

Post-industrial urban change in the UK: A Manchester case study



**Walking the financialised city:
A guided urban walk for
teachers and students**



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Introduction

Central Manchester is being remade via a 'vertical spectacle of towers and cranes' (Silver *et al.*, 2021, p. 162). A housing boom is seeing the city core expand as tens of thousands of new housing units, often financed by private equity funds and investment firms, are being built at pace. The result is a controversial and much-debated model for urban regeneration.

This guide will support teachers of geography in leading classes on a guided urban walk around Manchester city centre to explore the nature of this regeneration. The guided walk is intended for use with A level geography classes but could also be adapted for use with classes at other phases.

For those unable to visit Manchester in person, the locations could be viewed via Google Street View as part of a virtual field trip. Alternatively, the ideas presented here may provide a guide to help you create a similar walk for another town or city.

The guide is accompanied by a reading list that will support you in finding out more about the topic, either for yourself as part of your professional development or to support students to explore these topics as part of their NEA or independent study.

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Understanding urban regeneration in Manchester

Manchester is an ideal city from which to study the role played by UK urban regeneration policies in changing places. Geographers have argued that, since the 1980s, Manchester has undergone an 'entrepreneurial turn' that has seen a property-led approach to urban regeneration applied to the city (Peck and Ward, 2002). This has since become known as the 'Manchester Model' of urban regeneration.

Of course, in reality, the Manchester Model shares many common elements with other urban regeneration projects around the world. Nevertheless, something distinctive does seem to be happening in Manchester's city centre. Researchers have argued that 'over the last 25 to 30 years Manchester city centre has experienced a property development boom unlike that of any major UK city outside of London' (Goulding *et al.*, 2022, p. 5).

Walking in the city centre, it quickly becomes apparent that there is a construction boom underway. Count the cranes, the new modern office blocks and the ever-expanding number of new high-rise buildings. What might be less obvious as you walk around the city are the geographical processes that have driven this boom. The guided walk presented in this booklet will help you to unravel some of these processes with your students and debate their advantages and disadvantages.

Before undertaking the walk

Before embarking on this guided walk, it would be beneficial to ensure that your students have encountered some relevant geographical terminology in the classroom. Here, we briefly summarise this key terminology so that you can support students as they learn about Manchester's urban geography. A linked set of lesson resources, comprising PowerPoints and reading sheets, have been produced to enable you to explore the Manchester model and its consequences with your classes.

- Lesson 1 considers how Manchester became an 'entrepreneurial city'.
- Lesson 2 looks at how regeneration has transformed east Manchester.
- Lesson 3 discusses the relationship between state-led gentrification and inequality in Manchester.
- Lesson 4 focuses on offshore ownership and Manchester's property-led regeneration.
- Lesson 5 questions if there are alternatives to the entrepreneurial city in Manchester.

Key concepts

The following geographical concepts will be used throughout the walk, and will help students to understand how geographers think about urban change in cities such as Manchester.

Gentrification: a term first coined by Ruth Glass, gentrification refers to urban change that prioritises moving more affluent residents into a neighbourhood, often displacing existing communities.

The state: a term closely related to 'government', the state refers to the combination of political entities at different scales that seek to govern or regulate society. At a national level, the state is represented by a country's government; at the local scale, a local council or authority may be the main state institution.

State-led gentrification: a particular approach to urban change whereby policies from national governments, local councils or both are used to encourage and facilitate gentrification.

Financialisation: refers to the increasing importance of finance and financial markets to supposedly non-financialised aspects of social and economic life, including housing.

The rent gap: a theory proposed by the geographer Neil Smith to explain gentrification. Smith argued that gentrification may occur when the gap between the actual rents being earned from an area now, and the potential rents that might be earned after investment in urban change, grows wide enough to justify an investment on the grounds of potential future profits.

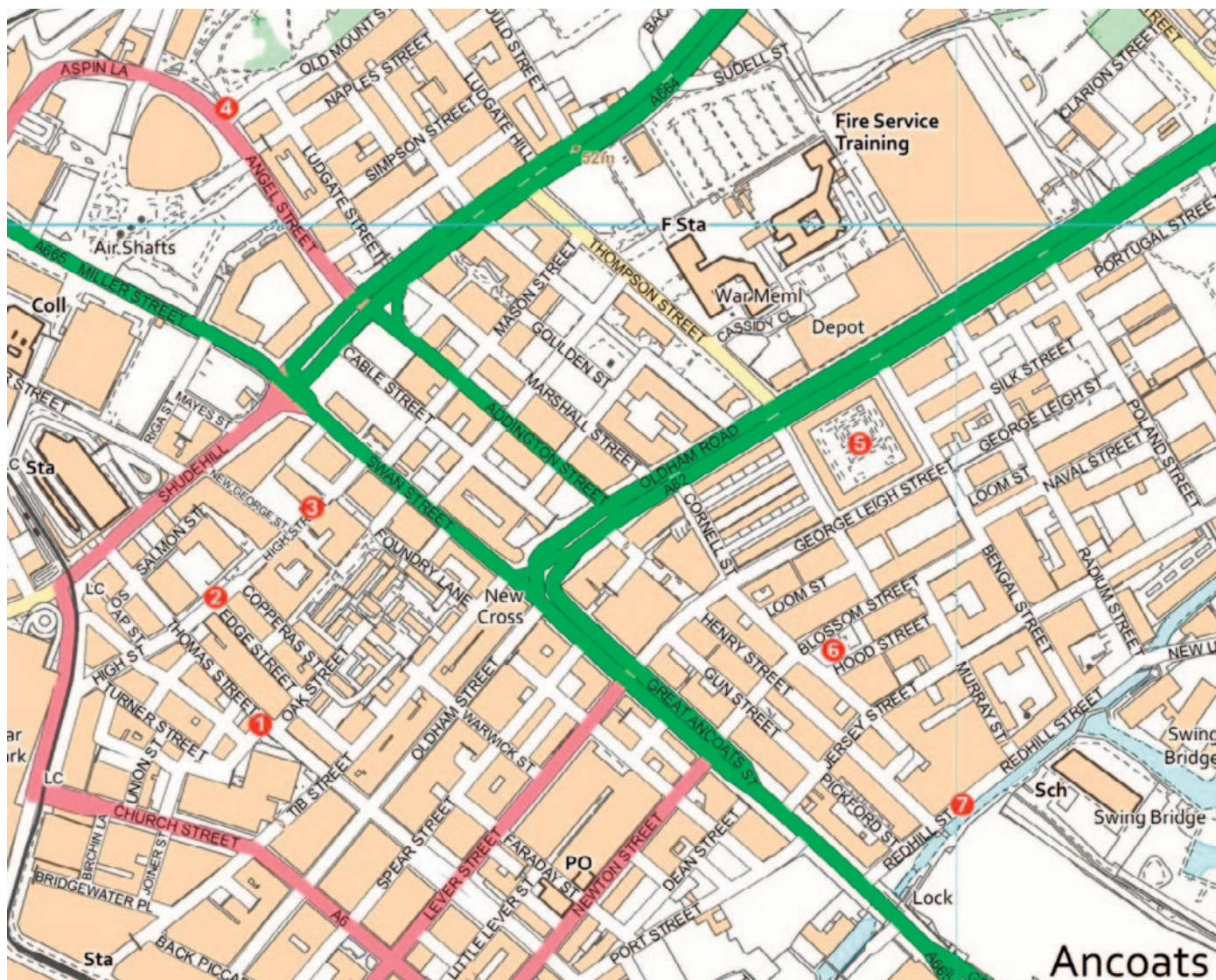
Displacement: a term used to refer to the process of people moving away from an area, often against their initial will, as a result of urban change. This often occurs when rents or property prices rise in an area and a pre-existing community becomes less able to afford to live in a neighbourhood.

Privatised public land: land that was previously owned by the state but has been sold or leased/rented out to a private company such as a property investor or developer.

Build to rent: residential properties that are specifically built to be rented out via the private sector, rather than lived in by those who own them or owned by a local authority on behalf of a community. The rents accrued from build-to-rent properties are often expected to rise annually, giving investors secure profits over time but meaning that this model of housing can be quite insecure for those who rent the properties.

Offshored: land or property being owned by companies based outside the UK in order to benefit from the rents that are charged but reduce/avoid certain taxes.

Walking the financialised city: A guided walk through Manchester's Northern Quarter and Ancoats districts



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This walk begins in Manchester's Northern Quarter, a cultural quarter that has seen significant inward investment but – so far – comparatively fewer high-rise buildings. Historic terraced housing remains in this area, though often now repurposed into commercial and leisure facilities. The walk progresses via Angel Meadows, before ending in the Ancoats area, where Manchester's industrial past and its post-industrial regeneration jostle with one-another.

Site 1: Thomas Street

Where to gather: On the corner where John Street meets Thomas Street.

What you might say: The Northern Quarter can be thought of as a cultural quarter, a historic part of the city centre undergoing urban change focused on promoting the culture and leisure industries as part of the visitor economy. As you can see, the area is full of restaurants, bars and cafes, and there are several music venues, arts spaces and theatres nearby. Thomas Street was even rented out in full to the French fashion house Chanel for their *Metiers d'art* catwalk show in the summer of 2023. Manchester City Council estimated that this event brought in £8 million of investment to the city, but it also allowed a privately owned company to take control of a public city street for a period of time.

The Northern Quarter is a great place for us to begin to understand one of the most important theories



Manchester's Northern Quarter is full of restaurants, cafes and bars. Photo: John Lazenby/Shutterstock.com



The frontage of the historic fish market on High Street. Photo: Marmalade Photos/Shutterstock.com

about gentrification: geographer Neil Smith's idea of the 'rent gap'. Smith argued that gentrification happens when there is a 'gap' between current rents and potentially higher rents that might be achieved by landlords. As a result, older, historically important buildings can be demolished, with long-standing businesses being evicted. However, if the historic buildings are able to continue to generate relatively high rents and investment, as those on Thomas Street still seem to, the buildings themselves may be maintained while investment focuses on repurposing their function. The visitor economy has been a major growth industry in the Northern Quarter. As you walk through this area, reflect on how many of the businesses here cater primarily to the local community and how many to visitors to the city.

Questions to ask: What are your impressions of this area? How is heritage/history being used in the built environment? Why do you think the economy of this area focuses so much on leisure and tourism?

Where to go next: Walk north-west along Thomas Street (in the direction of Shudehill), then turn right onto High Street.

Site 2: High Street

Where to gather: On the left-hand side at the far end of the historic fish market building, close to where the taller and more recent developments are located.

What you might say: High Street shows the impacts of the rent gap more directly. Here, we can see clear examples of historic buildings that have been repurposed and put to new use in order to extract higher rents. For example, look closely at the market building, which used to be home to Manchester's fish market before it was moved out with the other markets to 'New Smithfield' in east Manchester in the early 1970s. The historic front has been preserved, but now serves as the entrance to a

gated community development of flats and modern apartments. In this area, the rent gap had expanded such that it was economically worthwhile to invest in changing the built environment in order to pursue profit from rents. However, there was still seen to be both economic and cultural value in preserving some of the heritage, which explains why the market frontage has been retained (helped by its Grade II Listed status from English Heritage).

One particular challenge in this neighbourhood has been the rise of Airbnb and other short-term rental operators as part of the visitor economy. The rise of these digital platforms has created investment opportunities for landlords by purchasing property then renting it out as short-term lets to tourists and visitors. Hundreds of flats and other homes in this area are now owned and used to make money from the visitor economy, which pushes up house prices in the area and reduces the amount of housing stock available for people to live in. Residents' groups like the Northern Quarter Forum have been pushing back against this, including by raising concerns about the rise of antisocial problems such as regular hen-dos and stag parties. The local media often reports on these problems.

Questions to ask: What are your impressions of this area? How is heritage/history being used in the built environment? Why do you think much of the residential development in this area is gated, and what impacts might this have? Why might some residents' groups be opposed to the rise of Airbnb and other short-term rental operators? How might the local council balance different interests such as visitors and local communities?

Where to go next: Walk approximately 50 m further along High Street continuing north-east. Stop when you come to the One Smithfield Square building on your right, a modern development with yellow linings around parts of the building.



One Smithfield Square. Photo: Alastair Wallace/Shutterstock.com

Site 3: Smithfield Square

Where to gather: Outside the One Smithfield Square development.

What you might say: The One Smithfield Square development was completed in 2014 as the final phase of a £120 million regeneration scheme and won 'Best Apartment Building' in the 2015 Sunday Times British Home Awards. However, it is also a great example of the financialised nature of much urban residential development. Smithfield Square is more than 50% owned by companies operating from the British Virgin Islands, where the amount of tax paid is much lower. This is an example of how property and land in Manchester are being 'offshored'.

As these new forms of urban architecture and property ownership combine, the cost of housing is rising. As a result, lower-income residents are finding it harder and harder to afford to rent or buy property near the centre of Manchester. This has led to displacement (a commonly noted side effect of gentrification in many cities around the world), for example from the former social housing on Tib Street.

Questions to ask: Why are the companies who own One Smithfield Square operating from the British Virgin Islands? How is financialisation altering residential development in Manchester? Who do you

think benefits, and who loses out, from this kind of financialised housing model?

Where to go next: Continue to the end of High Street where it becomes Eagle Street. Then, turn left on the Swan Street/Ring Road. You will now be walking north-west. Cross carefully at the traffic lights on the major junction. When it is safe to do so, you may wish to point out to students some of the modern high-rise developments in this area. Continue along Ring Road until you see the large Co-op building on your right-hand side. Cross the road at the traffic lights here and then walk around the Co-op building heading north-east, which will bring you to Angel Street. Cross Angel Street and go into Angel Meadow park.

Site 4: Angel Meadow



The entrance to Angel Meadow. Photo: Toby Howard/Shutterstock.com

Where to gather: On the south-east side of Angel Meadow park, next to Old Mount Street, there is an entrance to the park that has a space in which you could gather. Alternately, anywhere in the park should be suitable.

What you might say: The park you're standing in, and the area around it, has seen its function change many times over the years. During the early Industrial Revolution this was a middle-class area that was home to merchants, but by the 19th century it had become a working-class neighbourhood that was (in)famous for its poor-quality housing and high levels of deprivation. The area was described by Friedrich Engels in his 1845 book *The Condition of the Working Class in England* as 'Hell upon Earth' and, more recently, in local journalist Dean Kirby's (2016) book *Angel Meadow* as 'Victorian Britain's most savage slum'. The park itself is the site of an old churchyard, St Michael's, that was painted by the local artist LS Lowry, as well as a cemetery that was the burial site of up to 40,000 working-class people, many of whom died of diseases such as cholera, which spread easily due to the overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions.

Today, Angel Meadow is a very different place. Now part of NOMA, a huge regeneration project that will ultimately consist of approximately 232,000 m² of offices, 93,000 m² of homes and 19,000 m² of hotels. This makes it a vital part of the strategic regeneration plan for Manchester. Although it is outside the inner ring road that traditionally marked Manchester's core and centre, Angel Meadow shows how the centre is moving outwards and beginning to transform neighbourhoods that have traditionally been home to working-class communities.

The large tower blocks in this area are owned by the Far East Consortium, a Hong Kong based and Cayman Island registered company that has been given huge amounts of privatised public land to develop by Manchester City Council as part of the Victoria North regeneration scheme. Many of the flats in these towers are 'build to rent'. Build-to-rent properties are often bought in bulk by investors such as banks, pension funds, high-wealth individuals and sovereign wealth funds and used as financialised assets that increase in value over time. This is resulting in large profits for the Far East Consortium and other investors, but it has also led to the building of homes that are very expensive for people to rent. Here again we can see the theory of the rent gap in action: rents in Angel Meadow were low, but by investing in the construction of new buildings on privatised public land and rebranding the reputation of the area, the opportunity for higher rents is now being realised by companies like the Far East Consortium. By encouraging the privatisation of public land, we also see that Manchester City Council is playing an active role in encouraging this sort of financialised property development model, making this an example of state-led gentrification, whereby local or national government policies are used to encourage the gentrification of neighbourhoods.

Questions to ask: What evidence remains of Angel Meadow's history? How has financialised state-led gentrification changed this area? Why do you think Manchester City Council are encouraging this kind of urban development? What do you think the future will be for areas further out of the city given this ongoing construction?

Where to go next: Leave Angel Meadow park on the east side and walk south-east along Ludgate Hill. When this road reaches Rochdale Road (A664), cross safely at the traffic lights. Once you've crossed, continue south-east down Thompson Street. Here you are walking along a gentrification frontier, with areas not yet developed but likely to be soon. At the end of Thompson Street safely cross Oldham Road (A62) at the traffic lights. The large Victorian building in front of you as you cross is Victoria Square.

Site 5 : Victoria Square, Ancoats



Anita Street, which leads to Victoria Square. Photo: John B. Hewitt/Shutterstock.com

Where to gather: Walk a short way down Sherratt Street in front of the Victoria Square building and stop to gather wherever you think best.

What you might say: Housing in Manchester isn't all financialised, and, in fact, there are historical examples of the city doing things very differently. Victoria Square is considered to be Manchester's first municipal housing development, and now operates as a supported housing scheme for older residents. Nearby, Anita Street (pictured above) is famous for being the first municipal housing development in Manchester to have indoor toilets. The street was originally called Sanitation Street to celebrate that fact, before residents asked that the name be changed. The housing in this area reminds us that, in the past, the state, in the form of the local council, focused on providing housing that was aimed at residents who were unable to afford market rents – what we now call social housing.

In Manchester, a number of housing campaign groups, such as Greater Manchester Housing Action and the Greater Manchester Tenants Union, have been calling for Manchester City Council to return to this history of municipal housing provision as a way to tackle rising property prices and homelessness. Victoria Square reminds us that housing in cities doesn't have to be financialised, and that there are alternatives to state-led gentrification that put social needs ahead of profit for investors.

Questions to ask: How does this neighbourhood feel different to the places we have visited previously? Who wins, and who loses, from a social housing and municipal-ownership approach to housing? Do you think the city needs more of this kind of housing?

Where to go next: Continue south-east along Sherratt Street. At the end of the street, turn right

onto Blossom Street. After a short distance the street opens out into Cutting Room Square. This next stop is a good area to provide students with a break given the street furniture. Some nearby cafes and restaurants may allow students to use the bathrooms here.

Site 6: Cutting Room Square



Cutting Room Square. Photo: Lachlan1/Shutterstock.com

Where to gather: In the square itself.

What you might say: We're now in the heart of Ancoats, a neighbourhood that bears the hallmarks of its importance in the industrial history of Manchester. Here, old mill buildings tower around the edges of the landscape, and its industrial heritage and links to the British Empire, remain important parts of the place branding: look out for Cotton Street and Bengal Street, and notice the art features on the south-eastern side of the square.

However, deindustrialisation and post-industrial regeneration have fundamentally transformed the function of this neighbourhood. Now, those looming former mill buildings are being used as offices, coffee shops and restaurants, or as highly-priced residential property, rather than the cotton production they were originally built for.

In recent years, a new partnership between Manchester City Council and the Abu-Dhabi United Group (ADUG) – a private equity group – to form the 'Manchester Life' joint venture, has been used as a vehicle for residential regeneration and property market investment, often on formerly public land that has now been privatised. You'll notice Manchester Life plaques on a number of buildings in this area, for example on the corner of One Cutting Room Square in the southern corner of Cutting Room Square. By 2023, this partnership had delivered 1,468 housing units, many of which were build-to-rent, and many more are planned. A report shows that all the rental

income for these units goes to the Abu Dhabi partners despite this being formerly public land. The area was already gentrifying before the partnership, but this has now accelerated significantly. Critics have raised concerns about the fact that Manchester City Council has partnered with an organisation that has close links to countries with questionable human rights records, and that ADUG is registered offshore and so potentially benefits from lower tax rates.

Questions to ask: Why do you think Manchester City Council has partnered with ADUG to form Manchester Life? What do you think about Manchester City Council forming partnerships like this? How has history and heritage been treated in the built environment of this area of Manchester? What kind of trade-offs do you think the council have made to ensure the regeneration of the area? Could it have been done differently?

Where to go next: Leave Cutting Room Square via Cotton Street in the south-east corner. Walk straight along this street. Turn right when it meets Jersey Street (turning in front of the headquarters of the Vegetarian Society), then take the first left onto Henry Street. Walk a short distance to where Henry Street meets Redhill Street, next to the canal. Central Retail Park is the large square on the other side of the canal.

Site 7: Central Retail Park



The Central Retail Park site in 2024. Photo: © Peter McDermott and licensed for reuse under Creative Commons Licence CC BY-SA 2.0.

Where to gather: Anywhere on Redhill Street.

What you might say: Here we can see the contested nature of urban change in Manchester. Central Retail Park was, until recently, home to a number of large retailers from the 1980s. However, it was purchased by Manchester City Council for tens of millions of pounds of public money. Plans to

redevelop the site have been on hold for some time. The council had hoped to use it as a car park in the meantime, but this plan faced huge opposition from local residents. A community-led campaign highlighted concerns about the impact of increased traffic on air quality, especially since Central Retail Park is next to a school, among other issues. As a result, the council dropped their plans.

Central Retail Park reminds us that residents can oppose urban change and argue for other ways of doing things. This can be extremely difficult though – the council and property developers often have significant resources with which to work around or undermine opposition. The community campaigners are making the case for low-rise development or a green space, but this may be unlikely as the site is now being considered as the location for government offices. Such contested sites of change are a window into one of the most important questions in urban geography: who owns the city?

Questions to ask: What are the different visions for the use of Central Retail Park? Why might the interests of investors and local residents be in conflict? What challenges do you think local communities face when seeking to resist developments like this? How do you think this space could best be used?

References and guided reading list

The following publications have been used to develop these resources. Some are cited within it, and others will be useful for anyone wanting to learn more about or undertake research into urban change in Manchester.

Berry, H., Davis, R., Rose, I., Sandor, A., Silver, J. and Yates, L. (2021) *Short Term Rentals in Manchester: Time to act?* Available at <http://www.gmhousingaction.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/AirBnB-Report-Dec-21-2021.pdf>

This report was produced by members of Greater Manchester Tenants Union (GMTU) and Greater Manchester Housing Action (GMHA) with support from key individuals, and argues that the proliferation of short-term rentals in Manchester is a key contributing factor to the local housing crisis.

Blakeley, G. and Evans, B. (2013) *The Regeneration of East Manchester*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

While this book focuses on east Manchester, it has wider relevance to national and international regeneration initiatives. The book assesses the outcomes of the regeneration, although it demonstrates the difficulties in producing a definitive evaluation.

de Noronha, N. and Silver, J. (2024) *The Housing Question in the District of Ancoats*. Available at <https://tenantsunion.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/07/The-Housing%20Question-in-the-District-of-Ancoats.pdf>

This leaflet examines the shifting historical-geographical relations that have shaped housing in the Ancoats area of Manchester.

Dobraszczyk, P. and Butler, S. (eds) (2020) *Manchester: Something rich and strange*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Bringing together contributions from poets, academics, writers, novelists, historians, architects and artists from across the region, alongside a range of captivating photographs, this book explores the history of Manchester through concepts such as 'material', 'atmosphere', 'waste', 'movement' and 'underworld' to challenge our understanding of this post-industrial metropolis.

Gillespie, T. and Silver, J. (2021) *Who Owns The City? The Privatization of Public Land in Manchester*.

Available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4759431>

This report investigates the privatisation of public land in central Manchester, focusing mainly on the wards of Piccadilly and Ancoats & Beswick that have experienced significant transformation in recent years. The report considers whether public land ownership and use is transparent, whether public land disposals have been good value for the public, and what type of city is being built using public resources.

Goulding, R., Leaver, A. and Silver, J. (2022) *Manchester Off-Shored: A public interest report on the Manchester Life Partnership Between Manchester City Council and the Abu Dhabi United Group*. Sheffield: University of Sheffield. Available at www.sheffield.ac.uk/management/news/manchester-offshored-new-report-sheffield-university-management-school-and-university-sheffield

This report provides a detailed analysis of Manchester City Council's partnership with the Abu Dhabi United Group via Manchester Life. Key findings are summarised in the early pages, and the report as a whole offers a comprehensive critical analysis of a partnership that has been reshaping the urban geography of Ancoats and surrounding areas.

Goulding, R., Leaver, A. and Silver, J. (2025) *Centripetal Cities: A critique of supply-side urban development*. Sheffield: University of Sheffield. Available at

<https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/crafic/news/new-report-critiques-supply-side-urban-development>

This report critically examines the supply-side, property-led urban development model using Manchester as a case study to highlight its dynamics, impacts and implications for urban policymaking in the UK.

Kirby, D. (2016) *Angel Meadow: Victorian Britain's most savage slum*. Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books.

This book gives a detailed but accessible overview of the history of the Angel Meadow neighbourhood, one of the stops on this urban walk.

Lees, L. (2020) 'Changing urban places: what is wrong with gentrification?', *Geography Review*, 33, 3. Available at <https://magazines.hachettelearning.com/magazine/geography-review/33/3/changing-urban-places>

This article considers how urban places around the world are being remade by planners and governments, the difference between urban regeneration and gentrification, and why this is important in understanding changing places.

Lorne, C. (2022) *Housing Beyond Borders*. Available at <https://www.open.edu/openlearn/society-politics-law/geography/housing-beyond-borders>

This article describes the research used to make the 'Housing beyond borders' maps (see Lesson 4) and discusses some of the implications of their findings.

Luke, N. and Kaika, M. (2019) 'Ripping the heart out of Ancoats: collective action to defend infrastructures of social reproduction against gentrification', *Antipode*, 51, 2, pp. 579–600. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12468>

This article explores the conflict over the Ancoats Dispensary building in East Manchester (see Lesson 5). It argues that the building's socially embedded history became key for articulating anti-gentrification struggles, as its planned demolition was seen as a symbolic demolition of the community itself.

Owen, A. (2025) *A Guide to Fieldwork in Manchester*. Sheffield: Geographical Association.

This book provides ideas for additional fieldwork walks and projects that can be undertaken in Manchester, and provides further geographical context to underpin student research into Manchester's human and physical geography.

Peck, J. and Ward, K. (eds) (2002) *City of Revolution: Restructuring Manchester*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Although it was published more than 20 years ago, this book remains one of the best overviews of urban change in Manchester. It offers an excellent outline of the different urban regeneration policies and projects pre-2002, and its focus on urban inequalities and the impacts of urban change mean many of the arguments the book makes remain relevant to understanding the city today.

Rose, I. (2023) *The Rentier City: Manchester and the making of the neoliberal metropolis*. London: Repeater Books.

Isaac Rose's book is the best accessible overview of the history behind urban change in Manchester. Rose goes back to the 19th century to explore the significance of industrial Manchester and the flows of investment that gave rise to the 'shock city' of the Industrial Revolution. He then carefully traces the contested politics of urban change, and in the closing chapters he assesses Manchester after the 'entrepreneurial turn' towards a city in which state-led gentrification and financialised property investment predominate.

Silver, J. (2018) *From Homes to Assets: Housing financialisation in Manchester*. Available at http://www.gmhousingaction.com/report_launched_on_housing_finance_gm

This report argues that housing financialisation is an important factor in the growing housing crisis in Greater Manchester. It examines data for new housing units in the 'development pipeline' across 79 sites in the city-regional centre in July 2017, alongside a range of secondary data sources.

Silver, J., Fields, D., Goulding, R., Rose, I. and Donnachie, S. (2021) 'Walking the financialized city: confronting capitalist urbanization through mobile popular education', *Community Development Journal*, 56, 1, pp. 161–79. Available at <https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/id/eprint/178559/>

This academic journal article, which is free to access, gives an excellent overview of the concept of financialisation, and also discusses Neil Smith's ideas of gentrification and the rent gap as applied to the areas that this walk is based on.

Spinoza, A. (2023) *Manchester Unspun: Pop, property and power in the original modern city*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

This book offers a first-hand account of the changes in Manchester – from the post-industrial malaise of the 1970s, through the cultural renaissance inspired by the legendary nightclub the Hacienda, to the present day when the city is an international destination for culture and sport, and one of the fastest-growing urban regions in Europe.

Ward, K. (2003) 'Entrepreneurial urbanism, state restructuring and civilizing "New" East Manchester', *Area*, 35, 2, pp. 116–27. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-4762.00246>

This paper examines redevelopment in East Manchester, exploring the spatially selective nature of entrepreneurial urbanism within cities and arguing that this demands a qualitative shift in the state's role in urban redevelopment.



