the professions and lifestyles of Middlehaven's incoming population and in the flashy architecture of Alsop's plans) which plays an integral part in rebranding Middlehaven as a competitive urban area, territorial stigma attached to the space is itself an important factor in this rebranding.

Engagement with this Research Question has made clear, then, that territorial stigma as an obstacle or motivation and as a selling-point, while seemingly conflicting positions, are not irreconcilable. The two work in tandem to produce Middlehaven as a space which is both in need of revitalisation and one which can be marketed to 'urban-pioneering' individuals in search of a space in which to make their mark. Following Slater's (2014) argument that spaces presented as in need of regeneration or revitalisation are implicitly labelled as degenerate, and its population construed as non-vital to the vibrancy of the space, it makes sense that positioning a site as in need of redevelopment simultaneously readies it for appropriation as an 'urban wilderness' – which Smith (1996) argues are the result of a symbolic preparation of an urban space for 'urban pioneering' – in which the so-called 'creative class' can construct for themselves individual identities based on notions of bravery and authenticity. This thesis contends, then, that far from being conflicting, the mobilisation of territorial stigma as both an obstacle to prosperity (thus resulting in redevelopment as necessity) and as a selling point are in fact part of the same discursive move.

9.4. What does it mean to be positioned on the margins of regeneration in Middlesbrough?

This is a question which this thesis has approached in a number of different ways. Firstly, given that the aims of the Middlehaven regeneration project appear to be consistent with an approach to demarginalisation which is chiefly to do with the space itself, rather than the population of the territorially stigmatised space, engaging with this Research Question necessarily involved a focus on the spatial aspect of marginality in Middlehaven. This question extends the focus on marginality within this research from the territorial stigma attached to Middlehaven, to those spaces which are themselves marginalised over the course of a regeneration project designed to bring the space away from the periphery of Middlesbrough in public imaginations.

Following Smith's (1987) contention that de-investment precipitates the emergence of a rent-gap which works to produce spaces as ripe for gentrification, this thesis has paid attention to those spaces of Middlehaven which are deemed to not be a good fit for the area, based upon the desired image which the local authority has in mind for the regeneration site. It is contended that this is a dynamic which operates through logics of a common good, which in the neoliberal context, often tends to mean that which is most conducive to economic growth. As Žižek (2013) asserts, there is no natural common good; only one which has been constructed for particular ends. Indeed, where a particular image is constructed as 'high-quality', land uses which do not complement this image are conversely constructed as being of low-quality, and counter to the aims of delivering a high-quality development for the good of the town as a whole. This thesis has also shown that the spatiality of Middlehaven is also of significance here: The drawing of a distinct line around the regeneration site has real implications for those businesses and residents in the area. In Middlehaven, the position of a business on either side of this line could mean the difference between being constructed as an essential part of a business district, or as an outdated business which is ill-fitting for the ambitions set out for Middlehaven.

Additionally, in seeking to unpack the way in which urban politics operates in Middlesbrough, especially in light of the rise of post-political governance in recent decades (see Garsten and Jacobsson, 2013), another approach to this question was taken via the engagement with residents affected by the threat of demolition in both Middlehaven and Gresham – two areas close to Middlesbrough town centre, which have both been subject to some degree of territorial stigmatisation. This enabled consideration of what it means to be positioned on the margins of gentrification for the people directly affected by the processes

involved. While the elapsed time between the displacement of residents from St Hilda's and the onset of this research made contacting former residents difficult (see Chapter 3), this has been overcome through the use of secondary sources, and interviews conducted by other researchers and journalists in previous years, as well as through material generated in a group interview with Gresham residents, thus enabling inferences to made with regards to what it means to be positioned on the margins of regeneration in Middlesbrough.

Also important to note here is that as a marginalised district of a marginalised town, Middlehaven faces a double stigma. As has been explained in this thesis, media coverage of Middlesbrough as a whole is generally unfavourable, and Middlehaven is perceived as having higher crime rates than have been demonstrated to be accurate in Chapter 5 of this thesis. It is such that the task of demarginalising Middlehaven is one which must also seek to boost the image of the town as a whole. I have argued in this thesis that in seeking to boost the image of Middlesbrough, the shiny buildings and streetscapes of newly regenerated parts of Middlehaven are often presented to 'outsiders' as the face of Middlesbrough, behind which the rest of the town is rendered invisible (in a literal sense as well as the metaphorical, given that the A66 and railway line obscure the town centre from some vantage points in Middlehaven). I have therefore considered the possibility that Middlehaven is being demarginalised via the marginalisation of other parts of the town from Middlesbrough's public image, as it is slowly rendered into the 'doormat' of Middlesbrough. Thus, it is of importance when interrogating approaches to demarginalisation to consider how the place undergoing demarginalisation is constructed in relation to its surroundings. Indeed, margins are only ever in relation to that which is not marginal.

9.5. How (and to what ends) does urban power operate in the governance of Middlehaven?

This thesis has contended that the Middlehaven Regeneration scheme, through a range of techniques and processes, is oriented towards the demarginalisation of the space. In seeking to reveal the ways in which the governance of Middlehaven is oriented toward demarginalisation, this thesis has provided a detailed outline of the various actors involved in the programme of regeneration, and interrogated how its aims are both justified and delivered. Indeed, following from the findings related to Research Question 3, it appears that the construction of a discourse of necessity is a particularly important aspect of the approach to demarginalisation taken in Middlehaven. Drawing on debates surrounding urban post-politics (Swyngedouw, 2007, 2009; Clarke, 2012), Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis illustrated the ways in which decision-making occurs in Middlesbrough Council, and through an in-depth study of regeneration in Gresham – which faced the threat of demolition at a similar time to St Hilda's – demonstrated that alongside this discourse of necessity runs a narrative of the common-good, which is drawn upon repeatedly by those involved in the governance of Middlehaven and Gresham (both in documentation and in interviews).

As has been revealed, the economic pressures on local authorities – owing to reductions in local government funding since the 1980s (Colenutt, 1999) - along with a neoliberal rationale which frames all outcomes through an economic lens (Brown, 2015), positions private investment as integral to the survival of the space as a competitive urban unit. This is a well-documented aspect of neoliberal urban governance (see Leitner, 1990), and this thesis has aimed to unpack the way in which urban power operates in Middlesbrough amid efforts to attract such investment, and demarginalise the area. This thesis has shown, through a discussion of the structures and processes of decision-making in Middlesbrough Council, that neoliberal values permeate throughout the organisation, such that actions which are geared towards economic growth become viewed as common-sense, and as necessary for the delivery of essential public services. Given Foucault's (2003) suggestion that power is circulatory and has no single source, it follows that Middlesbrough Council's hierarchical structure operates not through the imposition of power from a single point at the top of the hierarchy, but is produced in each relation within that hierarchy.

Following consideration of metagovernance, which is understood to occur in 'the shadow of hierarchy' (Jessop, 1997), this thesis contends that this hierarchy retains some

degree of importance for the delivery of particular developments via the creation of institutional support for particular ideas (such as the snow centre). However, there is also evidence to suggest that hierarchical organisation is to some extent seen as an obstacle to efficient economic growth in Middlesbrough. This is not surprising, given the prominence of creative work models in Middlehaven, where approaches to management tend to be less hierarchical than in more traditional industries (Townley et al., 2009). This thesis contends, therefore, that an approach to decision-making in which efforts are made to reduce the effects of hierarchy experienced by those making decisions in their roles within the council, has emerged as a result of the interplay between the neoliberal imperative to attract investment and the focus of the Middlehaven redevelopment on creative industries (which entails a post-fordist emphasis on flexibility).

As Chapter 6 makes plain, in the context of cuts made to local government budgets under centrally-imposed austerity, entrepreneurial governance, of which speculative risk-taking is characteristic, is viewed as increasingly important as a means of maintaining the ability to compete for investment on an interurban scale, in line with Leitner's (1990) assertion that urban governments often feel compelled to take such an approach in order to 'keep up' with the competition. Thus, not taking the kinds of risks associated with entrepreneurial governance in order to attract and secure investment and economic growth is considered to be a greater risk to the local economy than taking those risks (as set out in Chapter 6). I suggest that where engaging in activities traditionally viewed as financially risky is seen as the option posing the least risk to the local economy, and is in fact heralded as a potential saviour of the financial wellbeing of the local state (and thereby of the services provided at the local level), the effect is of 'de-risking' risk itself.

Part of Middlesbrough Council's approach to governance sees businesses taking an active role in decision-making in Middlehaven, and in the Tees Valley more broadly. Indeed, discussion of the influence of businesses in the demolition of St Hilda's has revealed that the entrepreneurial style of governance performed by Middlesbrough Council placed the interests of businesses in the area in a preferential position compared to that of former residents of St Hilda's owing to an ideology which conflates business interests with the public interest. Indeed, as has been demonstrated, this approach to governance results in depoliticisation as business interests are constructed as neutral reflections of reality, and given that a neoliberal understanding of a common good puts private profit and economic growth at its heart, consensus is formed around the notion that such interests ought to be realised (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2012). Thus, this thesis has demonstrated that

governance of Middlehaven is oriented toward demarginalisation through an approach which aims to deliver regeneration via a business-friendly system of operation (as well as a preference for avoiding conflict), which also has the effect of depoliticising the involvement of commercial interests in shaping directions for the town.

Through a series of ethnographic walks through the study area, this research has also sought to examine the ways in which the physical urban fabric itself affects the governance of Middlehaven. Indeed, given that the process of regeneration in the area is ongoing, such journeys through urban space are variant, and the affective atmosphere at Middlehaven is neither consistent nor stable. It is such that while the built environment of particular areas, such as the urban park, are designed to be experienced as panoptically surveillant (and thus safe), others are experienced as intimidating and elicit suspicion and fear (see Chapter 5). Nonetheless, these atmospheres are important influences on the behaviour and affective experiences of individuals journeying through the space (Bissell, 2010). And as has been discussed, these atmospheres are important to consider in interrogating the extent to which the pedestrian journey is influential in the demarginalisation of Middlehaven: The way in which territorially stigmatised spaces are construed as dangerous and lawless zones (Arthurson et al., 2014) is addressed through the surveillant atmosphere of the urban park in order to dispel perceptions of Middlehaven which result in feelings of vulnerability to crime which are disproportionate to the actual crime rates for the area. And while the broken car parts, piles of rubbish and sense of unease don't make for the kind of space drawn out by the various planning documents for Middlehaven, again, I argue in this thesis that such an atmosphere may be attractive to those creative individuals which Florida (2002) asserts seek authentic urban edge.

9.6. Final Reflections

As previously highlighted, this study takes as its focus the regeneration project currently underway in Middlehaven. It is such that the findings about demarginalisation are particular to this locality and cannot be abstracted from it. Clearly, this study is therefore limited in its scope, and opens up questions about what demarginalisation might look like in other spaces with different local contexts. Indeed, as Wacquant (2008) takes care to argue, manifestations of advanced marginality vary between different cities as such manifestations are contingent on a range of historically defined social, economic and political contexts. Care must be taken, then, not to assume that processes of demarginalisation occur in the same manner everywhere regardless of local contexts. Further research is therefore warranted to reveal the extent to which the processes of demarginalisation vary between localities, and what these differences may look like.

While the particularities of approaches towards demarginalisation outlined in this thesis cannot be taken to be occurring in all spaces undergoing a similar process, it is clear that territorialisations of inequality are widespread in the UK, and are not limited to towns and cities which are typically thought of as among the most deprived in the country (such as Middlesbrough, which is ranked as the 6th most deprived local authority district in England based on average scores in the 2015 Index of Multiple Deprivation (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2019)). Indeed, a recent segment on BBC Newsnight (2019) highlighted that vast socio-economic inequalities are a prominent feature of Cambridge's landscape, with a railway line separating a high-tech science park from one of the city's poorest wards. Cambridge, meanwhile, is ranked at 226 on the same deprivation index. When Danny Dorling (2018) wrote, in a discussion of Oxford's inequalities, that in socially divided cities, "there is usually a road which is emblematic of the divide" (3), he highlighted the way in which social inequalities are spatialised. Evidently, such divides exist in towns and cities across the UK, and at opposite ends of the scale of deprivation at city level. It is clear that social divides are often spatial divides too, even if such divides are not imagined and embodied so clearly as Middlehaven's 'Over the Border' stigma. The consideration of the spatial manifestations of inequality contained within this thesis is therefore salient for broader socio-economic geography, even if variations in these spatial manifestations mean that the specificities of the processes identified in this thesis cannot be used to make generalisations.

While deeper consideration of the effects of demarginalisation of the space at Middlehaven on those displaced by the regeneration attempt was not within the remit of this study owing to time constraints, this remains an important issue. Indeed, questions have been raised in this thesis around the extent to which this stigmatised population has or has not been demarginalised as a result of their displacement which can only be answered through a more extensive study which looks beyond the spatial aspect of demarginalisation which this research has taken as its core focus. And while this thesis has argued that the approach to regeneration taken in Middlehaven has positioned marginality as an issue rooted in space, and has thus considered the regeneration to be a spatial fix for the issues associated with the 'Over the Border' label, it has also been acknowledged within this thesis that while such an approach is used to justify the focus on the physical landscape taken by the redevelopment project, marginality exceeds the spatial, and the 'Over the Border' label is both spatially and socially defined. It follows that in order to comprehensively assess the success of (rather than the approach to) demarginalisation in Middlehaven, research which exceeds the immediate vicinity of the regeneration project, and focuses on the displaced (residential and business) communities of Middlehaven, is required.

Likewise, the question of what local democracy looks like in the context of regeneration has also been raised here. While this thesis has considered in depth the (post) political processes which have occurred in regeneration schemes in Middlesbrough, particularly in relation to demolition, there is room to further consider the dynamics of local democracy in this context. The focus in this thesis on approaches taken towards regeneration by the local authority, and in particular on the logics which underlay decision-making, has meant that consideration of the possibilities for resistance, and for public engagement with processes of regeneration, has been less pronounced. This presents an important avenue for further research, and there is a clear need to investigate this issue further in the context of Middlesbrough.

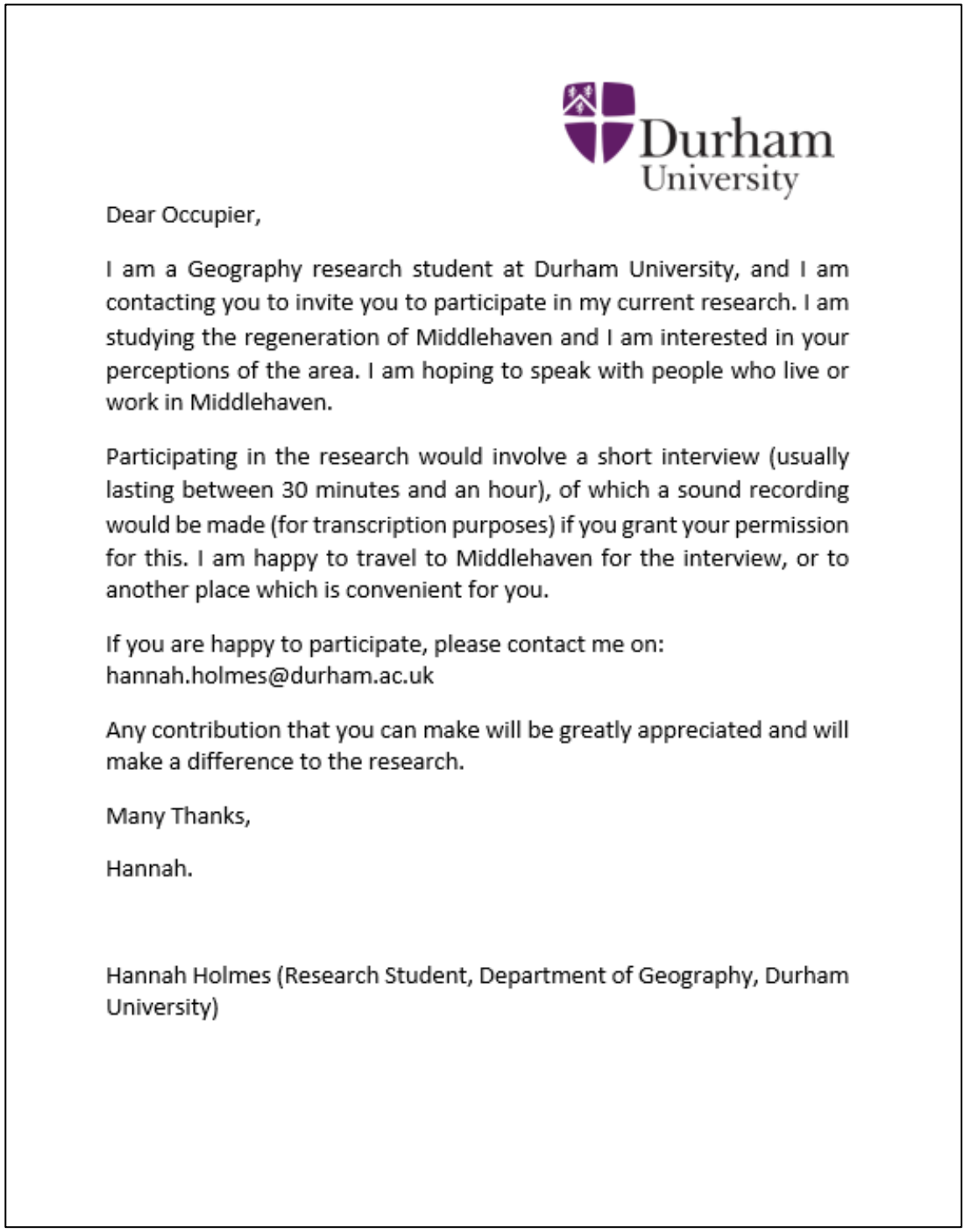
It is inevitable that over the course of a three-year study of an active and ongoing regeneration project, things will change: The May 2019 local elections have changed the political make-up of Middlesbrough Council, meaning that some of the councillors interviewed during this research project are no longer in the role that they held at the time of the interviews. Middlesbrough's Labour Mayor, Dave Budd, has been succeeded by an Independent Mayor, Andy Preston, who runs a number of charity ventures, and is also behind a business which renovated a building in Middlehaven's Boho Zone (Brown, 2019)

– which serves to highlight once more the close relationship between business and governance in Middlesbrough. This shift towards Independent candidates is also reflected in the make-up of the new post-local-elections council: Labour has lost overall control of Middlesbrough Council and now has 20 seats, compared with 31 prior to May 2019; the Conservatives lost 2 seats, leaving them with 3; while there are now 23 independent councillors, up from 10 prior to the local elections (Cain, 2019c). Indeed, nationally, independent candidates gained 662 council seats compared with the 2015 local elections, the second largest gain after the Liberal Democrats (BBC News, 2019). How these local political changes, which are embedded in a broader political shift, will affect the future of the Middlehaven Regeneration project going forward remains to be seen.

Walking through Middlehaven today is a different experience than it was in 2016. Some of the more brightly coloured street furnishings have begun to fade in the sunlight, and the novelty of the vast, mirror-like college building has worn off, such that it has become part of the background, an unimposing yet still striking part of the Middlehaven landscape. Yet stagnation has also been an ever-present feature of the regeneration site, with faded and graffiti-spattered hoardings still guarding the cleared sites which have awaited regeneration for years. This thesis has unpacked the dynamics of territorial stigma and governance which affect this space, and which are in themselves informed by it. In doing so, it has brought new empirical evidence to bear on understandings of marginality and approaches to regeneration which aim to demarginalise territorially stigmatised spaces. Going forward, the findings presented here provide a basis for further developing understandings of the relationship between marginality and regeneration in a medium-sized town with a long history of industrial decline and reinvention.

Appendices

A. A copy of the letter sent to residents and businesses in Middlehaven to recruit participants for interviews.



Durham University

Dear Occupier,

I am a Geography research student at Durham University, and I am contacting you to invite you to participate in my current research. I am studying the regeneration of Middlehaven and I am interested in your perceptions of the area. I am hoping to speak with people who live or work in Middlehaven.

Participating in the research would involve a short interview (usually lasting between 30 minutes and an hour), of which a sound recording would be made (for transcription purposes) if you grant your permission for this. I am happy to travel to Middlehaven for the interview, or to another place which is convenient for you.

If you are happy to participate, please contact me on:
hannah.holmes@durham.ac.uk

Any contribution that you can make will be greatly appreciated and will make a difference to the research.

Many Thanks,

Hannah.

Hannah Holmes (Research Student, Department of Geography, Durham University)

B. Example of an interview schedule used in interviews with business owners in Middlehaven. Not all of these questions were asked to all participants, and some questions not shown were asked. This is due to the nature of semi-structured interviews which allow for additional probing questions to be used.

Businesses

- Can you tell me about your business and what you do?
- Why have you chosen Middlehaven as a place to base your business?
- What does Middlehaven offer you?
- Are there any drawbacks of being here?
- Do you live in Middlehaven as well as working here? Why/why not?
- Do you see your business remaining in Middlehaven on a long term basis?
- What does Middlehaven have that other areas don't? How does Middlehaven compare with the rest of Middlesbrough?
- What did you think of Middlesbrough before you located your business here? What informed those perceptions?
- Have your views changed?
- How would you describe Middlehaven? What sort of place is it?
- Is Middlehaven changing? Have you seen any changes since you arrived?
- 'Do you see yourself as having a role in these changes?'
- How do you feel about being in Middlehaven during its redevelopment?
- Do you think these changes are having any effect on other people's perceptions of the area?
- How important is the physical environment for improving Middlehaven?
- Do you think historic buildings and landmarks are important to the redevelopment? Why/why not?
- How do you feel about your business being in Middlehaven during its redevelopment?
- How do you feel telling people that you run a business in Middlehaven/work in Middlehaven?
- 'Do you feel media representations of Middlesbrough are positive/negative/accurate?
- What do you think people who have never been here think of it?
- How would you like to see Middlehaven represented?
- Who fits in in Middlehaven? How does your business fit in here?
- Is there a sense of community in Middlehaven? Can you tell me about the business community here?
- Is creativity an important part of Middlehaven?
- Do you walk around in Middlehaven?
- Can you tell me about your experiences of being a pedestrian in Middlehaven?
- How does the experience of walking around shape your views of Middlehaven? How do you feel when you walk past the redeveloping areas and the places that haven't seen redevelopment?
- How important is it for Middlehaven to be well connected to Middlesbrough town centre?
- What do you think of the new urban park?
- What does it bring to Middlehaven?
- What do you think of the new 'urban pioneers' terrace?
- Before the redevelopment, Middlehaven was known as 'over the border'. Can you tell me anything about that? Where are the borders?
- Does the stigma associated with living 'over the border' still exist? Is the perception changing? What does this mean for you?
- Do you think the stigma has had implications for the redevelopment?
- How important is the image of Middlehaven for your business?
- What do you think are the implications (if any) of the recent EU referendum result for the area? Did the result surprise you at a local and national level?' What, if anything, does the vote say about Middlesbrough and what does it say about you? Has it shaped your views of Middlesbrough?

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