

Discussion Paper 2022/11

Creative Clusters and Sparse Spaces: Manchester's Creative Industries and the Geographies of Deprivation and Prosperity

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September, 2022 ISBN: 978-1-913095-20-8

This project is part of the Creative Industries Clusters Programme, which is funded by the Industrial Strategy Challenge Fund and delivered by the Arts and Humanities Research Council on behalf of UK Research and Innovation.





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Contents

Abstract	4
1. Introduction	5
2. Definitions: The Manchester City-Region and the Creative Industries	8
The Manchester City-Region area	8
The Creative Industries	10
3. Creative Industries Employment	11
4. Creative Industries Businesses and Workplaces	18
5. Manchester's Cls & the City's Geographies of Deprivation & Prosperity	26
6. Discussion and Conclusions	33
Acknowledgements	37
References	38
Appendix 1	39
Appendix 2	41
Disclaimer	43

Abstract

Manchester is hailed as a creative industries success story, and is perhaps the success story for the north of England. It is the one place outside the south-east that might just rival the dominance of London. This paper examines the presence and geographical distribution of the creative industries (CIs) across the Manchester city region. It does so by examining official statistics on employment in the CIs and the number of CI businesses and workplaces in the city region.

Overall, Manchester creative industries are significantly larger than those in comparable cities, such as Birmingham or Leeds, but the geography of the CIs within the Manchester city-region is highly uneven: there are several creative clusters but also very substantial sparse spaces, with little to no CI presence. In the latter part of the paper we link the geography of Manchester's creative industries to the geographies of deprivation and prosperity.

In several ways the geography of Manchester's creative industries replicates at the city-region scale the inequalities that exist at the national level. In particular, CI presence is strong in the city-centre and in Salford Quays (home to Media City and about 2.5 miles / 4 kms from the city-centre), and beyond that in several smaller clusters mainly in prosperous neighbourhoods in the south and south-west of the city-region, extending as far south as Macclesfield and Knutsford in the north part of Cheshire East (c.16-18 miles from the city-centre).

On the other hand, creative industries presence, as captured by official statistics, is very weak across large contiguous areas, especially on the north side of the city-region and its inner east side. These are generally areas of high deprivation and low prosperity. Overall, the geography of the CIs presence in the Manchester city-region aligns with the city-region's geographies of prosperity and deprivation. In the context of 'levelling up' the central policy challenge is to enhance opportunities in these poor and deprived space spaces.

Key Words: Creative Industries; Manchester; Inequalities; Deprivation; Prosperity

1. Introduction

When we look up at the sky on a cloudless night, our eyes are drawn to the sparking objects – the stars and planets. What we see but do not notice is the black empty spaces in between. The same is arguably true of clusters of economic development.

Like many cities, Manchester presents an upbeat image of its creative and cultural activities, including its creative industries (hereafter Cls). "Invest in Manchester", for example, trumpets that "Manchester is recognised as one of Europe's largest creative, digital and technology clusters and is home to a fastgrowing £5 billion digital ecosystem." It also highlights that "Manchester [has a] thriving creative, digital and technology community of more than 10,000 businesses [which] includes the BBC, Brown Bag Films, Mediacom and Dentsu Aegis. The ecosystem comprises companies at all stages, from start-ups and SMEs to alobal brands and home-grown unicorns that IPO above \$1 billion; all of which converge and collaborate in the city's creative, digital and media hubs" (ibid.). Creativeresource.co.uk, meanwhile, gives reasons "why Manchester is a great place for creatives", and the Businessgrowthhub's 2021 report on the future of the creative economy in the North of England which puts a 'spotlight on Greater Manchester'2, claims that "The North of England's creative industries are worldclass and dominate much of the national and international creative space. ... Greater Manchester alone is home to 19,000 digital, creative and tech companies with 156,000 people working in creative and digital roles across the North West ... [this is a] creative ecosystem that contributes £6.5bn in direct regional GVA, making the region the highest performing creative cluster outside of London."

The aim of this paper is to 'take stock' of the creative industries in Manchester and to explore their geographies through analysing official statistics. The paper will report on the level and geographic distribution of employment in the CIs, the number of CI businesses and workplaces, and the size distribution of these. It will also briefly explore the productivity of these workplaces, measured by turnover per worker. Much of the paper utilises small area statistics, in order to disaggregate Manchester into neighbourhoods, which unveils the inequalities that exist in the CIs presence across the city-region.

To preview the findings, I find:

 Manchester is certainly a major centre of the creative industries in the UK, and is the largest centre outside of London and the South East. The

¹ https://www.investinmanchester.com/sectors/creative-and-media

² https://www.businessgrowthhub.com/media/1068653/2674-creative-industries-report-2021-final.pdf

- absolute and relative size of the sector, measured by employment and businesses is substantially larger than that of 'rival' city-regions, such as Birmingham and Leeds.
- Although consumer oriented and media activities such as music, film and television tend to be uppermost in people's minds when they think about the creative industries, by far the largest component of Manchester's CIs is the primarily business-to-business (B2B) 'IT, software and computer services' sub-sector. These activities accounts for almost half of all CI employment in the city-region and a similar share of all CI businesses. The generally business-to-business sectors or 'advertising and marketing', architecture and design also account for a substantial share of the city-regions CI businesses and employment.
- Creative industries employment is highly concentrated in a few small areas within the city-region, with just 13 of the Manchester's 376 neighbourhoods (MSOAs) accounting for half the city-region's total CI employment. The main centres for CI employment are the city centre and nearby Salford Quays, with secondary centres including the towns of Altrincham and Wilmslow, mainly to the south and southwest of the city-region. On the other hand there are large areas with very little to no creative industries employment especially in the north side of the city region.
- The vast majority of Manchester's CI businesses and workplaces very small; 85% employ fewer than five people, and these employ about a quarter of Manchester's CI workforce. On the other hand, Manchester has only 20 CI large workplaces that employ more than 250 people. While the dominance of by micro firms is unsurprising; more concerning is that the city is not home to more large CI businesses.
- Overall, income per worker among officially recorded CI businesses in Manchester is high, even among the smallest businesses. While official statistics do not include the smallest and most fragile businesses, for those included average income per person employed suggests that the ownermanagers of these businesses typically achieve substantial incomes from these activities.
- The geographical distribution of CI businesses and workplaces across the
 city-region is very uneven. While much less concentrated than CI
 employment, CI businesses and workplaces are predominantly located in
 the city-centre and in small areas within a roughly triangularly zone
 stretching to the south (c18 miles to Macclesfield) and south-west (c8-c16
 miles to Altrincham/Knutsford) of the city-centre. By contrast, there are very

few CI businesses and workplaces across most of the north side of the cityregion and its inner east side.

• Many if not most industries are unevenly distributed geographically, but it is particularly notable that here is a strong association between the levels of deprivation and prosperity in Manchester's neighbourhoods and the presence of CI businesses or workplaces. The CIs tend to be especially strong in the more and most prosperous parts of the city, and weak in its poor and highly deprived neighbourhoods. As most CI businesses are micro-enterprises with owner-managers working from home or close to home, this suggests substantial socio-economic disparities in establishing and operating creative industry businesses in Manchester.

Overall, Manchester appears to reproduce at the city-region level many of the geographic and socio-economic inequalities that are features of the UK's creative industries nationally. That is, the CIs are providing good and (generally) higher paying jobs to some, but few opportunities for others. It is important to recognise both the presence of the CIs in 'successful clusters' and their absence in sparse spaces. The UK government's concern with 'levelling up' (HM Government, 2022) is aimed at improving the fortunes and outcomes for the least and less well off without doing anything to worsen outcomes for the better and best off (Haldane, 2022). 'Levelling up' the creative industries in Manchester (and elsewhere) presents a very considerable challenge. A key question is how to grow the creative industries in the sparse spaces with high levels of deprivation, or to improve access to CI and other opportunities for the people living there. The latter needs to recognise that most people living in deprived neighbourhoods live very local lives; they are unlikely to access even those opportunities that are relatively closeby. For example, one study reports that the relocation of the BBC into Media City resulted in the recruitment of only 39 staff from Salford (Bäing and Wong, 2018).

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 defines the geographical area and the industries included in the analysis. Section 3 reviews creative industries employment in the city-region. Section 4 focuses on creative industries businesses and workplaces, while Section 5 connects the presence and absence of the creative industries in Manchester to the city's geographies of deprivation and prosperity. Section 6 provides a concluding discussion.

2. Definitions: The Manchester City-Region and the Creative Industries

The Manchester City-Region area

Administratively, 'Manchester' is strictly 'The City of Manchester', which is one of ten metropolitan boroughs (shown in Figure 1 below) which together constitute Greater Manchester (GM). Greater Manchester was originally formed as an administrative area in 1974, but abolished as an authority in 1986 (with powers reverting to the boroughs), until the Combined Authority was created in 2011. The Greater Manchester Combined Authority has powers over the whole of Greater Manchester and has been led by a directly elected mayor (Andy Burnham) since 2017.

Figure 1: Map showing the Ten Metropolitan Boroughs of Greater Manchester



Greater Manchester has a population of around 2.8 million, and an economy that is larger than that of Wales or Northern Ireland, but around six times smaller than that of London. Output per head is substantially lower (around two-thirds) that of London.

Manchester can also be defined by its Travel to Work Area (TTWA), which is the area within which three-quarters of its residents both live and work. Manchester's is the largest TTWA by population in the UK after London's. As well as containing almost all of Greater Manchester,³ it extends south into the northern part of

³ The western part of Wigan is not within Manchester's TTWA. It is part of the 'Warrington and Wigan TTWA'.

Cheshire East, to the east into the High Peak of Derbyshire, and to a small extent north, into parts of Rossendale, Lancaster (see Figure 2).

For the purpose of this paper we consider the Manchester city-region to be the area covered by a combination of Greater Manchester and the Manchester TTWA - that is the area shown in Figure 2⁴.

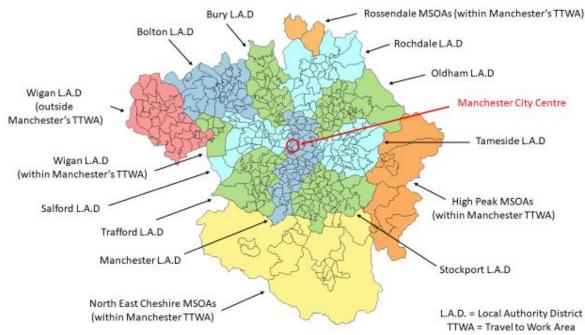


Figure 2: The Manchester City-Region for the purpose of this paper

As well as using larger aggregates such as local authority districts and Greater Manchester as a whole, this paper undertakes analysis at a more local, or neighbourhood level. Specifically, it uses the Middle Level Super Output Area (MSOA) unit of geographical analysis, of which there are 376 covering the geographical area depicted in Figure 2.5 The median population of these MSOAs is 7,634 (Maximum: 13,909; Minimum: 5,064; Mean 7,751) and their median area 2.52 square kilometres (Maximum: 203.8; Minimum: 0.63; Mean 5.48).6

⁴ The Manchester Travel to Work area as shown in Figure 2 differs slightly from the officially defined Manchester TTWA (2011). Specifically, the officially defined Manchester TTWA does not include Knutsford and the southern part of the Moberley, Plumley and High Leigh MSOA, which surrounds Knutsford. Officially, these belong to Crewe's TTWA. However, we consider that since the opening of the A556 Knutsford to Bowden dual carriageway in 2017 accessibility between Knutsford and Manchester has significantly improved which has likely brought these areas back into Manchester TTWA; Knutsford was previously part of the Manchester TTWA according to the 2001 TTWA boundaries.

⁵ 346 of these MSOAs are within Greater Manchester: Manchester - 57; Stockport - 42; Wigan - 40; Bolton - 35; Oldham - 33; Salford - 30; Tameside - 30; Trafford - 28; Bury - 26; Rochdale - 25. 30 are outside of GM: 21 in Cheshire East, 7 in the High Peak of Derbyshire, and 2 in Rosendale, Lancashire.

⁶ MSOAs are bu ilt from groups of contiguous Lower Layer Super Output Areas (LSOAs), which themselves are built from Census Output Areas. Both LSOAs and MSOAs are intended to

The Creative Industries

This paper uses the UK's official definition of the creative industries (CIs). This is a set of 31 'industries' as classified at the four digit level of the 'standard industrial classification' (SIC 2007) which are considered to have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and to have potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property (DCMS, 2001). The creative industries are identified empirically as being those industries with the highest proportions of their total workforces engaged in creative occupations (Bakhshi et al., 2013, DCMS, 2016).

Officially, the 31 Creative Industries are classified to nine 'Creative Industries Groups' (DCMS, 2016) (see Table 1 below), a classification adopted in this paper. Analysis will mostly be undertaken for the CIs as a whole, and to some extent at the CI group level, but not for each of the 31 specific industries.

Table 1: The Creative Industries & Creative Industry Groups, as Officially Defined

Creative Industries Groups	SIC (2007)	SIC 2007 description			
Advertising and Marketing	70.21	Public relations and communication activities			
	73.11	Adverting agencies			
	73.12	Media representation			
Architecture	71.11	Architecture activities			
Crafts	32.12	Manufacture of jewellery and related articles			
Design: product, graphic and fashion	74.10	Specialised design activities			
Film, TV, video, radio and photography	59.11	Motion picture, video and television programme production activities			
	59.12	Motion picture, video and television programme post-production activities			
	59.13	Motion picture, video and television programme distribution activities			
	59.14	Motion picture projection activities			
	60.10	Radio broadcasting			
	60.20	Television programming and broadcasting activities			
	74.20	Photographic activities			
IT, software and computer services	58.21	Publishing of computer games			
	58.29	Other sofware publishing			
	62.01	Computer programming activities			
	62.02	Computer consultancy activities			
Publishing	58.11	Book publishing			
	58.12	Publishing of directories and mailing lists			
	58.13	Publishing of newspapers			
	58.14	Publishing of journals and periodicals			
	59.19	Other publishing activities			
	74.30	Translation and interpretation activities			
Museums, galleries and libaries	91.01	Library and archive activities			
	91.02	Museum activities			
Music, performing and visual arts	59.20	Sound recording and music publishing activities			
	85.52	Cultural education			
	90.01	Performing arts			
	90.02	Support activities to performing arts			
	90.03	Artisitic creation			
	90.04	Operation of arts facilities			

improve the understanding and analysis of small area statistics in England and Wales. Across the whole of England and Wales MSOAs have a minimum population of 5,000 and a mean of 7,200 (at the 2011 Census).

3. Creative Industries Employment

This section examines the level and geographical distribution of creative industries employment in the Manchester city-region. It does so by using data drawn from the Office for National Statistics' (ONS) Business Register and Employment Survey (BRES), sourced through NOMIS.

While the best official source of data on employment, the BRES is known to underrecord self-employment and freelancing, which are especially prominent in the creative industries.⁷

The BRES records 56,000 people as having been employed in the CIs in Manchester's Travel to Work Area in 2020, the most recent year for which data is available; 51,000 of these jobs were in Greater Manchester. This amounts to about 4% of Manchester's total employment, a number and share similar to those working in construction (SIC Section F: 52,000) and in 'public administration and defence' (SIC Section O: 51,000) in the city-region.

Table 2: Creative Industries Employment in Greater Manchester and Mcr TTWA

	Manchester Trav	el to Work Area	Grea	ter Manchester
	Creative Industries employment	As a % of all employment in Manchester's TTWA	Creative Industries employment	As a % of all employment in Greater Manchester
2015	50,000	4.0%	46,000	3.7%
2016	48,000	3.7%	44,000	3.4%
2017	54,000	4.1%	50,000	3.7%
2018	49,000	3.6%	46,000	3.4%
2019	61,000	4.4%	57,000	4.1%
2020	56,000	4.1%	52,000	3.9%

BRES open access data sourced via NOMIS, 11th May 2022

more generally across the city-region.

With over 50,000 people employed in the Cls, Manchester is a major centre for creative industries activities, having, for example, almost 50% more Cl workers than either the West Midlands (centred on Birmingham) or West Yorkshire (centred on Leeds) Combined Authority areas, and more than three times as many Cl jobs as either Liverpool or Sheffield. Except for Bristol (and the West of England

⁷ The BRES is understood to underrecord employment in some sub-sectors of the creative industries more than others, and in particular those such as Film & TV, and Music which make more intensive use of freelancers, and where self-employment is more prevailants. In relation to Manchester, it seems likely that the geography of self-employment and freelancing in the city corresponds broadly with the geography of employment and micro-businesses across the city-region. It is unlikely that freelancers and the self-employed are dispersed evenly in line with economic activity

Combined Authority area), the CIs also constitute a larger share of all jobs in Manchester than they do in each of these 'rival' cities. However, not only does London have more than eight times as many CI jobs as Manchester, the CIs in London account for more than twice the share of all jobs as they do in Manchester.

Table 3: Creative Industries Employment in Selected UK City Regions in 2020

	•	nd Combined ority Areas		Travel to	Work Areas
	Creative Inds employ-	As a % of all employment		Creative Inds employ-	As a % of all employment
	ment			ment	
London (region)	477,000	9.1%	London8	457,000	8.9%
Gtr Manchester	52,000	3.9%	Manchester	56,000	4.1%
West Midlands	35,000	2.7%	Bristol	29,000	5.9%
West Yorkshire	34,000	3.2%	Glasgow	29,000	4.4%
West of England	33,000	6.1%	Birmingham	29,000	3.4%
Liverpool City R.	15,000	2.3%	Edinburgh	22,000	5.3%
Sheffield City R.	13,000	2.3%	Leeds	22,000	4.7%
·			Newcastle	14,000	3.1%
			Cardiff	11,000	3.0%
			Sheffield	10,000	2.8%
			Liverpool	10,000	2.2%

BRES open access data sourced via NOMIS, 11th May 2022

Within the Manchester city-region, almost 40% of CI employment is in the City of Manchester. Salford (8,000), Trafford (7,000), Stockport (5,000) and the northern part of Cheshire East (6,000) each have substantial numbers of CI jobs. CIs as a share of all jobs is highest (at 6.2%) in north Cheshire East, followed by Salford, Manchester, Trafford and Stockport. By contrast, the CIs account for less than 2% of all jobs in the seven boroughs to the north and east of the conurbation, being lowest in Tameside (1.5%) and Wigan (1.4%).

Even greater variation is evident when the distribution of CI employment is examined at neighbourhood level (i.e., MSOA level). In 2020, eight of the cityregion' MSOAs had over 1,000 CI jobs, with Ordsall & Salford Quays (Salford) – home to Media City – having the most (6,000), followed by the four MSOAs in Manchester's city centre, two in Trafford (one - Trafford Park East & Sevenways – quite close to the city centre, the other - Altrincham West, Dunham & Warburton – some distance from it), and one in Cheshire East (Wilmslow Town) – see Figure 3.

⁸ After London, the TTWA with the largest number of CI jobs in 2020 was Slough & Heathrow (62,000 – 7.4% of all jobs). Manchester was third, followed by Reading (37,000; 11.7%), Bristol, Glasgow and Birmingham.

Table 4: CI Employment in Greater Manchester and its Local Authority Areas

	Creative In Total	dustries Emplo Full Time employees	yment, 2020 Part Time employees	Share of All Employment in Area	Net change # of CI employment, 2015-2020
Manchester					
TTWA	56,000	42,000	13,000	4.2%	6,000
Gtr Manchester	51,000	39,000	12,000	3.9%	5,000
Manchester	22,000	17,000	5,000	5.4%	5,000
Salford	8,000	6,000	1,750	6.0%	0
Trafford	7,000	5,000	1,500	4.7%	1,000
Stockport	5,000	4,000	1,000	3.8%	0
Bolton	2,000	1,500	600	1.7%	-250
Oldham	1,500	1,250	300	1.9%	-500
Wigan	1,500	1,000	400	1.4%	-250
Bury	1,250	900	400	1.9%	0
Rochdale	1,250	900	400	1.7%	-500
Tameside	1,000	700	300	1.5%	0
North Cheshire E.	6,000	4,500	1,250	6.2%	0
High Peak (part)	600	350	200	3.8%	250
Rossendale (part)	175	125	50	3.5%	75

Source: NOMIS, Open Access data. Employment includes some self-employed.

Table 5: Manchester MSOAs with the most & highest densities, of CI jobs in 2020

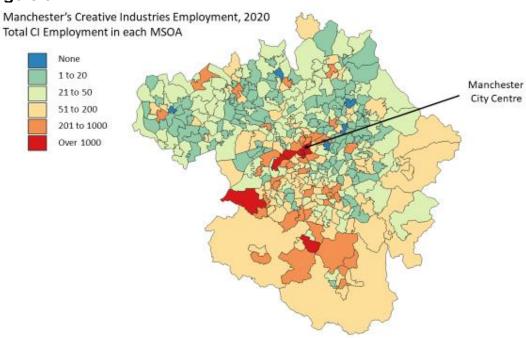
MSOAs with largest number of	in 2020	MSOAs with largest shares of	Cliobs	in 2020	
3	# of	as %	9	as %	# of
Area	Cl	of all	Area	of all	CI
	jobs	jobs		jobs	jobs
Salford: Ordsall & S'd Quays	6,000	19.4%	Trafford: Urmston West	45.7%	800
Mcr: City Ctr N. & Collyhurst	5,000	6.8%	Mcr: With'ton & Old Moat	25.0%	175
Mcr: Castlefield & Deansgate	4,000	10.8%	Ches E: Macc'fld Tytherington	22.5%	450
Mcr: Piccadilly & Ancoats	4,000	7.7%	Salford: Ordsall & S'd Quays	19.4%	6,000
Mcr: Univ. N. & Whitworth St.	2,500	14.7%	Stockport: Norris Bank	17.1%	600
Trafford: T. Park E. & Sevenways	1,500	8.8%	Ches. E.: S. Knutsford & Bexton	15.0%	900
Trafford: Altrincham West ++	1,250	11.4%	Mcr: Univ. N. & Whitworth St.	14.7%	2,500
Ches. E.: Wilmslow Town	1,250	8.3%	Mcr: Beech Rd & Chorlton	12.0%	150
Ches. E.: S. Knutsford & Bexton	900	15.0%	Stockport: Adswood	11.4%	400
Trafford: Urmston West	800	45.7%	Trafford: Altrincham West ++	11.4%	1,250
Stockport: Central, Portwood	700	3.2%	Salford: Swinton Newtown	11.3%	225
Mcr: Ardwick	700	1.7%	Mcr: Castlefield & Deansgate	10.8%	4,000
Stockport: Norris Bank	600	17.1%	Mcr: Harpurhey S. & Monsall	10.0%	600
Mcr: Harpurhey S. & Monsall	600	10.0%	Mcr: Fallowfield, Whalley R.	10.0%	300
Ches. E.: Central Macclesfield	600	6.7%	R'dale: Healey - Shawclough	10.0%	200
Salford: Central & University	600	3.2%	Ches. E.: Fulshaw Pk, Lindow	10.0%	100

Source: NOMIS, Open Access data. Area names are those provided by the House of Commons Library. Areas appearing on both lists are grey shaded. Five areas had no recorded CI employment in 2020. These and their total employment are: Bury: Higher Woodhill (1,250); Manchester: Clayton Vale (1,250); Oldham: Lime Side & Garden Suburb (1,000); Oldham: Royton South East (3,000); Wigan: Wigan East (1,000)

At the other extreme, five MSOAs had no recorded creative industries employment⁹ and many others – especially to the north and the inner east side of the city-region - had fewer than 20 Cl jobs. Overall, half of Manchester's Cl employment is concentrated in just 13 of the city-region's 376 MSOAs (see Table 5).

Figure 3 shows the total number of CI jobs in each MSOA in 2020. The red areas have the highest number of CI jobs and are described above. The orange areas also have relatively high numbers of CI jobs and include a few relatively isolated pockets – mostly in town centres - in the north of the city-region, but are much more common in the area close to the city-centre and the south of the city-region. By contrast, there are a large number of MSOAs with very few CI jobs (i.e., not more than 20), especially in the north and inner east side of the city-region.

Figure 3

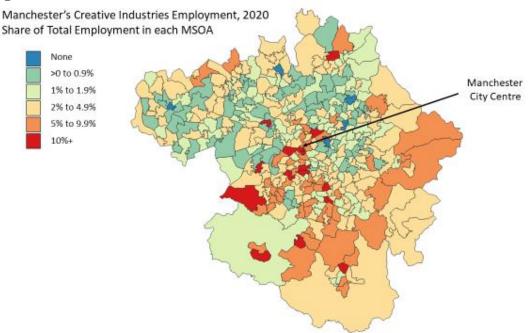


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⁹ The BRES does not provide the exact numbers employed but rather the number rounded to the nearest 5, so strictly an MSOA with no recorded creative industries employment has fewer than 3 creative industries jobs.

As the total number of jobs in each MSOA varies widely, the share of all employment accounted for by the CIs arguably provides a better indication of the strength of their presence (Figure 4). In 2020 the CIs accounted for ≥10% of all jobs in 16 MSOAs, 13 of which are within a (roughly) triangular area stretching from the city-centre in the north to Macclesfield in the south and Knutsford/Altrincham in the south-west of the city-region. Meanwhile there are many neighbourhoods especially in the north side of the city-region where the CIs account for less than 1% of all jobs.

Figure 4



Between 2015 and 2020 total creative industries employment within the Manchester city-region increased by about 6,000. This growth has been concentrated in a few small geographical areas especially in the city centre and a few neighbourhoods predominantly in the south of the city-region (Figure 5). Meanwhile CI employment actually declined in most neighbourhoods within the city-region, including the north where there were typically few CI jobs to begin with. Overall CI employment became more spatially concentrated within the city-region between 2015 and 2020.¹⁰

Divided into sub-sectors, the 'IT, software and computer services' accounted for almost half (26,000: 47.3%) of all CI jobs in the city-region in 2020 (Table 6). The next largest employer was the 'Film, TV, radio and photography' sub-sector (9,000 – 16.1%), followed by 'Advertising and marketing' (7,000 – 12.5%). The six

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 $^{^{10}}$ In 2015 18 MSOAs accounted for half of all CI employment in the Manchester TTWA, by 2020 this had reduced to 13.

remaining groups accounted for under a quarter of CI jobs, ranging from 8% (4,500) in 'Music and performing arts' to 0.2% (100) in "Crafts".¹¹



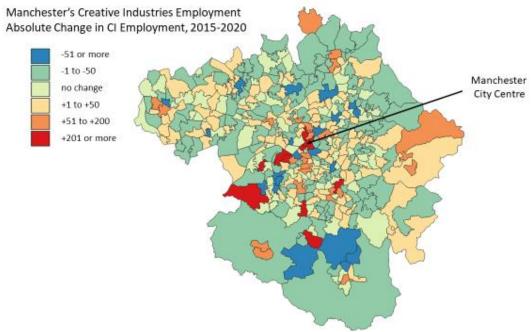


Table 6: CI Employment in Greater Manchester by Creative Industry Sub-Sector

	Creative Ir	ndustries Emp	oloyment, 2020	Share of All	Net change # of
	Total	Full Time	Part Time	Jobs in Mcr	CI jobs, 2015-20
				TTWA	
Manchester TTWA*	56,000	42,000	13,000	4.14%	+6,000
Advertising & mktg	7,000	6,000	1,250	0.52%	-1,000
Architecture	3,500	3,000	700	0.26%	+500
Crafts	100	75	40	0.01%	+50
Design	1,750	1,250	600	0.13%	+250
Film, TV, radio, etc.	9,000	6,000	2,500	0.67%	+2,000
IT, software & CS	26,000	21,000	5,000	1.92%	+4,000
Publishing	2,250	1,750	400	0.17%	-750
Museums, galleries	1,500	700	800	0.11%	0
Music, & perf. arts	4,500	2,500	2,000	0.33%	0

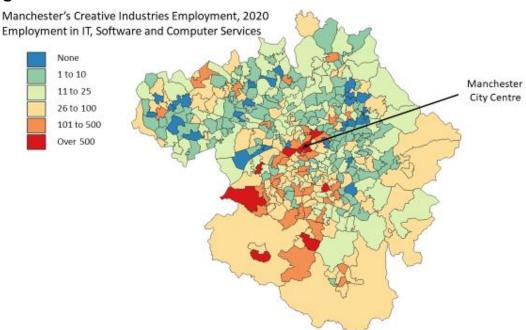
Source: NOMIS Open Access data. * as officially defined.

Employment within each of these CI groups is geographically concentrated. Employment is especially concentred in the 'Film, TV, radio and photography' group, with one MSOA (Ordsall and Salford Quays – home to Media City) accounting for almost half of the city region's employment in these activities. Four MSOAs, primarily in the city-centre, account for half of all employment in both

 11 The true "Crafts" workforce is certainly larger, as crafts employment is poorly captured by the BRES survey.

'Advertising and Marketing' and 'Architecture', while five had half of all employment in 'Publishing' and 'Music and the Performing Arts'. As well as being the largest sub-sector by employment, 'IT, Software and Computer Services' is the most geographically dispersed, although still only 16 MSOAs account for half of its employment in the city region. ¹² Employment in these activities is also mainly concentrated in the city-centre and the south side of the city-region. Most MSOAs in the northern side of the city-region have little or no employment in 'IT, Software and Computer Services' (Figure 6). ¹³

Figure 6



Also notable is that part-time working accounted for almost a quarter (23%) of CI jobs in the Manchester city-region in 2020 (Table 4). This is lower than the proportion of part-time positions across all industries in the city-region (30%), but the proportion of part-time CI jobs is notably higher (at 30-33%) in Bolton, Bury, Rochdale and Tameside, all boroughs in which there are fewer CI jobs, while lower in Manchester, Salford, Trafford and north Cheshire East, where there are more CI jobs. Part-time working is especially prevalent in 'Museums, libraries and galleries' (53% of jobs), in 'Music and the performing arts' (44%) and in Crafts (40%). Furthermore, of the 6,000 net additional CI jobs in the city-region between 2015 and 2020, two-thirds were part-time (see Table 6).

¹² And 74 account for four-fifths of employment in the city-region.

¹³ Employment in design is also more dispersed, although not as much as IT, software and computer services.

4. Creative Industries Businesses and Workplaces

We now turn to the locations of CI businesses and workplaces within the Manchester city-region. The data source for this is the Government's Inter-Departmental Business Register (IDBR), which is based on 'local units', or workplaces.¹⁴ A workplace is an office, shop, factory, studio or other place of work, including possibly a home. All businesses (or enterprises) must have at least one workplace, and some have more. About 95% of CI businesses in Manchester are single workplace entities.¹⁵

Table 7: Creative Industries Workplaces in Gtr Manchester & Manchester TTWA

	Greater	Manchester	Manchester Travel to Work		
			/	Area	
	Creative	As a % of all	Creative	As a % of all	
	Industries	workplaces in	Industries	workplaces in	
	workplaces	Gtr Mcrr	workplaces	the TTWA	
2010	5,865	6.4%	n.a.	n.a.	
2011	6,010	6.7%	n.a.	n.a.	
2012	6,420	6.9%	n.a.	n.a.	
2013	6,745	7.2%	n.a.	n.a.	
2014	7,465	7.7%	n.a.	n.a.	
2015	7,825	7.4%	n.a.	n.a.	
2016	8,445	7.7%	9,195	8.1%	
2017	8,945	7.5%	9,725	7.9%	
2018	9,055	7.3%	9,890	7.8%	
2019	9,320	7.6%	10,165	8.1%	
2020	9,530	7.8%	10,355	8.2%	
2021	9,340	7.5%	10,140	7.9%	

IDBR data sourced via NOMIS, 11th May 2022. Note: in 2015, ONS extended the coverage of businesses to include a population of solely PAYE based businesses that were previously excluded because of the risk of duplication with 2015; 105,000 businesses were added to the register.

¹⁴ Appendix B presents the geography of creative industries businesses in Greater Manchester using web scraped data.

¹⁵ The IDBR records 9,625 enterprises and 10,140 'local units' in the Manchester Travel to Work Area as active in the Creative Industries in 2021 (and 9,820 and 10,355 respectively in 2020). This means that 95% of 'local units' were enterprises, with a little over 500 local units that were not independent enterprises. This also implies that the vast majority of Manchester's CI workplaces / enterprises were owned and managed locally. However, larger workplaces are less likely to be independent. The IDBR records 190 medium sized and large workplaces in 2021 with more than 50 employees, of which 120 were enterprises (63%) while of the 690 workplaces employing 10-49 people in 2021, 515 (75%) were enterprises. This implies that a significant share of the larger local units in the city-region are externally controlled.

The IDBR is built primarily from two HMRC sources: businesses registered for Value Added Tax (VAT) and businesses employing people paying tax on a Pay As You Earn (PAYE) basis. ¹⁶ Businesses with earnings below the VAT threshold of £85,000 and/or not employing anyone on a PAYE basis are mostly not included. This is a concern for an analysis of the creative industries because sole traders and freelancers constitute a substantial share of the sector but are neither paid by PAYE nor (typically) have annual incomes over £85,000. ¹⁷ There is however no official source of data on these people. A further problem is that when sourced from NOMIS the exact number of workplaces recorded by the IDBR is not revealed, rather the count rounded to the nearest 5. This is especially problematic when the recorded count is zero because we cannot distinguish true zeros from ones and twos.

The IDBR records that in 2021 (the most recent available year) there were 9,340 CI workplaces in Greater Manchester, and 10,140 in the Manchester's Travel to Work Area. These constitute 7.5% and 7.9% of all IDBR workplaces in Greater Manchester and the Manchester TTWA respectively.

The number of CI workplaces (and indeed businesses) in Manchester has increased steadily and in aggregate by around 50% over the last decade, as a share of all workplaces the CI have been fairly stable since 2013/14 due to the overall growth in workplaces in Manchester during this period.

 Table 8: Creative Industries Workplaces in Selected UK City Regions in 2021

	Regions and Authority			Travel to W	ork Areas
	Creative Inds workplaces	As a % of all work-places		Creative Inds workplaces	As a % of all workplaces
London (region)	100,080	16.8%	London	95,760	16.4%
Gtr Manchester West Midlands	9,340 6,905	7.5% 6.4%	Manchester Birmingham	10,140 5,275	7.9% 7.0%
West Yorkshire	6,740	7.1%	Bristol	4,695	11.1%
West of England	5,290	11.6% 5.9%	Glasgow	3,835	8.1% 11.6%
Liverpool City Reg. Sheffield City Reg.	3,175 2,865	5.9% 5.8%	Edinburgh Leeds	3,585 3,485	9.1%
			Newcastle	2,485	6.9%
			Cardiff	2,215	7.5%
			Liverpool	2,150	6.0%
			Sheffield	2,080	6.9%

IDBR data sourced via NOMIS, 11th May 2022

¹⁶ Additional information is drawn from Companies House, Dun and Bradstreet and Office for National Statistics business surveys.

¹⁷ It seems most likely that the geographical distribution of freelancers and the self-employed is similar to that of small micro-businesses.

Table 9: CI Workplaces by Employment Size in Selected UK City Regions in 2021

Travel to Work Areas	Small Micro (0 to 4)	as % of total	Large Micro (5 to 9)	Small (10 to 49)	Medium (50 to 249)	Large (250+)	Total
United Kingdom	258,715	87.4%	17,130	16,305	3,265	470	295,890
UK % share	87.4%		5.8%	5.5%	1.1%	0.2%	100.0%
London	83,520	87.2%	5,350	5,410	1,275	205	95,760
Manchester	8,635	85.2%	640	690	160	20	10,140
Birmingham	4,495	85.2%	355	340	70	10	5,275
Bristol	3,990	85.0%	295	330	75	5	4,695
Glasgow	3,150	82.1%	305	315	55	15	3,835
Edinburgh	3,020	84.2%	235	270	55	5	3,585
Leeds	2,875	82.5%	250	280	60	20	3,485
Newcastle	2,050	82.5%	210	175	45	5	2,485
Cardiff	1,885	85.1%	155	135	35	5	2,215
Liverpool	1,850	86.0%	140	125	30	5	2,150
Sheffield	1,750	84.1%	145	135	45	0	2,080
Elsewhere in UK	141,495	88.3%	9,050	8,100	1,360	175	160,185

IDBR data sourced via NOMIS, 11th May 2022

As with employment, Manchester has a large aggregate number of CI workplaces in comparison with other, 'rival' cities in the midlands and north of England (e.g., Birmingham and Leeds) (Table 8). For example, it has more than three times the number of CI workplaces as either Liverpool or Sheffield. Furthermore, the total number of CI workplaces has increased much more rapidly in Manchester than in other city-regions in the midlands and north of England. The CIs also constitute a larger share of all workplaces in Manchester than they do in other English cities besides Bristol and London. However, London has nearly ten times the number of CI workplaces (and businesses) as Manchester, and CI workplaces account for more than twice the share of all workplaces in London as they do in Manchester.

85% of CI workplaces in Manchester employ fewer than 5 people, a proportion similar to that in other large UK cities including London. There are about 20 large CI workplaces employing at least 250 people in the Manchester city-region (see Table 9). This is arguably a rather small number given the size of Manchester's creative industries activities. Also notable is that while the total number of CI workplaces in Manchester has grown considerably, the number of large workplaces has not.

The dominance of micro businesses in the CIs is well known, but also presents something of a puzzle. In general larger businesses tend to be more efficient and are less precarious. Why don't more CI businesses grow larger? The very high number of micro-businesses (and workplaces) in the CIs suggests that the minimum efficient scale of these activities is often very small.

Table 10: Income per Person Employed in CI Enterprises, 2019 & 2021

		Mean	1 1 , , ,				
		level		em	ployment	size	
	0 to 4 0 to 4 5 to 9 10 to 19 2				20 to 49	50+	
		£'000	= 100				
All CIs	All UK	119	100	113	114	136	208
	London	160	100	128	111	141	196
	Rest of UK	99	100	101	113	122	185
	Gtr Man.	101	100	109	86	122	248

Relative turnovers per employees by employment size band ΑII 0 to 4 5 to 9 10-19 20-49 50+ All Cls London / Rest of UK 187% 162% 203% 158% 187% 171% Gtr Man / Rest of UK 130% 102% 110% 77% 102% 137% 63% 54% 49% 54% 80% Gtr Man. / London 69%

Source: Author's analysis of IDBR data provided by the ONS in response to a special request.

To provide insight into this, we calculate the average (mean) income per person employed, which is a measure of business efficiency. Specifically, combining data for the two years 2019 and 2021 and dividing aggregate turnover by aggregate employment for different size-classes of businesses, we find that among the small micro enterprises (i.e., those employing fewer than 5 people) active in the CIs within the Manchester city-region and registered on the IDBR, average income per employee was £101,000. Although likely to be biased upwards due to exclusion of micro-businesses not registered for VAT and/or not paying employees through PAYE, this is a high average, which indicates that many owner managers of these micro CI businesses achieve substantial incomes from these activities.¹⁸

Furthermore, using this as a benchmark, we can (in Table 10) see that, across the UK as a whole and for all of the Cls, income per person employed tends to increase with enterprise size, but only modestly until employment reaches at least 20 people, after which it is very considerably higher (about double) among enterprises employing 50 or more people. These statistics suggest that at least in terms of the financial rewards to the business owner, the benefits of growth tend to be modest until the business employs at least 20 people. Meanwhile growth brings costs, such as spending more time on business responsibilities – including securing income for the 'mouths to feed' in the business, and less time engaged in creative activities. This is something that should be investigated further, but it appears that owners of very small Cl businesses can be highly successful

¹⁸ Ideally we would want data at the individual enterprises level, rather than aggregates within size classes, as the means are likely skewed by a small proportion of outliers. We can also disaggregate this data by sub-sector - see Tables in Appendix.

financially and may be choosing to trade-off additional income for freedom from business and other responsibilities, including employment.¹⁹ Overall, Manchester businesses achieve slightly higher incomes per person employed than those in the rest of the UK outside of London, but rather lower incomes per head than London based businesses (Table 10).

Creative Industries business locations within the Manchester City-Region Within the Manchester city region CI workplaces are predominantly located in Manchester (27%), Trafford (14%), Stockport (11%) and the north part of Cheshire East (11%). The remaining six boroughs account for just over a quarter of all CI workplaces, and fewer than there are in Manchester alone (see Table 11).

Table 11: Creative Industries Workplaces in Manchester by Local Authority Areas

	IDBR 2021 CI	% share of CI	As % of all	Net change in Cl
	work-places	workplaces	workplaces	workplaces,
	Work-places	Workplaces	WOIKPIACC3	2016-21
Manchester TTWA	10,140	100.0%	7.9%	+945
Gtr Manchester	9,340	86.7%	7.5%	+905
Bolton	580	5.4%	4.8%	+20
Bury	535	5.0%	6.0%	+25
Manchester	2,930	27.3%	10.2%	+490
Oldham	410	3.8%	5.0%	+15
Rochdale	340	3.2%	4.3%	-15
Salford	890	8.3%	7.0%	+105
Stockport	1,210	11.3%	8.8%	+50
Tameside	395	3.7%	5.3%	0
Trafford	1,515	14.1%	10.9%	+205
Wigan	505	4.7%	4.6%	-15
North Cheshire E.	1,150	10.7%	10.3%	-10
High Peak (part)	230	2.1%	8.4%	+10
Rossendale (part)	40	0.4%	5.6%	+5

Source: IDBR from NOMIS. Totals do not always match the sum due to rounding.

Figure 7 shows the count of CI workplaces at the MSOA level. There are, unsurprisingly, large numbers of CI workplaces in the city centre and at Salford Quays, but also in Altrincham (especially Altrincham East) about 8 miles to the south west of the city centre. Most of the other areas with 50 or more CI workplaces are either close to the city centre or to the south / south west of it. A few MSOAs are recorded as having no CI workplaces, and a large number as

¹⁹ Anecdotally, I am reminded of a study I did a few years ago on design firms, which asked the owner manager about their plans for growth. Some told me that they did not want to grow as they wanted to spend their time designing, rather than managing; others said that they had grown the business but felt burdened by the responsibility to win money to pay employees' salaries – the more employees, the more 'mouths to feed'. This may also lead to a preference for using freelancers, or working in conjunction with other micro-businesses, as this arrangement does not come with the enduring responsibility of securing income to pay employees.

having very few (1-10); these places with few or no CI workplaces are primarily in the north and inner east side of the city region.

Figure 7

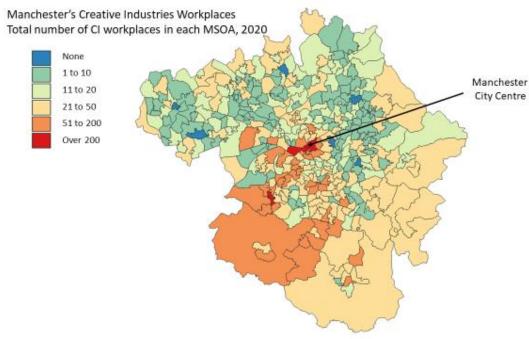
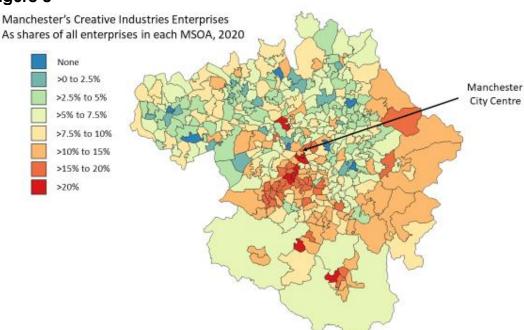


Figure 8

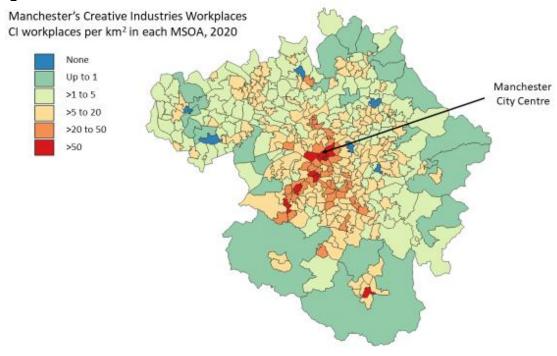


The total number of workplaces in each MSOA varies widely, and Figure 8 shows is the share of all workplaces accounted for by the creative industries. The red areas as those in which the CIs account for at least one in five of all workplaces – these and the orange areas (where CIs account for 10%+ of workplaces) are

predominantly in the city centre and southern side of the city-region, whereas the places where the CIs constitute less than one in twenty of all workplaces are predominantly to in the north and inner east side of the city region.

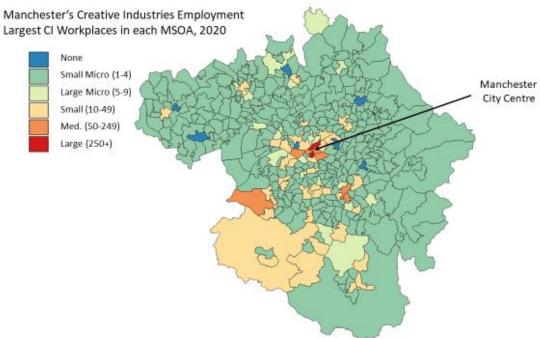
Figure 9 shows the density of CI workplaces per square kilometre, while Figure 10 shows the largest workplaces by employment in each MSOA.²⁰ Aside from the city centre and places adjacent to it, only Altrincham and Central Stockport have three or more medium sized CI workplaces; in all other neighbourhoods there are only micro and small workplaces.

Figure 9



²⁰ The IDBR records only 13 of Manchester's MSOAs as having CI workplaces employing at least 50 people: City Centre North & Collyhurst (20); Castlefield and Deansgate (20); Piccadilly and Ancoats (15); Ordsall and Salford Quays (15); University N. & Whitworth Street (15); Altrincham West and Dunham (5); Salford Central & University (5); Trafford Park and Sevenways (5); Ardwick (5); Stockport Central and Portwood (5); East Didsbury (5); Chadderton South West (5); Heald Green West (5).

Figure 10

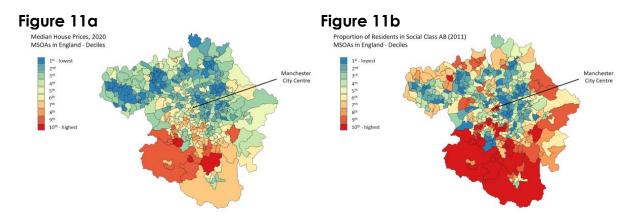


5. Manchester's Creative Industries and the City's Geographies of Deprivation and Prosperity

We have seen that the creative industries are unevenly distributed across Manchester's city region. Employment is especially concentrated in the city centre and a few other places, while workplaces – the vast majority of which employ fewer than six people - are more dispersed but also predominantly in the city centre and a few other places especially in the south of the city region. Meanwhile there are large areas, especially in the north and inner east side of the city region with very little creative industries presence, at least as recorded in official statistical sources. We have also seen that officially recorded CI businesses, including the very smallest, typically achieve substantial incomes per person employed.

That workplaces and employment are unevenly distributed geographically is not especially surprising. Argubly more important is how this maps onto the geographies of deprivation and prosperity in the city-region.

Manchester's city-region is approximately 30-35 miles in diameter (e.g., Glossop to Wigan; Macclesfield to Rossendale), and by car most journeys between places within the city-region can be completed within an hour. However, most people, and especially the more and most deprived, have much more local lives, and crossing borough boundaries to work is relatively uncommon (Folkman et al., 2016). Certainly living in the northern part of the city-region and working in the south, or vice versa, is very unusual. It is reasonable to assume that the CI businesses located outside of the city centre have been established by people living closeby, and that their workforces are also likely to be drawn from local neighbourhoods.



Manchester's city-region has high levels of socio-economic inequality. Although not numerous, it has some neighbourhoods that are among the most affluent in England (e.g., by average house prices - Figure 11a) and a large number of

neighbourhoods with high proportions of people engaged in (generally well-paid) managerial and professional occupations (social class AB - Figure 11b). However, large areas of the city region, and especially the north and inner east side, are characterised by high levels of deprivation.

The Office for National Statistics' (ONS) Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) includes seven domains of deprivation. ²¹ It seeks to capture in a single measure overall deprivation. According to the latest IMD for England, which uses 2019 data, almost a quarter of Manchester's MSOAs are among the 10% most deprived in England, with another 13.3% in the second most deprived decile. Almost 70% of Manchester's MSOA are in the bottom half of England's MSOAs by deprivation.²²



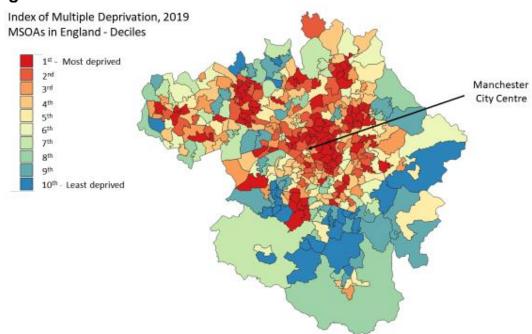


Figure 12 shows the most deprived neighbourhoods in the city-region are mostly close to the city centre as well as in the north and inner east side of the city-region. There are also areas of high deprivation, such as Wythenshawe, in the southern part. The areas of low and least deprivation are predominantly the outer fringes of the city-region, especially south and south east of the city centre.

To devise a measure to capture not only deprivation but also financial, social and relational capital at the MSOA level, we undertook a principal components analysis which included four variables: (1) the share of the working age

²¹ Income (22.5% weighting), employment (22.5%), education (13.5%), health (13.5%), crime (9.3%), barriers to housing and services (9.3%), and living environment (9.3%).

²² The city-region also has 26 MSOAs in the least deprived decile of MSOAs, and another 26 in the second least deprived decile.

population in managerial and professional occupations (Social grade AB), (2) the share of the working age population in semi-skilled and manual occupations, unemployed or in the lowest grade occupations (Social grade DE), (3) the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2019 score, (4) and median house price for properties sold in 2020 relative to the median price of all houses sold in England in that year. These variables loaded onto a single component, with each having high component weightings. A Cronbach alpha score of 0.9 indicated this to be a reliable scale.²³ These weightings were then used to calculate a 'prosperity score' for each MSOA in England. All MSOAs were then assigned to a decile, ranging from the least to the most prosperous in England.

Eighty of Manchester's 376 MSOAs (21.3%) are among the least prosperous decile of MSOAs in England, while 51 (13.6%) are in the second least prosperous decile; that is, over a third of the city region's MSOAs are in the two least prosperous deciles in England; nearly 70% are in the bottom half. Manchester also has 20 MSOAs (5.3%) among the most prosperous decile of MSOAs in England, and 32 (8.5%) in the second most prosperous (Table 12).²⁴ Figure 13 shows the geographical distribution of Manchester's MSOAs by prosperity decile. As expected, this is similar to the map for deprivation, with many areas of low prosperity in the city-centre and north of the city-region, while the more and most prosperous areas are on the outer fringes, especially in the south and east of the city-region.

 Table 12: Manchester City-Region MSOAs by Deciles of Deprivation / Prosperity

Decile (among England's MSOAs)	Index of Multiple Deprivation, 2019 (most to least deprived)	Proportion of Residents in Social Class AB (Census 2011)	Proportion of Residents in Social Class DE – high to low –	Relative Median House Prices, 2020 - – low to high	Prosperity Score (from the least to the most
14150713)	асрпусај	- low to high	(reversed)	10W 10 High	prosperous)
			(Census 2011)		· · · ,
1 st	88 (23.4%)	56 (14.9%)	63 (16.8%)	64 (17.0%)	80 (21.3%)
2 nd	50 (13.3%)	66 (17.6%)	44 (14.1%)	80 (21.3%)	51 (13.6%)
3 rd	41 (10.9%)	39 (10.4%)	53 (14.1%)	70 (18.6%)	46 (12.2%)
4 th	50 (13.3%)	34 (9.0%)	41 (10.9%)	49 (13.0%)	42 (11.2%)
5 th	33 (8.8%)	35 (9.3%)	35 (9.3%)	32 (8.5%)	41 (10.9%)
6 th	22 (5.9%)	28 (7.4%)	24 (6.4%)	28 (7.4%)	24 (6.4%)
7 th	21 (5.6%)	35 (9.3%)	35 (9.3%)	26 (6.9%)	20 (5.3%)
8 th	19 (5.1%)	19 (5.1%)	22 (5.9%)	11 (2.9%)	20 (5.3%)
9 th	26 (6.9%)	29 (7.7%)	24 (6.4%)	12 (3.2%)	32 (8.5%)
10 th	26 (6.9%)	35 (9.3%)	35 (9.3%)	4 (1.1%)	20 (5.3%)

-

²³ Eigenvalue = 3.128, this component accounted for 78.2% of the variance in the data. Component weightings: Social class AB 0.940; Social Class DE 0.956; IMD Score -0.885, and Relative house prices 0.741. After standardising the variables the Cronbach alpha is very high at over 0.9, indicating a highly reliable scale. Note that a principal factor analysis produces very similar results. ²⁴ Put another way, the Manchester city-region has twice its 'fair share' of England's MSOAs in the lowest decile by prosperity, and a little over half its 'fair share' of England's MSOAs in the highest decile by prosperity.

Figure 13

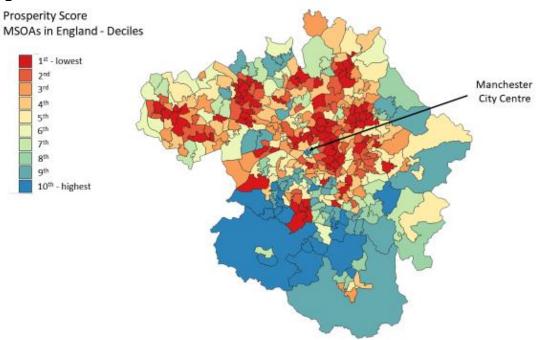


Table 13: Number of CI workplaces by Mcr MSOAs Deprivation and Prosperity

Dec-	Index of Multiple Deprivation, 2019			Prosperity Sco	ore	
ile	Total CI LU	Mean # of	Median #	Total CI LU	Mean # of	Median #
	count	CI LUs per	of CI LUs	count	CI LUs per	of CI LUs
		MSOA	per MSOA		MSOA	per MSOA
1 st	1,450	16	10	1,160	15	10
2 nd	1,690	34	15	795	16	10
3 rd	1,110	27	15	745	16	15
4 th	1,165	23	20	1,145	27	15
5 th	1,210	37	25	1,135	28	25
6 th	490	22	15	1,160	48	20
7 th	645	31	25	570	29	25
8 th	600	32	30	1,050	53	30
9 th	1,315	51	35	1,615	50	45
10 th	1,260	48	40	1,560	78	60

Deciles are among England's MSOAs. For IMD, 1 is most deprived, 10 the least. For Prosperity 1 is the least prosperous, 10 the most.

We now connect the geographies of deprivation and prosperity within the city region to variations in creative industries presence.

In relation to workplaces, Table 13 shows that while CI workplaces are present in substantial numbers among all deciles of MSOAs by deprivation and prosperity, the typical (or median) number of CI workplaces is just 10 in the most deprived decile of MSOAs, and 40 in the least deprived MSOAs. If prosperity is used instead, the difference is even more pronounced, rising from 10 in the least prosperous

MSOAs to 60 in the most prosperous. Also notable is that the typical number of CI workplaces grows almost continuously with each decile of prosperity.

Table 14: CI Employment in Mcr MSOAs by Deciles of Deprivation and Prosperity

Decile	Index of M	ultiple Depri	vation, 2019	Prosperity Score			
	Total CI	Median	Median Cl	Total CI	Median CI	Median CI	
	employ	CI	share of all	employ	employ	share of all	
	-ment	employ	employmen	-ment	-ment	employmen	
		-ment	†			†	
All	58,240	40.0	2.0%	58,240	40.0	2.0%	
1 – 5	42,200	30.0	1.7%	27,000	30.0	1.7%	
1 st	8,655	30.0	1.3%	7,430	25.0	1.3%	
2 nd	14,565	32.5	1.7%	2,670	20.0	1.4%	
3 rd	6,800	35.0	1.3%	3,600	32.5	1.3%	
4 th	5,485	50.0	1.7%	9,260	27.5	2.0%	
5 th	6,695	45.0	2.1%	4,040	45.0	2.5%	
6 – 10	16,040	50.0	3.3%	31,240	75.0	3.6%	
6 th	3,480	35.0	3.2%	9,225	50.0	2.2%	
7 th	1,180	45.0	2.8%	1,555	47.5	2.8%	
8 th	2,285	45.0	3.0%	6,895	62.5	3.7%	
9 th	3,800	75.0	3.6%	3,380	75.0	4.2%	
10 th	5,295	75.0	5.0%	10,185	137.5	7.9%	

In relation to employment, CI employment is predominantly in the city-region's more deprived MSOAs. Indeed, Manchester's MSOAs that are among England's three most deprived deciles account for just over half of the city-region's total CI employment. However, we have seen that CI employment is highly concentrated in a few small areas, and therefore the total employment distribution is heavily affected by the categorisation of these. Arguably the median number of CI jobs in each MSOA is a more representative measure, and this provides a different picture. Among the MSOAs in the three most deprived deciles of neighbourhoods in England, the CIs typically provide between 30 and 35 jobs; or about 1.5% of all jobs. By contrast, among the Manchester MSOAs in the two least deprived deciles of England's neighbourhoods, the CIs typically provided 75 jobs, or about 4% of all jobs.

Again variations in the CI's presence are even more starkly shown when the prosperity score is used instead. In Manchester's neighbourhoods among the 2 least prosperous deciles of MSOAs in England, the CIs typically provided 20 - 25 jobs, or about 1.35% of all jobs. By contrast, in Manchester neighbourhoods among the most prosperous decile of MSOAs in England, the CIs typically provided 137 jobs, or almost 8% of all jobs. Also notable is that both the typical number of CI jobs, and the typical share of all jobs accounted for by the CIs, tends to increase with each prosperity decile (Table 14).

Another way of examining this data is by comparing the observed number of workplaces and level of employment in each MSOA to that which we would 'expect' if the CI were distributed in line with all workplaces and employment within MSOAs in the city region. This is based on the calculation of location quotients. A location quotient (LQ) above one indicates there are more CI workplaces and/or CI employment than 'expected' in that MSOA, whereas a location quotient below one indicate there are fewer CI workplaces and/or CI employment than 'expected' in that MSOA.

For this we classified the MSOAs into three sets – those in the three lowest deciles (1-3) by prosperity in England, those in the four middle deciles (4-7), and those in the three highest deciles (8-10).

Table 15 shows that of the 86 MSOAs with fewer than half the 'expected number' of CI workplaces (i.e., those with an LQ <= 0.5), 68 were MSOAs in the three lowest deciles by prosperity, while of the 175 with less than half the 'expected number' of CI jobs, 121 were in these three low prosperity deciles. Overall, just 19 of these 177 MSOAs had more than their 'expected number' of CI workplaces, and just 18 had more than their 'expected number' of CI jobs.

By contrast, of the 15 MSOAs with more than twice the 'expected number' of CI workplaces (i.e., those with an LQ >= 2), 7 were MSOAs in the three most prosperous deciles of MSOAs, while 16 of the 29 MSOAs with more than twice the 'expected number' of CI jobs were among these prosperous MSOAs. Overall, just 13 of these 72 prosperous MSOAs had fewer than their 'expected number' of CI workplaces, and 26 had fewer than their 'expected number' of CI jobs.

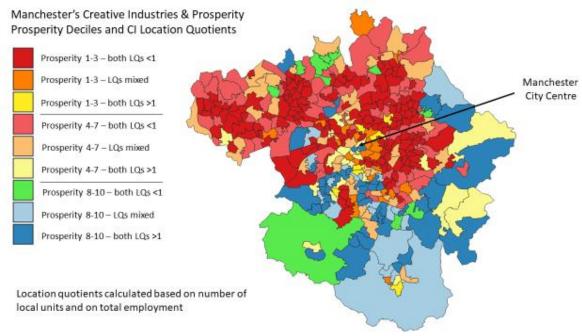
Table 15: CI Workplaces & Employment LQs in Manchester MSOAs by Prosperity

Prosperity Deciles	LQ ≤ 0.5	>0.5 to 1	>1 to 2	LQ > 2	All MSOAs
by Workplaces					
1 – 3	68	90	19	0	177
4 – 7	16	54	49	8	127
8 – 10	2	11	52	7	72
All MSOAs	86	155	120	15	376
by Employment					
1 – 3	121	38	11	7	177
4 – 7	44	56	21	6	127
8 – 10	10	16	30	16	72
All MSOAs	175	110	62	29	376

Figure 14 maps a summarised version of this data. The dark red areas on the map shows the MSOAs of low prosperity (deciles 1-3) where the CIs are under-represented in both workplace and jobs. The lighter red areas are the areas of

middling prosperity (deciles 4-7) where the CIs are also under-represented in both workplace and jobs. Much of the city-region, especially in the north and inner east side is coloured red accordingly. There are also a few areas of low and middling prosperity – shown in yellow and mostly close to the city centre - where the CIs are stronger than expected in both workplaces and jobs. The dark blue areas, meanwhile, are MSOAs that are among the three most prosperous deciles (8-10) and in which the CIs are stronger than 'expected' by both workplaces and jobs. While there are a couple in the city-centre, mostly these are areas in the outer fringes of the city-region, especially in its southern side. Also notable is that there are a few areas coloured green which indicate prosperous MSOAs with fewer than the 'expected' numbers of CI workplaces and jobs – these are mostly located in the north of the city-region.

Figure 14



6. Discussion and Conclusions

Using official statistics on employment and workplaces, this paper has analysed the geographies of the Creative Industries (CIs) in the Manchester city region. Manchester's authorities are proud of the city's creative industries and, together with promotional agencies, boast of their economic, cultural and other contributions. Certainly the aggregated creative industries presence in Manchester is substantially larger than those in 'rival' cities in the midlands and north of England. But Manchester's creative industries are also only a fraction of those in London, and the CIs in Manchester account for less than half the share of all workplaces and employment that they do in London.

In a previous PEC discussion paper (Tether, 2019) I examined the extent of the regional inequalities in the UK's creative industries. Because the CIs in London are already so very much larger and have been growing more rapidly than those in the rest of the UK, including Manchester, the challenge to narrow the gap – or "level up" is very substantial. I concluded there:

"Narrowing the gap is not impossible, but it is important that policy makers recognise that growing the Creative Industries outside of London and the South East is a major, long-term challenge, and that relatively small, short-term initiatives will prove inadequate. While this is not the place to engage in a discussion of Creative Industries policy, I question whether the current emphasis on 'clusters' is up to the task, particularly as the largest, strongest, and fastest growing clusters are predominantly in London, while clusters in the regions outside London and the South East tend to be much smaller. To be clear, I am not opposed to a clusters based policy; my concern is whether this will be sufficient to start narrowing the gap between the Creative Industries presence in London (and the South East) and in the rest of the UK." (Tether, 2019, p. 27)

Here, I have turned my attention to one city region – Manchester. What is clear is that while in aggregate the CI's are substantial in Manchester, this is a city-region with very large intra-regional inequalities in the presence of the creative industries. In many ways Manchester reproduces at the city-region level the inequalities that exist across the UK as a whole. Specifically, the CIs in the Manchester city-region are largely concentrated in the city centre, Salford Quays and a few other small areas, which are predominantly among the most affluent in the city-region. At the same time, there are large areas of the city-region – predominantly areas of high deprivation and low prosperity - in which the CIs presence is strikingly weak.

Broadly, and at risk of over-simplification, the creative industries can be considered to have four geographies in the Manchester city-region, the first three of which are characterised by their presence; the fourth by their absence.

The first of these geographies is the city centre, which includes the famous Northern Quarter, and its fringe areas.²⁵ Together with Salford Quays, this area is home to almost all of the larger CI businesses and workplaces in the city region, as well as many more small and micro-businesses. As such, the city centre is a major provider of employment opportunities in the creative industries. However, Folkman et al. (2016; c.f., Rodrigues and Breach, 2021) argue that Manchester's city centre is not highly accessible, especially for the least well off, and the redevelopment of central Manchester over the last 25 years has seen the development of a 'new town' of high-rise office blocks and proximate flats which accommodate large numbers of generally young office workers. Thus the city centre is relatively disconnected from the outer boroughs due to the high time and financial costs of commuting.

"Manchester has never been like London, a city with a central commercial core of offices, leisure and retail and relatively few residents in the core so that employment needs are met daily by large volumes of radial commuting by public transport from outer suburbs to the centre; with very little reverse flow (Folkman et al., 2016, p. 26) Greater Manchester is [instead] increasingly formatted in ways that set limits on commuting: the new town in the centre allows young inmigrants to live in flats close to their work which supplement the inner residential suburbs; public transport improvement does not make workers in outer boroughs mobile when fares are high and most commuting is by car. What we see in Manchester is not the growth of mass commuting but volume in-migration of a young, mobile population to live in the newly-built one and two bedroomed flats in Manchester City and Salford's private new town." (ibid)

Manchester Mayor Andy Burnham is seeking to address the accessibility of the city centre to residents throughout the city-region by introducing a fully integrated public transport system, an element of which is the recently introduced cap to bus fares at £2 per journey. The full system will take time to implement, and it will be interesting to see the extent to which it will impact upon commuting patterns in the city.

The second geography is Salford Quays and more specifically Media City. This is located about 2.5 miles (or 4kms) from the city centre and separated from it by Ordsall, a very deprived area that is now undergoing gentrification. This

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²⁵ The city centre can be considered the area within the inner city ring road. The creative industries are strong here, as well as in several adjacent neighbourhoods, such as New Islington to the north east and the Universities / Oxford Road area to the south.

brownfield regeneration project of the formerly derelict docklands at the end of the Manchester Ship Canal was underpinned by the BBC as the anchor tenant. Others, including ITV Granada have subsequently followed. This is not the place to review the Salford Quays development. Suffice to say that while recognised as a 'jewel in the crown' of Manchester's creative industries the extent of its impact, especially on the local population, has probably been rather modest. Bäing and Wong have described the relationship between Salford Quays and its neighbouring areas as being like a jam doughnut: "with a lot of jam filling the middle of the dough; while some jam slips out to the surrounding dough, most of the doughnut remains dry, without any jam" (Bäing and Wong, 2018, p. 529). Many of the new jobs are relocations from within Greater Manchester and other parts of the north of England. Higher paying jobs especially have been taken by in-migrants and longer distance commuters. While the extent of the benefits of the Salford Quays development can be debated, it is also on such as scale that it is unlikely to be frequently replicated.

The third geography of the creative industries in the Manchester city region is one of organic development primarily in the more affluent areas of the city, including the suburbs of south Manchester (e.g., Chorlton and Didsbury), Trafford (e.g., Sale, Altrincham and Bowden), and Stockport (e.g., Cheadle, Bramhall) as well as the prosperous towns and villages of north East Cheshire (e.g., Knutsford, Wilmslow, Alderley Edge, Prestbury), and to some extent the western High Peak of Derbyshire. The CIs in this geography are almost entirely very small independent businesses, with owner-managers either working from home, or close to home. These CIs are likely frequently connected to others through enduring business and social inter-relations – building and maintaining social and relational capital is likely critical to success. In part because road transport links in the outer city are good, and in part because affluence affords widespread access to private cars, these communities also have ready access to the business services and other facilities in the city region, including the city centre. There is, meanwhile, little if any need to engage with the communities and businesses in north Manchester, or in the inner east part of the city region.

Whereas the first three geographies are characterised by the presence and concentration of creative industries, the fourth is characterised by their absence. Although rarely completely absent, the creative industries are much weaker than we might (naïvely) expect in much of the north and inner east side of the city-region. These are large geographically contiguous areas, or 'sparse spaces', with little CI activity; these are also very largely places of high deprivation and low prosperity. They are also areas largely disconnected from the city centre and

²⁶ One study reports that the relocation of the BBC into Media City resulted in the recruitment of only 39 staff from Salford (Bäing and Wong, 2018).

²⁷ Note that a similar pattern of in-migrants taking the 'top jobs' has been observed in Cardiff.

other areas where the CIs are strong due to relatively poor and expensive public transport links.

In the context of 'levelling up', which is about improving the fortunes and outcomes for the least and less well off (Haldane, 2022), Nadine Dorries, the previous Secretary of State with responsibilities for the creative industries, placed emphasis on improving accessibly to opportunities for deprived people.²⁸ It will be interesting to see if the new Secretary of State, and the Truss government more generally, maintains this emphasis, and the wider 'levelling up' agenda.

How to level up the Manchester city-region and beyond is outside the scope of this paper. It is likely to require both increasing access to existing 'hot spots' of opportunity (such as the city centre and Salford Quays), but also bringing opportunities to people.²⁹ Yet in part because they are based on agglomeration economies and network effects (and the Matthew effect), it is much easier to support the growth of existing clusters than to build new ones where they are absent. The challenge of levelling up opportunities within regions is probably at least as great as the challenge of levelling up across regions.

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²⁸ The [forthcoming] Creative Industries Sector Vision has to focus on improving accessibility. We have to do better at making sure that people from deprived backgrounds instinctively feel that the creative industries are for them, too. ... I'm also very keen to make sure the Vision is directed at our overall mission to level up - that it asks how we can use the creative industries to regenerate left-behind towns and communities, and drive growth across the entire UK. ... [Levelling up is] about giving people the chance to live rich and fulfilling lives, wherever they are in the UK. Lives full of creativity and culture, and good jobs in those industries. Those are my priorities. (Nadine Dorries, speech, 1st February 2022).

²⁹ An example of this is the Sharp Project in Newton Heath, north east of Manchester city centre. Officially opened in 2011, this is based on a 200,000 square foot refurbished warehouse previously occupied by the electronics company Sharp. The project offers flexible office, production and event space at affordable prices and claims to be the base for over 60 digital entrepreneurs and production companies specialising in digital content production, digital media and film and TV production (https://www.thesharpproject.co.uk/about/).

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Abi Gilmore, James Davies, Ben Kulka and Matt Lyons for comments on previous versions of this paper. I would also like to thank the ONS for providing the data analysed, and especially that in Table 10 and Appendix A which was provided following a special request. I would also like to thank the AHRC for their funding and wider support of the PEC. The analysis and interpretations of the data in this paper are my own, and are not necessarily shared by any other person or organisation.

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Appendix 1

Further Analysis of Income per person employed among Creative Industries Enterprises registered on the IDBR, including comparisons with London based enterprises

Tables A and B provides a disaggregation by sub-sector of the data presented in Table 10 in the paper. Table A shows that within the CIs income per person employed tends to be higher in both the UK as a whole and in Manchester in 'advertising and marketing', in design, in 'film, TV, radio and photography', and in 'music and the performing arts', while marginally below average in 'architecture' and lower than average in 'IT, software and computer services'.

Table A: Income per Person Employed in CI Enterprises, 2019 & 2021

		Relative	turnover pe	r person emp	loyed by em	ployment size	band
		0 to 4	0 to 4	5 to 9	10 to 19	20 to 49	50+
		£'000	= 100				
All Creative	All UK	119	100	113	114	136	208
Industries	London	160	100	128	111	141	196
	Rest of UK	99	100	101	113	122	185
	Gtr Man.	101	100	109	86	122	248
Advertising	All UK	138	100	124	108	157	262
and	London	175	100	151	103	162	268
marketing	Rest of UK	120	100	101	105	118	123
	Gtr Man.	130	100	121	67	119	158
Architecture	All UK	99	100	94	84	93	119
	London	98	100	118	96	94	119
	Rest of UK	100	100	84	78	91	118
	Gtr Man.	97	100	88	138	93	112
Design	All UK	104	100	106	119	145	223
	London	120	100	112	130	137	199
	Rest of UK	97	100	103	110	146	230
	Gtr Man.	122	100	87*	114*	155*	n.a.
IT, software	All UK	97	100	112	139	159	255
and computer	London	110	100	125	139	193	280
services	Rest of UK	92	100	107	138	140	232
	Gtr Man.	86	100	95	80	134	142
Film, TV, radio	All UK	192	100	131	113	149	184
and	London	289	100	128	103	138	134
photography	Rest of UK	117	100	109	86	109	204
	Gtr Man.	119	100	85*	79*	130*	331*
Publishing	All UK	122	100	83	85	102	148
	London	177	100	70	73	79	91
	Rest of UK	99	100	91	92	116	201
	Gtr Man.	79	100	n.a.	90*	166*	n.a.
Music &	All UK	142	100	109	96	82	73
performing	London	200	100	119	91	85	82
arts	Rest of UK	101	100	94	96	77	55
	Gtr Man.	109	100	119	63	56	153

^{* 2019} data only, 2021 is not available due to confidentiality rules, n.a. - neither year available due to confidentiality rules.

Table B: Income per Person employed in Manchester's CI Enterprises relative to those in the rest of the UK and in London (based on data for 2019 & 2021)

		Relative	turnovers p	er employe	ees by emr	oloyment size	e band
		All	0 to 4	5 to 9	10 to 19	20 to 49	50+
All Creative	London / Rest UK	187%	162%	203%	158%	187%	171%
Industries	Gtr Man / Rest UK	130%	102%	110%	77%	102%	137%
	Gtr Man. / London	69%	63%	54%	49%	54%	80%
Advertising	London / Rest UK	282%	146%	219%	143%	200%	318%
and	Gtr Man / Rest UK	119%	108%	129%	69%	109%	139%
marketing	Gtr Man / London	42%	74%	59%	48%	54%	44%
Architecture	London / Rest UK	109%	98%	139%	120%	101%	99%
	Gtr Man / Rest UK	107%	97%	102%	172%	98%	92%
	Gtr Man / London	99%	99%	74%	143%	97%	94%
Design	London / Rest UK	133%	124%	133%	145%	115%	107%
	Gtr Man / Rest UK	118%	126%	116%*	133%*	140%*	n.a.
	Gtr Man / London	89%	102%	78%*	98%*	120%*	n.a.
IT, software	London / Rest UK	149%	120%	139%	120%	164%	145%
& computer	Gtr Man / Rest UK	68%	94%	83%	54%	89%	57%
services	Gtr Man / London	46%	79%	60%	45%	54%	39%
Film, TV,	London / Rest UK	225%	248%	291%	294%	313%	162%
radio &	Gtr Man / Rest UK	204%	102%	87%*	94%*	127%*	158%*
photog.	Gtr Man / London	91%	41%	24%*	30%*	47%*	105%*
Publishing	London / Rest UK	97%	179%	138%	142%	121%	81%
	Gtr Man / Rest UK	120%	80%	n.a.	81%*	137%*	n.a.
	Gtr Man / London	123%	45%	n.a.	53%*	97%*	n.a.
Music &	London / Rest UK	224%	199%	248%	187%	216%	292%
performing	Gtr Man / Rest UK	154%	109%	136%	71%	78%	298%
arts	Gtr Man / London	69%	55%	55%	38%	36%	102%

^{* 2019} data only, 2021 is not available due to confidentiality rules,

Table B shows that overall, CI businesses in the Manchester city-region also tend to achieve higher incomes per worker than businesses in the rest of the UK excluding London, but lower incomes per worker than London, sometimes very substantially lower (especially in 'advertising and marketing', 'IT, software and computer services', and 'music and the performing arts').

Note that the use of freelancers and other contracted workers is likely to be higher in larger cities such as London and Manchester, so the true labour input is likely being under-recorded especially in these large cities.

A concern arising from this analysis is that the 'IT, software and computer services' sub-sector, which is by far the largest CI subs-sector in Manchester, has incomes per person employed that are less than half those of businesses in the same sector in London, and about two thirds of those of those in the rest of the UK excluding London.

n.a. - neither year available due to confidentiality rules.

Appendix 2

The Locations within Greater Manchester of Creative Industry firms found by Web-scrapping

This appendix provides a brief analysis of an alternative source of data on the location of creative industries firms in Greater Manchester. This data was gathered through a web-scraping exercise of company websites, undertaken for the PEC's Creative Industries Radar (Siepel et al., 2020). The methodology is described in that report, including a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of using web-scraped data rather than official ONS data.

The exercise identified a total of 8,386 creative industries firms as being located in Greater Manchester. These are spatially concentrated, with half being in 27 of the areas 346 MSOAs, each of which has at least 45 firms. Eleven MSOAs were identified as having at least 100 creative industry firms. These, together with the MSOAs in which the number of CI firms identified divided by the number of enterprises recorded in the IDBR for 2020 are reported in Table C.

Table C: MSOAs with the largest number of creative industries firms identified by web-scraping, and the highest shares of CI firms relative to all enterprises identified on the IDBR in 2020

Manchester: Piccadilly & Ancoats	751	Manchester: Uni. N. & Whitworth St.	56.3%
Manchester: City Ctr N. & Collyhurst	743	Rochdale: Deeplish*	35.8%
Manchester: Castlefield & Deansgate	434	Manchester: Hulme & University	34.8%
Salford: Ordsall & Salford Quays	264	Manchester: City Ctr N. & Collyhurst	26.9%
Manchester: Uni. N. & Whitworth St.	169	Manchester: Castlefield/Deansgate	25.5%
Trafford: Altrincham W., Dunham	162	Manchester: Piccadilly & Ancoats	19.9%
Salford: Salford Central & University	159	Manchester: Newton Heath	19.3%
Manchester: Ardwick	142	Manchester: Ardwick	18.3%
Bolton: Central Bolton	129	Trafford: Partington	17.0%
Rochdale: Deeplish*	127	Trafford: Traf'd Park E. & Sevenways	16.9%
Manchester: Strangeways	108	Manchester: Fallowfield Central	15.5%

^{*} I believe this to be an error. The firms are all identified as being publishers, but I have found no corroborating evidence that there are over 100 publishing firms in Deeplish near Rochdale

Figure A

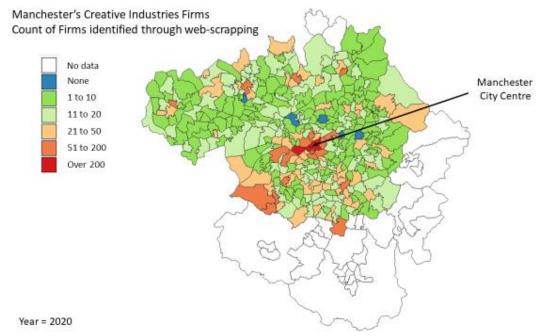


Figure A shows the number of creative industries firms identified as being located in each of Greater Manchester's MSOAs. The map is similar to that generated for workplaces included in the IDBR, with a high concentration of enterprises in the city centre and Salford Quays and secondary concentrations in places primarily in the south of the city region, including Altrincham, Bramhall, Stockport and Sale. There are also some concentrations in the town centres in the north of the city region. The similarity of the pattern is confirms by the correlation between the number of CI enterprises on the IDBR in 2020 in each MSOA and those identified by the web-scraping is very high, at 0.88.

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