



## The Changing fortunes of Manchester: An Aspiring Second City

Fig 1. Manchester



Fig 1. Shows Manchester's important position in the North West: Today, close to major motorway links to the rest of the UK, in the 1790's near to the port of Liverpool which enabled the city to make important industrial links with the rest of the world via Manchester Ship Canal

### Introduction

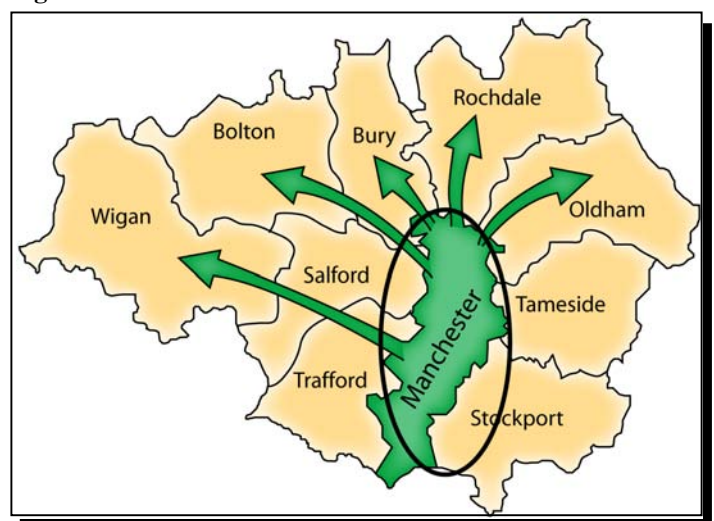
**Second City:** The identity of the second city of the UK is a subject of major disagreement. It is normally thought to be a country's second most important city after its capital. It is difficult to determine such status as it might incorporate many intangibles as well as population size, including cultural, economic and commercial importance. As a result, the UK has several cities vying for this position, including Manchester, Birmingham and Glasgow. In terms of key components of a city of national importance, Manchester ticks a number of boxes. It is globally historic, culturally and economically significant, with a large multi-cultural population. Indeed according to a recent *MORI* pole (2009), when asked which location they thought to be the UK's 'second city', 34% of people placed Manchester ahead of traditional rival Birmingham, which has a much larger population. Tourist officials attribute this to a more "international image" (created by the city's re-imaging in recent years), combined with the 2002 Commonwealth Games boosting Manchester's position.

### 1. Growth in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

- The city of Manchester was originally of Roman origins and essentially a market town up until the 18<sup>th</sup> Century when a cotton and textile industry began to develop, (based largely on local climate (damp to keep the cotton supple), topography (flatness of the land was easy to develop factories and worker settlements upon) and its location near to the port of Liverpool).

- Combined with the development of engines and factory machinery and increased mining of coal in the local area, the ground was laid for the city to develop into what was termed a "cottonopolis" and the world's first industrial city, attracting a rapidly increasing migrant population.
- Manchester continued to grow unabated, to the extent that conditions at work and slum dwellings became unbearable. The pollution (depicted by Salford artist L.S. Lowry) became suffocating and contributed respiratory complaints to a growing list of diseases spread by a lack of sewerage and sanitation systems.
- In 1865 according to new UK census data, the average life expectancy of a Mancunian was just 29.
- The size of the labour force employed in the early cotton trade in the North West region grew in population of Manchester jumped from 17,000 in 1760 to 180,000 in 1830.
- This largely resulted from migration which gave Manchester a sense of cultural diversity that set it apart from other more homogenous areas in the region.
- The migrants consisted mostly of the workless poor who settled in or near the city centre with certain localities being colonized by certain groups. "Little Ireland", near to Oxford Road Station was the earliest settlement of migrants and, over the following 100 years, Polish, Jewish and Italian communities developed deep-set roots in the city.
- Most migrated to Manchester in search of opportunity, creating migrant networks and encouraging more waves of migration thereafter.
- Physically the South Lancashire towns grew closer together as well; as industry and urbanisation grew the space between Manchester and the surrounding towns (including Stockport, Oldham, Rochdale, Bolton, and Salford – see Fig 2.) shrank to form the Greater Manchester conurbation.

Fig 2.



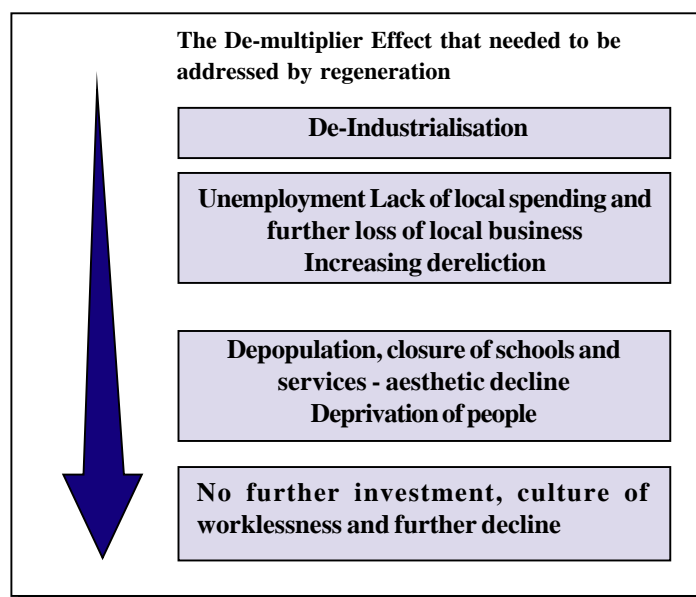
The circled area shows the original extent of Manchester during the onset of industrial revolution, the arrows indicating the extent to which the urbanisation that followed linked it to a number of neighbouring towns (up to 35 miles away in the case of Wigan) along lines of communication

**2. Post Industrial Decline**

- Later in the 1960’s large Indian, Pakistani and Afro-Caribbean communities migrated to the city encouraged by the UK governments need for a larger working population after the loss of life in world war two.
- This growth did not last long, indeed even in the 1950s industrial decline was evident and Manchester had lost its hold on its economic base and began to take on the appearance of what would come to be known as the “de-industrialized city.”
- This crisis in mass manufacturing that affected the Northwest region of England began in the 1950’s and continued to accelerate throughout the 1970’s and 1980’s. We can link this into studies of globalisation as Manchester’s main period of industrial decline coincides with the rise of Newly Industrialising Countries as UK and European manufacturers looked to source cheap labour in less developed countries, which were becoming better connected.
- The worst affected areas were concentrated in an inner ring of suburbs surrounding the CBD. According to UK census data (1951 to 1981) the inner city lost over 52% of its inhabitants and the rate of unemployment grew.
- By 1981 inner city unemployment was over 20% and the area was covered with rundown housing, industrial wasteland, abandoned factories, and out of work residents (*dereliction*).
- 207,000 manufacturing jobs were lost in Manchester (1972-1984) and the service economy did not provide enough replacement jobs to secure employment for the majority of those displaced by *deindustrialization*.
- However, some major communications developments were made in Manchester during this time (the development of Manchester Ringway Airport into an international hub and the myriad of motorway connections linking the rest of the UK) which would contribute to its later success.
- Employment in central Manchester continued to fall rapidly in the 1980’s, compounding the problems of poverty and unemployment affecting the entire city. By 1989 Manchester was employing only 21,200 in the textile trades. Now only the 15<sup>th</sup> largest industrial sector in the Greater Manchester region; a major change in fortunes for a city that was once named ‘Cottonopolis’.
- In parallel to the economic downturn, the quality of housing in the inner city rapidly declined. The overall impact was a *de-multiplying effect*.
- During the 1970s Manchester was in a post-industrial rut, with living conditions arguably as poor as during the industrial revolution. This led to a collapse in the city’s urban inner city population (*depopulation*) as people left areas such as Ancoats, Clayton and Beswick (site of New East Manchester and the Commonwealth Stadium), Hulme and Moss-Side.
- Demographic statistics show the dramatic fall of population in the city and the compensatory rise in the suburbs of Tameside, Trafford and Stockport.

Fig 3 shows this the 4D effect: **D**eindustrialisation, **D**epopulation, **D**ereliction, **D**eprivation leading to the De-multiplier effect.

**Fig 3. De-multiplier effect**

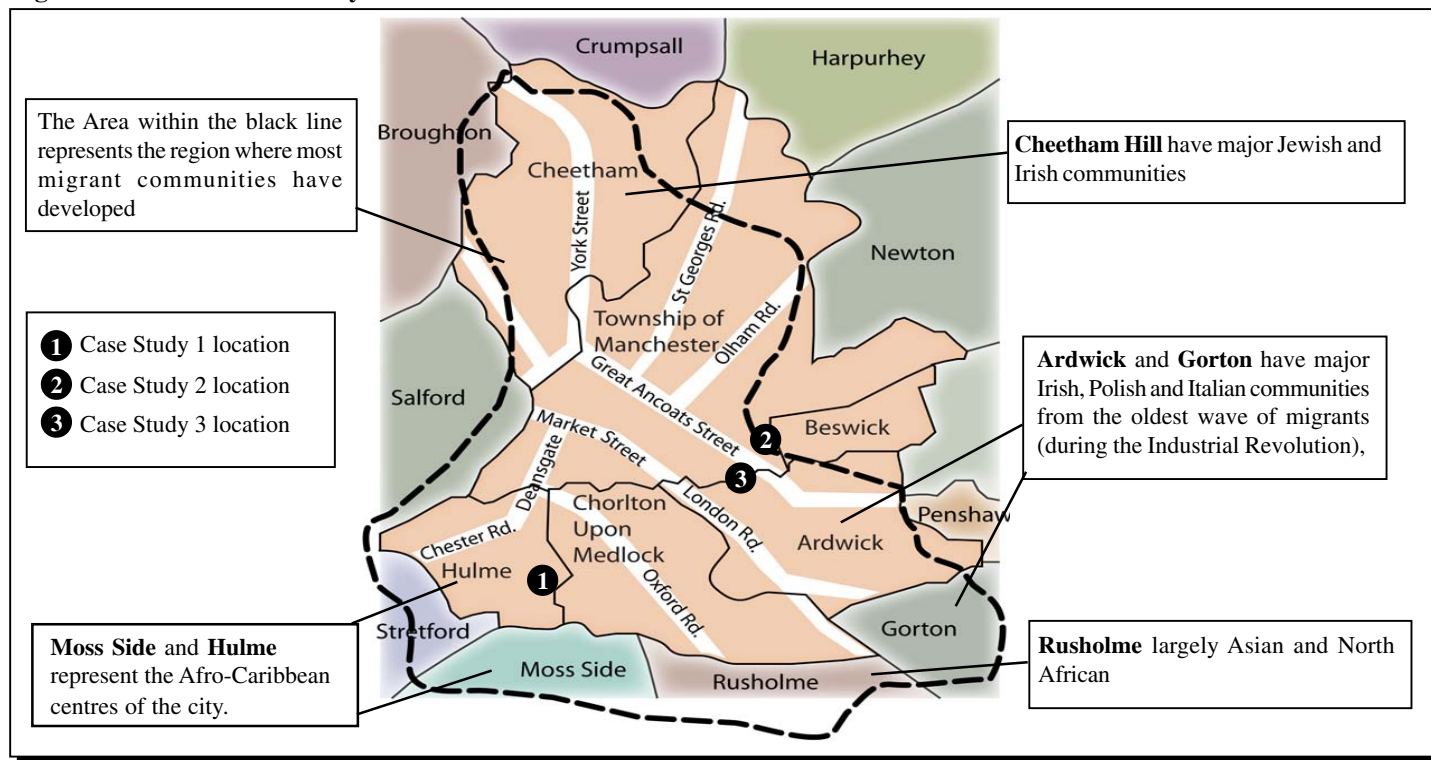


**3. Rebranding and Redeveloping a City for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

There were a number of factors which acted as catalysts for the revival of Manchester which began in the early 1980s.

- The resilience and diversity of the migrant communities, which fuelled Manchester’s cultural renaissance. This included the rise of ‘New Wave’ punk bands in the 1970s, the development of a vibrant 24 hour city club land area, and the rise of Manchester as a media capital (Granada and BBC).
- The crumbling yet largely protected industrial buildings and derelict brownfield spaces formed the keystone of Manchester’s revival as the restored Victorian buildings and the factories of derelict industrial sites became brownfield sites for redevelopment.
- The ability of an extremely effective city council to attract grants and bid money meant there was a steady flow of investment in the city and led to very focussed development. In the 1980s Central Manchester became a very successful urban development corporation (UDC). Initially Manchester had several successful City Challenge Bids. The pump-priming money from Manchester’s failed Olympic Bid was used to improve the physical environment, attract new activities (eg National Velodrome) as well as attracting new modern industrial growth and leisure and tourism.
- The IRA bombing of the Arndale Shopping Centre also turned into an opportunity to re-design the CBD.
- In the 1990s the green shoots of this incremental renewal began to flourish as regeneration led to development of a range of new office and service employment as well as reurbanisation of many city centre areas.
- In 2002 there was the additional catalyst of the highly successful Commonwealth Games

Fig 4. Communities of inner city Manchester



**Case Study 1: Hulme City Challenge Partnership and the Continuing Redevelopment of Hulme**

- Hulme was redeveloped as part of slum clearance in the 1960s. Quickly many high-rise flats were built. They were badly planned – many poorly lit areas and open spaces being adopted by gangs and drug addicts, less than 20 years later. At the time 98% of the flats were council owned. Over half of the dwellings were part of a deck access system, with many of the poor design features of prefabricated construction. The area had a low level of families with children, a high number of single parents, and other people with social difficulties, poorly catered for, with over 30% of people in the area declaring in the 1981 census that they were in a state of ill-health. Employment was low and access to good centres of education, services and jobs was poor, with the area being enclosed by large main roads and many people living within the confines of the huge ‘Hulme Crescent’ complexes built in the 1960’s.
- In 1992, under the Hulme City Challenge Partnership plans were drawn up to build 3,000 new homes, with new shopping areas, roads and community facilities. A more traditional pattern of housing development was designed, with streets, squares, two-storey houses and low-rise flats. A number of partners and residents were responsible for this transformation, including the Guinness Trust and Bellway Homes. Partners worked in close collaboration with each other and with Manchester City Council. Hulme is a good example of how the public and private sectors can work together to address socio-economic decline.
- By 1995, 50 ha of land had been reclaimed, the majority of the former deck access flats had been demolished, 600 new homes for rent had been built, and more than 400 homes had been improved and refurbished. The main shopping area was totally refurbished, including the addition of an ASDA supermarket. A new community centre (Zion Arts Centre) was constructed. Crime in the area has been greatly reduced, and there is more of a social mix of people living in the area.
- By 1997 the government was able to publish statistics pointing to the success of Hulme. Over 40,000 houses gentrified, 53,000 jobs resulting

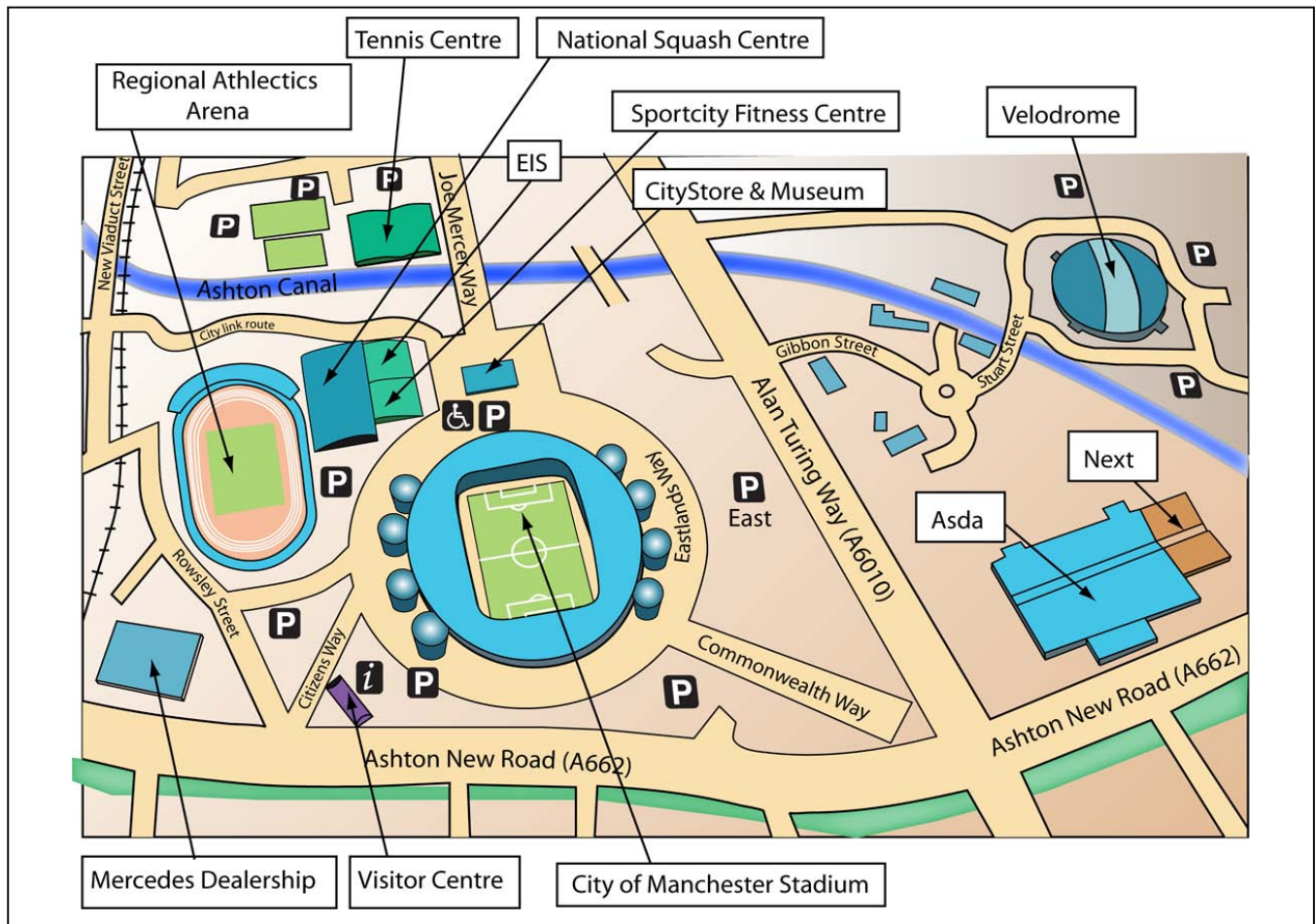
from construction and new business opportunities (such as the new shopping centre, emerging from the decision to base Asda nearby), large tracts of derelict land reclaimed and 3,000 new businesses established. Hulme was attracting wealthy residents and workers (Manchester Science Park employing many post-graduates) and its cultural heritage had been preserved as many of the multi-cultural communities from the 1960s/70s had been re-housed in new or gentrified properties.

- The Hacienda club on the edge of Hulme and Manchester Central has been rebuilt as high value rented properties, keeping the same name and industrial aesthetic. It has attracted younger, wealthy professionals, as have a number of apartments in the same area built in the same style. Other properties focus on the areas historic past, The Rope-Works (apartments), Deansgate Locks (area of entertainment) all revisit positive aspects of Hulmes past and attract new visitors. Plans are currently being mooted to re-use the ‘Russell Club’ (birthplace of the Factory Records Label to which Joy Division signed) on Royce Crescent, as a centre for promotion of musical talent, alongside developing the area close by to incorporate themes of the original Rolls Royce factory that stood there.
- Hulme’s proximity to the city centre and those re-branded cultural images has meant that it has become a popular place to live for a new generation of wealthy city dwellers. University students are also choosing to live in many of the student-focused residential developments too, creating the issue of studentification and disputes with longer-term residents who are concerned about the issue of property degradation and lack of maintenance associated with studentification.
- Furthermore the main job creation has been in the Manchester Science Park, which requires a largely highly educated and skilled workforce, thus many jobs are filled by people who simply commute to the area



**Case Study 2: The Rebranding and Regeneration of East Manchester and Ancoats**

**Fig.5: Plan of the Sports City Development, central to the regeneration of East Manchester (Beswick and Clayton Wards shown in fig 4.**



- Former East Manchester (Clayton and Beswick Ward) was dominated by heavy industry such as chemical works and cotton mills. When de-industrialisation occurred, people left to find work elsewhere. The area became **de-populated**. As a result no other industries located here as there were few skilled workers. In the 1990s the area was largely **brownfield** site and a stadium and sports facilities built in Clayton to house the 2002 Commonwealth games.
- New East Manchester centres on the Sports City Complex, developed for the 2002 Commonwealth Games. The periphery of the complex is largely residential, much of which has had some gentrification as a result of those estates being located near to Sports City. The complex itself provides athletics centres and stadia for school use and also temporary work during events at the main stadium. There is some subsidy for residents to use sports and leisure facilities aimed at improving health amongst locals.
- The council and New East Manchester Housing Association worked together to improve properties in the local area and to attract property investment from property developers such as Urban Splash. Together they created a more desirable

area. The games created international interest and contributed to further business and tourism opportunities for the City. Some facilities are now used by local schools and provide jobs in entertainment and leisure. More businesses (including a Wal-Mart) located in the improved area of Clayton (New East Manchester) and as the area between Clayton and Ancoats (New Islington) becomes regenerated and grows the area has become a more desirable place to live.

- Unfortunately, the reality in this ward is that many older residents still live in poor quality housing with the emphasis being on basic gentrification for them and the building of quality housing for prospective wealthier residents. Many of the job opportunities are part-time (such as those in the sports and entertainment industry) and the incoming wealthier residents have raised the cost of living for the few left behind after de-population. Furthermore the pending decision by the council to sell off the City of Manchester Stadium complex to the wealthy Abu Dhabi business people that currently own Manchester City, may see a hike in prices charged to locals to use the sports facilities that are a major part of improving the standard of health of people in the area. Manchester City Football Club has become a major player in regenerating the area with many new facilities for fans.

**Case Study 3: The Regeneration and Rebranding of Ancoats**

- Ancoats has had perhaps the most successful rebranding and regeneration in the inner city. Its old mill buildings (many now apartments, clubs and music studios) are named after historic industries (eg Sankeys Soap Factory, now a nightclub of the same name) and Manchester's historic Jewish and Italian quarters (largely their museums and cultural centres) and old street names, harking back to industrial development (e.g. Sanitary Street, Soap Street) have been incorporated into the 'Green Quarter' – part of the wider development of Ancoats.
- The Green Quarter is a re-imagining of the areas old industrial image of heavy pollution, now incorporating properties using green energies and materials. The canal walkways of the area are under development as 'inner city' walkways and most successfully the 'Northern Quarter' bordering Ancoats and the city centre has maintained its old industrial image with a chic and modern edge; many of the bars, clubs, restaurants and boutiques using the old interiors and in some cases re-using the names (eg Band on the Walls (a club) interior evokes Victorian-era playhouses, as does Chemical Works, a Music Studio.
- The whole area is now a vibrant, growing economy. Jobs are created in entertainments and service industry (as managers, owners, bar workers, door staff, promoters, shop owners and workers, tour guides of the industrial past and so on) out of this successful change and re-moulding of image and history. This area with Castlefield is perhaps the most successful of Manchester constantly developing inner city wards and given its, cultural diversity, direct links to important historic and cultural pages in Manchester's history, along with its booming economic success today would be an excellent slice of the city to exemplify the wider urban areas credentials for 'second' city status.

**Conclusion**

If you research the other central areas of Manchester as well as these 3 case studies you will find a coherent focus of environmental, socio-cultural and economic development, especially if the neighbouring Salford developments are included. Flagship Birmingham may have the larger population, but the public perception of Manchester's importance remains high.

**Key Terminology Definitions:**

**De-industrialisation:** The loss of industry (and jobs) in a local area, due to government policy to import products of industry or due to the decision of TNCs to operate more cheaply elsewhere

**De-population:** The loss of the majority of a localities population due to 'push' factors such as a lack of employment, declining housing conditions and declining access to services.

**Deprivation:** An area where the people lack basic needs such as employment and services.

**De-Multiplier Effect:** The overall impact of a loss of employment and population in a locality

**Rebranding:** The redevelopment and re-imagining an area in decline or with an image problem, based on using historic themes linked to the local area

**Regeneration:** Redeveloping old uses of a local area, for example re-using old factories, properties, waterways etc

**Brownfield Sites:** Areas of previously built and currently derelict land, secured and set – aside for regeneration

**Multiplier Effect:** Improving the economic growth, quality of life and aesthetic of an area by investment in one sector, that promotes improvement across other sectors.

**Practice Exam Questions**

1. Outline how Manchester came to require major investment in regeneration during the 1980's
2. Using examples from this factsheet, explain the processes of regeneration and rebranding.
3. Evaluate the success of regeneration and rebranding in Manchester.

**Mark Scheme**

1. Definition of regeneration. Reasons for Manchester's decline: de-industrialisation, de-population (named industries and localities), time-scale of decline. Mention de-multiplier effect (the 4D effect).
2. Definition of rebranding. Examples of key players involved in Manchester's redevelopment and description (briefly) of specific localities where rebranding and regeneration has taken place particularly and why (eg Ancoats/ East Manchester and Hulme). One or two named examples from with these case studies that explain the processes of rebranding and regeneration and the intended effect.
3. What does second city status require? What does Manchester contribute nationally and globally to achieve such status. Why does the rebranding and regeneration of Manchester's musical, cultural and historic heritage (both in terms of evoking the past and in terms of the physically built environment) have a role to play in promoting the city of Manchester? Evidence of the social-economic and physical environmental successes of rebranding evidenced in the two main case studies of Hulme and Ancoats/ East Manchester. Evaluation needs some negative balance – is there evidence where rebranding and regeneration has not had the desired effect?

**Further reading and websites**

**Haslam, D.** (1998) Manchester, England. Penguin, London.

**Glinert, E.** (2009) Manchester Compendium: A Street by Street History of England's Greatest Industrial City. Penguin, London  
[www.neweastmanchester.com](http://www.neweastmanchester.com) - New East Manchester Regeneration Projects

**Acknowledgements;**

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