

An Irregular Geography: Reading Beyond Inner/Outer Zone Binaries in Creative City Research

Chris Gibson and Chris Brennan-Horley

University of Wollongong

Despite the palpable sense of material and social transformation in the everyday life of our cities, we argue in this paper that in much recent urban research – particularly the flood of work on creativity and the creative class following Richard Florida’s wildly popular *Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) – old binaries of inner versus outer (Powell, 1993; Mee, 1994; Dowling and Mee, 2000) continue to be invoked. Though certainly not articulated as strong denigration of suburban areas, creative city research has uncritically absorbed long-held binaries of inner and outer areas, by emphasising urban villages and inner-metropolitan, gentrified zones of cities, where industries like film, music and advertising have tended to locate (Landry, 2000). ‘Outer suburban’ and non-metropolitan localities rarely appear worthy of mention.

In this paper we seek to move discourses of ‘the creative city’ beyond binaries of inner versus outer metropolitan areas. A particular focus of ours is an interpretation of indexing measures that portray suburbs as more or less ‘creative’. Such measures have become highly popular since Florida (2002), who correlated the success (or otherwise) of places in the global economy to their capacity to attract creative industries and arts workers and consumers. We draw instead on our own longitudinal research on creative industries in Sydney to reveal a more complex story of social change and sectoral differentiation, of concentration, dispersal, and relational networks. Our research examines employment data for creative industries and occupations over four census periods (1986-2001) for SLAs in Sydney – and in a sense relies on quantitative measures not dissimilar to those used in creative indexes and similar benchmarking studies. However, careful interpretation of data across time and space hints at a more complex picture. In addition, we also suggest that indexing techniques miss much of the subtle and more complex geography of creative production occurring within places that might otherwise be revealed through ethnography. We draw our observations on this point from a series of research projects specifically on music (a PhD, Gibson, 2000, and an honours thesis, Brennan-Horley, 2004) which involved interviews with key actors and participation in ‘indie’ rock, dance and hip-hop scenes over a combined period of more than a decade. Those ethnographic and everyday knowledges of creative workers and industries in Sydney points towards a different interpretation of the geography of creativity, and subsequent policy trajectories.

Binaries and hierarchies in creative city research

In academic and policy writing on the creative city, the ‘local’ has returned to prominence (somewhat an echo of earlier discourses of ‘local economic development’ in the 1980s; e.g. Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993). Place identities are increasingly seen as

marketable commodities (Molotch, 1996), the importance of main street has been reinforced (Landry, 2000), as has the general thrust of research on ‘creative clusters’, which by definition prioritises spatial concentration in particular districts over metropolitan-wide processes (Crewe, 1996; Bassett et. al., 2002). In a sense there is nothing ‘new’ about the idea of culture as conduit for planning and economic development strategies: such ideas enjoyed a ‘first wave’ of popularity more than a decade ago (and translated into academic and policy work on cultural industries (defined more in terms of proximity to ‘the arts’), community development and regeneration (see for example Bianchini, 1993a, 1993b; Driver and Gillespie, 1993). In more recent years, and particularly following the expanding popularity of Florida, Porter and Landry, links have been drawn between creative industries (defined by innovation as a key ingredient in the production chain) and clustering as a spatial trend; essentially expanding on the idea that there are certain ‘spillovers’ between individuals and companies located nearby – one learns from being close to competitors, innovates when in close proximity to the ‘cutting-edge’ of fashions, and is encouraged to collaborate when in mutual best interests. Related is the concept of ‘institutional thicknesses’ (Amin and Thrift, 1995) – webs of supporting organizations such as financial institutions, chambers of commerce, local authorities, marketing and business support agencies that ‘create synergy, and a collective sense of identity and purpose within a cluster’ (Bassett et. al., 2002: 173). As more fully detailed elsewhere (Gibson and Klocker, 2005), middle and outer ring suburbs (as well as rural areas) are largely ignored because they don’t so obviously conform physically or socially to the image of a densely interwoven cluster of firms, producers and consumers. Instead, places beyond the inner-city are implied to be ‘uncreative’ zones – places of domestic consumption rather than sites of innovation, the arts and creativity.

In Richard Florida’s (2002) now canonical *Rise of the Creative Class*, the contemporary economic performance of cities and regions is argued to be driven by the extent to which they are competitive within a new kind of capitalism, in which the ‘creative class’ wields both economic and political power. The ‘creative class’ are people working in creative industries such as film, fashion and publishing; they have educational backgrounds in the arts and design; and are avid consumers of culture: buying ethnic food, popular music and designer clothing, attending art galleries and festivals, keeping up with urban trends and fashions.

Florida’s theory of the ‘rise of the creative class’ rests on the observation that members of this class exercise their spatial and career mobility, to seek out work opportunities in places where creative industries are strong; and where there is a vibrant street life, interesting architecture, café culture, ethnic diversity and arts precincts. The policy message is that places ought aggressively plan for, and compete to attract, members of this ‘creative class’. In contrast to other existing methods of measuring cultural industry activities (e.g. Throsby, 2001), and to assist in this process of locating the creative class fraction, Florida (2002) developed a ‘creative index’, a statistical model attempting to quantify the success of various places, according to these criteria. The index aggregates various sub-indices: cultural diversity, gay culture, ‘talent’ (measured as human capital represented by number of people holding bachelor degrees), patent registration, and employment in creative industry sectors. It gives each city or region a rating or score, allowing comparisons of more or less creative / successful places.

Recently, the Australian Local Government Association explicitly ‘borrowed’ Richard Florida’s ideas in its commissioning of National Economics to write the *State of the Regions* (2002). National Economics added to its regular annual analysis of population and workforce statistics a computation of the ‘creativity’ of each Australian region, in addition to the usual statistics (age distribution, employment by industry etc):

We have adopted Florida’s techniques to derive the same set of indicators for Australian regions, to facilitate comparison between the two countries and identify correlations between the indicators and high technology regions. (National Economics, 2002:1.8-9)

Results from this exercise were intended to assist local councils in comparing their area’s performance against others, and to predict ‘the ability of regions to be successful in the modern globalised economy’ (National Economics, 2002: i). Actual results reinforced binaries between the inner-city – seen as ‘global’, creative and connected – and outer suburbs and rural areas. Of the 64 regions analysed across the country, ‘global Sydney’ (their own spatial category, where statistical local areas in the inner east, lower north and north shore dot.com corridor were combined) was ranked number 1; the inner-west ranked sixth, north ninth, and mid-west eleventh. By contrast, outer metropolitan areas ranked 17th (Outer West), 21st (Central Coast), and 39th (Outer South West) (see Table 1). ‘Winning’ regions were all in the central areas of state capital cities – and predominantly in Sydney and Melbourne.

The *State of the Regions* report did acknowledge that spatial variations in creativity reflected socio-economic inequalities (National Economics, 2002: 127). However, the ensuing policy recommendations slipped rather quickly away from redistribution towards planning based on competition and market globalism; planning that

create[s] the preconditions for market conditions to work. Planning is... required to i) reallocate resources in terms of physical and human infrastructure capital to give the lagging regions opportunities to move up the competitiveness rankings; [and] ii) ensure that the local and political institutions are in place... so as to ensure that resources transferred to a lagging region are used to create attractive, diverse, open societies which are so important for success in the innovation focused global economy. (National Economics, 2002: 127)

In this and other ‘creative city’ strategies, there is a normative policy discourse that emerges – cities should pick winners, encourage clusters of creativity, and plan for ways that ‘lagging’ or ‘uncreative’ areas can attract creative industries or new kinds of residents.

Amongst the many problems we have with such policy discourse is how it contributes to what Haylett (2003) identified as a damaging conflation of socio-economic inequality and cultural attributes. Interpretations of ‘lagging’ outer suburbs link disparities to problematic subject identities. ‘Less creative’ places (and by inference, people) are perceived as problematic, placed in opposition to the norms set by successful, creative class, bourgeois society and spaces. According to the creativity index, outer-metropolitan and suburban regions are depicted as ‘lagging’ and as ‘lacking’ diversity, innovation and creativity. To paraphrase Haylett (2003: 57), target problems (lagging creativity scores) easily become targeted regions and people – ‘problem’ locations that lack creativity and

are in need of ‘hipsterisation strategies’ (Gibson and Klocker, 2004). In the *State of the Regions* report, a transformation in subject identities is the implicit policy recommendation (and it is a problematic one). Individuals and local governments are blamed for their low creativity index ranking (i.e. failure), and are urged to reorient their endeavours towards commodified innovation, to become more educated, tolerant and inventive, in order to attract more ‘creative’ types to their ‘lagging’ places. Judging some regions as more ‘creative’ than others, in this manner, runs the risk of denigrating not just the political institutions in particular locations, but the people who live and work in those places, casting them as lower (creative) class citizens who must individually bear the blame for their region’s lack of performance.

In our recent research, we have been interested in thinking rather differently about creativity – about the ways in which cities are less characterised by concentric rings of creativity, or indeed can even be thought of as bounded spatial entities. Instead, we have been keen to explore how creativity as a dynamic process transforms localities through networks that are both firmly connected to the local, and which transcend the local through networks and flows of people, ideas and culture. One method of getting a picture of such dynamism has been to use publicly available statistics in work in the creative industries for Sydney across a 20 year period¹. Although reliant on statistical sources that are themselves the basis for our critique of creative cities research, results of this exercise, coupled with our own knowledges as musicians and ethnographers of creativity (e.g. Gibson 2002; 2004; Brennan-Horley 2004) do show that the story is more complex than that of a ‘creative core’ versus ‘uncreative periphery’. Ethnographic research contributes not just by confirming or challenging what broader indices might reveal, but by fleshing out the multiple pressures and processes that affect creative production at a grass-roots level.

Longitudinal analysis of creative work in Sydney

Our initial mapping of creative work (by industry) in Sydney for 2001, expressed as a percentage of each Statistical Local Area’s employed labour force, revealed a distinct inner core of creative work focussed on the inner suburbs and northern sector, then decreasing in a radial fashion into Western Sydney (Figure 1). Suburbs located within five kilometres of the CBD rated highly in their percentage of creative work, while those suburbs located away from the city centre appeared to score poorly. Results such as these support the inner versus outer binary, and could be used to buttress policy documents such as the *State of the Regions* report (2002), and methodologies that index creativity to factors associated with the inner city (i.e. Florida). However, mapping creative industries statically for one census period could not reveal the complexity that occurs within individual creative industries temporally, and also between Sydney’s suburbs over time.

In order to reveal these complexities, a longitudinal analysis of Sydney’s creative workers was carried out, using ANZSIC census data spanning a 20 year period. Analysing rates of change for creative industries yielded results that challenged the assumptions of a hierarchical structure of creativity in Sydney’s suburbs.

Table 2 lists total persons employed in creative industries across Sydney for the four census periods. The percent of each SLA's total labour force employed in creative industries was calculated, and a rank was assigned based on this figure. A rate of change was determined from 1986 to 2001, and then mapped thematically in Figure 2. Table 3 was then derived from Table 2 to illustrate which suburbs exhibited the greatest rate of change in creative work in the last 20 years. It is pertinent to note that within the top ten localities, 'exurban' SLAs such as Wyong, Camden and Wollondilly ranked higher than inner SLAs such as Sydney City and Marrickville. Although creative work in 'outer' SLAs may not have made up as significant a portion of the local employed labour force as in 'inner' suburbs (hence their 'lagging' performance in the *State of the Regions* index calculation), their rate of increase for creative work was in some cases far greater than that of the inner suburbs.

Another way of teasing out a more dynamic picture of the geography of creative work in Sydney was to calculate where in Sydney its creative workers worked – as a proportion of the metropolitan total (rather than as a percentage of each SLA's workforce). Although the resulting map (Figure 3) was somewhat different to that of rate of change in creative work within localities (Figure 2), it did nonetheless reveal a breaking down of core-periphery binaries, albeit evident in slightly different kinds of ways. Again, 'exurban' localities such as Wollongong and the Blue Mountains saw the highest rates of growth in the whole city. Some middle ring localities experienced growth (Bankstown, Auburn), and others had a decline in their share of the city's creative labour force (northern beaches, Marrickville, Botany). Some 'outer suburban' SLAs such as Fairfield, Penrith and Hawkesbury experienced a decline in the percentage of the total city's creative labour force, while others, such as Blacktown and Liverpool, saw increases. The image produced defies categorisation according to sectoral or concentric ring patterns. What the map hints at is a more complex set of trajectories for creative work, mediated through social networks and connected to variegated patterns of urban social change.

Towards an irregular geography of creativity in cities?

There are a range of possible explanations for the trends evident in our analysis of creative work in Sydney. These explanations rely less on deriving from spatial mapping exercises patterns or correlations *per se*, and instead make connections to other kinds of work being conducted on creative work and the city (particularly ethnographic research). We briefly summarise these possible explanations here, by way of a conclusion to this article, and point to different kinds of opportunities for policy narratives that could reposition Sydney as a creative city in ways that much better appreciate the subtlety of its constituent parts.

One possible explanation for the spatial trends evident in Figures 2 and 3 is that outer and exurban areas have seen absolute population and employment growth rates far exceeding inner areas (Mee, 2002), and creative work has simply been a part of this. This is a relatively straightforward explanation that points to the presence of creativity in all kinds of new jobs and industries, and thus, hypothesises that 'outer' and 'exurban' areas of cities, where total population and employment growth are evident, are also likely to experience growth in creative work. That some SLAs in 'outer' and 'exurban' parts of

Sydney originally had very small numbers of creative workers probably exacerbates the statistical significance of such growth.

Another explanation is that creative work in Sydney does not always 'cluster' in particular inner-city neighbourhoods, as has been suggested in a raft of literature on the geography of creativity (cf. Power and Scott, 2004). Rates of growth vary between types of creative work, and each creative sector has seen different processes and trends affect it – from the decline and recent resurgence in attendance in live venues (Johnson and Homan 2003), to digitisation and its effects on the advertising and design industries. Some sectors are tied to new markets in suburban malls (such as music retailing), while others (such as cinema exhibition) have been negatively impacted upon across the city by the rise of consumption of DVDs and home movie systems. Across all of this, the rise of home working in the creative sectors has set in train its own diffusing effect (McRobbie, 2002). Design and print-based industries are particularly likely to be dominated by micro-business operation from domestic homes (Fasche, 2004), thus extending their diffusion.

Complicating this issue too is that while some creative producers see their activities as contributing to an 'industry' with defined parameters, tasks and rewards, others may resist identification as 'commercial' producers, or not see themselves as professionals. The boundaries between creative work and play are thus highly porous (Brennan-Horley 2004). Also porous are definitions that local councils use to define 'creativity' and 'cultural industries' and the manner in which they perceive such sectors contributing to future development. In some places, 'cultural production' is tied more closely to goals of promoting and celebrating diversity than to seeding nascent industries; in others creative industries may be prevalent, but rarely gain much mention in local policy discourse. That the measurable geography of creativity in Sydney might appear more complex and variegated is no surprise when analysis is attuned to these divergences.

Yet another explanation again is linked to the cost-squeeze on creative workers identified in previous urban research (Zukin, 1995; Gibson and Homan, 2004). In Sydney during the 1990s and into the 2000s, a booming property market threatened the ability of many creative producers to continue their activities, especially limiting the number of people attempting to undertake creative work while remaining in the inner-city. Rises in rents meant that many grass-roots creative producers struggled to meet accommodation costs or to devote enough time to creative pursuits. Balmain became a less affordable student suburb by the 1980s, and a decade later, Newtown began to see the construction of new higher density residential apartment blocks, conversions of previously cheap warehouse space into luxury 'loft-style' accommodation, and the eviction of many of the original artistic collectives (Shaw, 2004). The Australian tendency to capitalise in real estate compared with other forms of investment resulted in a large amount of speculative development, rising house prices and declines in affordability (Mee, 2002). Also, a creeping proportion of household incomes were directed towards mortgage payments, exacerbating the trend towards increasingly long working hours. These dynamics also limited available time for producing and consuming local creative pursuits (with, for instance, increasing consumption of DVDs and home movie systems replacing cinemas, live music, local theatre etc).

Our analysis confirms anecdotal and ethnographic evidence (Gibson 2002) that many creative producers have in recent years moved from inner parts of Sydney to other capital

cities, to ex-urban and outer metropolitan areas where rents are comparatively lower and where amenable lifestyles can still be pursued. Popular locations for such migrations include the Blue Mountains (particularly for artists, musicians and writers), Wollongong's northern beaches (visual artists), and the Far North Coast (musicians, architects, film-makers, graphic and web designers). The capacity of different types of creative workers to survive Sydney's property market dynamics therefore matter. Some creative workers move from amateur to professional positions, from informal to formal economic contexts of production, with career paths beginning with hobbies. Others move through formal educational systems (drama schools, film and television schools, design schools, music institutes), and, with a mix of luck, perceptiveness and talent, may secure reliable incomes from creative activity. Others fall by the wayside or try to get by with intermittent payments for their art. Others, it seems, become mobile in order to find a place in which to create, and maintain enough work to pay the bills. This mobility may underpin explanations of the more complex geography of creativity in Sydney.

Concluding comments

Much more work is required on the issue of creativity in the city, and the extent to which its changing geography is linked to other social and economic processes that render irrelevant historical binaries of outer versus inner zones, of cores and peripheries. What we have sought to argue here is that in one area of urban research – that pertaining to the creative city – it is time to break out of the mould of thinking about creativity as a bohemian, inner-city phenomenon (and indeed, to see 'creativity' as something beyond 'the creative industries'; see Gibson and Klocker, 2005 for critique). It seems pertinent to transcend the initial momentum generated by Richard Florida's work, and broaden the policy horizon – for instance re-theorising the mobility and migration of creative workers beyond the appeal of chic lifestyle districts, to incorporate issues affecting individual industries within the city, to examine housing affordability for creative workers, and confront the geography and politics of home-based work. We therefore echo the call of other urban geographers (McGuirk and O'Neill, 2002) for much more 'fine-grained' social and spatial analysis of the emergent divergences and complexities in Sydney. This involves combining more nuanced, longitudinal and locally-sensitive cultural mapping and indexing techniques with the benefits of ethnographic research, participation in creative activities and observations of the capacity of individuals to be creative within the wider social and economic landscape of the city. Only then can we move away from a binary mentality that we might otherwise unwittingly reproduce in our work.

¹ Notes

For discussion of derivation and limitations of data sources, see extended discussion in Gibson, Murphy and Freestone (2002).

References

Bassett, K., Griffiths, R. & Smith, I. (2002) 'Cultural Industries, Cultural Clusters and the City: The Example of Natural History Film-making in Bristol', *Geoforum*, 33: 165-177.

Bianchini, F. (1993a) 'Remaking European Cities: The Role of Cultural Politics', in F. Bianchini and M. Parkinson (eds), *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: the West European Experience*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Bianchini, F. (1993b) 'Culture, Conflict and Cities: Issues and Prospects for the 1990s', in F. Bianchini and M. Parkinson (eds) *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: The West European Experience*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Brennan-Horley, C. (2004) *Work and Play: Post-Industry Cultural Production in Sydney's Dance Music Culture*, BSc (Hons) thesis, Geography Program, University of New South Wales.

Crewe, L (1996) 'Material Culture: Embedded Firms, Organizational Networks and the Local Economic Development of a Fashion Quarter', *Regional Studies*, 30: 257-272.

Dowling, R. & Mee, K. (2000) 'Tales of the City: Western Sydney at the End of the Millennium', in J. Connell (ed.), *Sydney: the Emergence of a World City*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Driver, S. & Gillespie, A. (1993) 'Structural Change in the Cultural Industries: British Magazine Publishing in the 1980s', *Media, Culture and Society*, 15: 183-201.

Eisenschitz, A. & Gough, J. (1993) *The Politics of Local Economic Policy: The Problems and Possibilities of Local Initiative*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Fasche, M. (2004) *Glocalization, Gentrification and Creative Business Services: A Case Study of Newtown, Sydney*. Diplomarbeit. Bonn, Germany: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität.

Florida, R. (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class*. Basic Books, New York.

Gibson, C. (2000) *Decentred Sounds: Systems of Provision for Popular Music and a Regional Music Industry*. PhD thesis, School of Geosciences, University of Sydney

Gibson, C. (2002) 'Rural Transformation and Cultural Industries: Popular Music on the New South Wales Far North Coast', *Australian Geographical Studies*, 40(3): 336-356.

Gibson, C. & Homan, S. (2004) 'Urban Redevelopment, Live Music and Public Space: Cultural Performance and the Re-making of Marrickville', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 10(1): 69-86.

Gibson, C. & Klocker, N. (2004) 'Academic Publishing as 'Creative' Industry, and Recent Discourses of 'Creative Economies': Some Critical Reflections', *Area*, 36(4): 423-434.

Gibson, C. & Klocker, N. (2005) 'The 'Cultural Turn' in Australian Regional Economic Development Discourse: Neoliberalising Creativity?', *Geographical Research*, 43(1): 93-102.

Gibson, C., Murphy, P. & Freestone, R. (2002) 'Employment and Socio-Spatial Relations in Australia's Cultural Economy', *Australian Geographer*, 33(2): 173-189.

Haylett, C. (2003) 'Culture, Class and Urban Policy: Reconsidering Equality', *Antipode*, 35(1): 55-73.

Johnson, B. & Homan, S. (2003) *Vanishing Acts: an inquiry into the state of live popular music opportunities in NSW*. Sydney: Australia Council and NSW Ministry of Arts.

Landry, C. (2000) *The Creative City*. London: Earthscan.

McGuirk, P. & O'Neill, P. (2002) 'Planning a Prosperous Sydney: The Challenges of Planning Urban Development in the New Urban Context', *Australian Geographer*, 33(3): 301-216.

McRobbie, A. (2002) 'From Holloway to Hollywood: Happiness at Work in the New Cultural Economy?', in P. du Gay and M. Pryke (eds), *Cultural Economy*. London: Sage. Pp. 97-114.

Mee, K. (1994) 'Dressing up the Suburbs: Representations of Western Sydney', in K. Gibson & S. Watson (eds), *Metropolis Now: Planning and the Urban in Contemporary Australia*. Sydney: Pluto Press. Pp. 60-77.

Mee, K. (2002) 'Prosperity and the Suburban Dream: Quality of Life and Affordability in Western Sydney', *Australian Geographer*, 33(3): 337-351.

Molotch, H. (1996) 'LA as Product: How Design Works in a Regional Economy', in A. J. Scott and E. Soja (eds), *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Pp. 225-275.

National Economics. (2002) *The State of the Regions*. Melbourne: National Economics and the Australian Local Government Association.

Powell, D. (1993) *Out West: Perceptions of Sydney's Western Suburbs*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Power, D. & Scott, A. (2004) 'A Prelude to Cultural Industries and the Production of Culture', in D. Power & A. Scott (eds), *The Cultural Industries and the Production of Culture*. London and New York: Routledge. Pp. 3-15.

Shaw, W. (2004) 'The Good (Old) Days of Whiteness: Gentrification and Heritage in Sydney, Australia', in R. Atkinson & G. Bridge (eds), *The New Urban Colonialism: Gentrification in a Global Context*. London & New York: Routledge.

Throsby, D. (2001) 'Defining the Artistic Workforce: The Australian Experience', *Poetics*, 28: 255-271.

Zukin, S. (1996) *The Culture of Cities*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Table 1. Sydney regions, creative class index, in *State of the Regions* (2002)

Region	Creative Class Index	Value(V)/ Score(S)	SOR Rank	Region	Creative Class Index	Value(V)/ Score(S)	SOR Rank
Global Sydney	Patents (V)	36.2	2	Sydney Outer South West	Patents (V)	6.55	37
Botany Bay, Randwick Waverley,	High tech		1	Camden, Campbelltown, Wollondilly	High tech		25
Woollahra, Hunters Hill, Lane Cove,	Diversity index (S)	5.9	2		Diversity index (S)	0.43	40
Mosman, North Sydney, Ryde,	Bohemian index (S)	2	1		Bohemian index (S)	0.55	51
Willoughby	Foreign born (%)	0.34	3		Foreign born (%)	0.21	20
	Composite diversity		1		Composite diversity		43
	Creativity index	992	1		Creativity index	77	39
Sydney Inner West	Patents (V)	16.43	6	Sydney Outer West	Patents (V)	8.43	30
Leichhardt, Ashfield, Marrickville,	High tech		10	Blue Mountains, Hawkesbury, Penrith	High tech		21
Burwood, Drummoyne, Concord,	Diversity index (S)	4.88	3		Diversity index (S)	1.05	12
Strathfield	Bohemian index (S)	1.58	3		Bohemian index (S)	0.76	30
	Foreign born (%)	0.36	2		Foreign born (%)	0.19	23
	Composite diversity		2		Composite diversity		15
	Creativity index	733	6		Creativity index	332	17
Sydney Mid West	Patents (V)	9.06	22	Sydney South	Patents (V)	12.52	13
Marrickville, Bankstown, Canterbury,	High tech		4	Hurstville, Kogarah, Rockdale	High tech		16
Fairfield, Liverpool, Auburn, Holroyd,	Diversity index (S)	1.02	14		Diversity index (S)	0.65	31
Parramatta, Blacktown	Bohemian index (S)	0.9	13		Bohemian index (S)	0.77	28
	Foreign born (%)	0.4	1		Foreign born (%)	0.27	13
	Composite diversity		11		Composite diversity		31
	Creativity index	518	11		Creativity index	325	18
Sydney North	Patents (V)	15.86	10	NSW Central Coast	Patents (V)	6.77	34
Willoughby, Baulkham Hills, Hornsby,	High tech		5	Gosford, Wyong	High tech		19
Ku-ring-gai, Manly, Warringah	Diversity index (S)	0.49	38		Diversity index (S)	0.88	19
	Bohemian index (S)	1.24	5		Bohemian index (S)	0.73	31
	Foreign born (%)	0.28	11		Foreign born (%)	0.13	33
	Composite diversity		25		Composite diversity		20
	Creativity index	535	9		Creativity index	284	21

(Source: National Economics 2002)

Table 2: Rates of change and changes in ranking for creative industries employment across Sydney's statistical local areas, by place of residence, 1986 to 2001

	1986	percent of local workforce 1986	rank in 1986	1991	percent of local workforce 1991	rank in 1991	1996	percent of local workforce 1996	rank in 1996	2001	percent of local workforce 2001	rank in 2001	rate of change 1986-2001	change in rank 1986 to 2001
North Sydney	3856	13.05	1	3208	10.82	1	3649	11.23	3	3591	10.39	5	-6.87	-4
Mosman	1575	12.02	2	1412	10.49	3	1509	10.7	5	1380	9.99	6	-12.38	-4
Leichhardt	2952	10.43	3	3245	10.73	2	3965	12.3	1	4393	12.32	1	48.81	2
Woollahra	2575	10.26	4	2521	9.84	5	2898	10.75	4	2909	10.99	4	12.97	0
Sydney City	3265	9.6	5	3671	10.03	4	5268	11.89	2	6666	11.37	2	104.17	3
Lane Cove	1340	9.39	6	1286	8.77	6	1302	8.18	9	1353	8.33	10	0.97	-4
Willoughby	2287	9.19	7	2082	8.22	7	2309	8.56	8	2410	8.13	11	5.38	-4
Manly	1443	8.61	8	1420	8.2	8	1672	8.95	7	1665	8.81	9	15.38	-1
Ku-ring-gai	3397	7.51	9	3221	7.08	11	3056	6.53	13	3166	6.67	14	-6.8	-5
Warringah	6235	7.26	10	6523	7.29	9	6951	7.5	11	7019	7.33	12	12.57	-2
Hunter's Hill	364	7.24	11	349	6.9	12	366	6.97	12	404	7.2	13	10.99	-2
Waverley	2106	7.21	12	2161	7.26	10	3104	9.81	6	3489	11.05	3	65.67	9
Ryde	2525	5.7	13	2415	5.52	14	2421	5.43	16	2539	5.43	18	0.55	-5
Hornsby	2983	5.41	14	3326	5.42	15	3579	5.26	17	3760	5.13	19	26.05	-5
Marrickville	1719	5.14	15	2216	6.32	13	2774	7.88	10	3548	9.45	8	106.4	7
Drummoyne	758	5.06	16	805	5.37	16	907	5.78	14	1063	6.12	16	40.24	0
Randwick	2571	4.82	17	2643	4.89	17	3084	5.45	15	3689	6.29	15	43.49	2
Kogarah	946	4.55	18	869	4.04	27	941	4.3	22	999	4.28	24	5.6	-6
Baulkham Hills	2179	4.48	19	2680	4.62	20	2916	4.55	20	3209	4.27	25	47.27	-6
Ashfield	810	4.47	20	858	4.63	19	948	5.21	18	1098	5.94	17	35.56	3
Blue Mountains	1056	4.28	21	1378	4.69	18	1474	4.64	19	1687	4.87	20	59.75	1
Hurstville	1223	4.19	22	1300	4.39	22	1206	4.09	26	1394	4.39	23	13.98	-1
Gosford	1592	4.06	23	2256	4.44	21	2570	4.41	21	2900	4.52	21	82.16	2
Rockdale	1436	3.97	24	1440	3.92	28	1419	3.88	29	1469	3.85	30	2.3	-6
Parramatta	2211	3.94	25	2381	4.18	24	2440	4.15	25	2373	3.9	29	7.33	-4
Strathfield	434	3.91	26	438	4.04	26	413	3.84	31	468	3.91	28	7.83	-2
Sutherland Shire	3199	3.82	27	3886	4.24	23	4026	4.03	27	4106	3.83	31	28.35	-4
Canterbury	1914	3.76	28	1863	3.66	33	1940	3.87	30	1821	3.67	32	-4.86	-4
Botany Bay	534	3.71	29	568	3.89	29	626	4.26	23	628	3.98	27	17.6	2
Burwood	423	3.53	30	436	3.59	34	468	3.93	28	516	4.09	26	21.99	4
Concord	363	3.51	31	430	4.1	25	468	4.24	24	587	4.41	22	61.71	9
Bankstown	2221	3.5	32	2287	3.69	32	2226	3.56	32	2278	3.52	34	2.57	-2
Sydney Undefined	3	3.19	33	6	3.87	30	0	0	45	6	9.84	7	100	26

Penrith	1800	3.18	34	2090	3.19	39	2170	2.91	40	2258	2.77	42	25.44	-8
Holroyd	1069	3.1	35	1219	3.54	35	1131	3.22	36	1189	3.21	37	11.23	-2
Camden	249	3.08	36	308	2.96	41	473	3.07	37	601	2.75	43	141.37	-7
Hawkesbury	571	3.02	37	899	3.78	31	968	3.53	34	1067	3.61	33	86.87	4
Auburn	501	2.96	38	564	3.31	37	620	3.56	33	628	3.29	36	25.35	2
Campbelltown	1316	2.89	39	1670	3.08	40	1801	3.02	39	1857	2.98	39	41.11	0
Blacktown	2219	2.89	40	2801	3.26	38	2944	3.03	38	3274	2.99	38	47.54	2
Wyong	648	2.65	41	1114	3.33	36	1328	3.3	35	1607	3.37	35	147.99	6
Liverpool	1012	2.6	42	1125	2.82	42	1408	2.8	41	1901	2.94	40	87.85	2
Fairfield	1402	2.41	43	1629	2.58	43	1656	2.59	42	1681	2.59	44	19.9	-1
Wollondilly	200	2.05	44	324	2.51	44	373	2.52	44	413	2.39	45	106.5	-1
Wollongong	1279	1.95	45	1550	2.26	45	1777	2.53	43	2115	2.87	41	65.36	4

(Source: ABS custom data run)

Table 3: Ranking of statistical local areas by rate of change of creative employment, by place of residence, 1986-2001

(Source: ABS custom data run)

Statistical area	local	rate of change 1986-2001	change in rank 1986 to 2001	rank in 2001
Wyong		147.99	6	35
Camden		141.37	-7	43
Wollondilly		106.50	-1	45
Marrickville		106.40	7	8
Sydney City		104.17	3	2
Sydney Undefined		100.00	26	7
Liverpool		87.85	2	40
Hawkesbury		86.87	4	33
Gosford		82.16	2	21
Waverley		65.67	9	3
Wollongong		65.36	4	41
Concord		61.71	9	22
Blue Mountains		59.75	1	20
Leichhardt		48.81	2	1
Blacktown		47.54	2	38
Baulkham Hills		47.27	-6	25
Randwick		43.49	2	15
Campbelltown		41.11	0	39
Drummoyne		40.24	0	16
Ashfield		35.56	3	17
Sutherland Shire		28.35	-4	31
Hornsby		26.05	-5	19
Penrith		25.44	-8	42
Auburn		25.35	2	36
Burwood		21.99	4	26
Fairfield		19.90	-1	44
Botany Bay		17.60	2	27
Manly		15.38	-1	9
Hurstville		13.98	-1	23
Woollahra		12.97	0	4
Warringah		12.57	-2	12
Holroyd		11.23	-2	37
Hunter's Hill		10.99	-2	13
Strathfield		7.83	-2	28
Parramatta		7.33	-4	29
Kogarah		5.60	-6	24
Willoughby		5.38	-4	11
Bankstown		2.57	-2	34
Rockdale		2.30	-6	30
Lane Cove		0.97	-4	10
Ryde		0.55	-5	18
Canterbury		-4.86	-4	32
Ku-ring-gai		-6.80	-5	14
North Sydney		-6.87	-4	5
Mosman		-12.38	-4	6

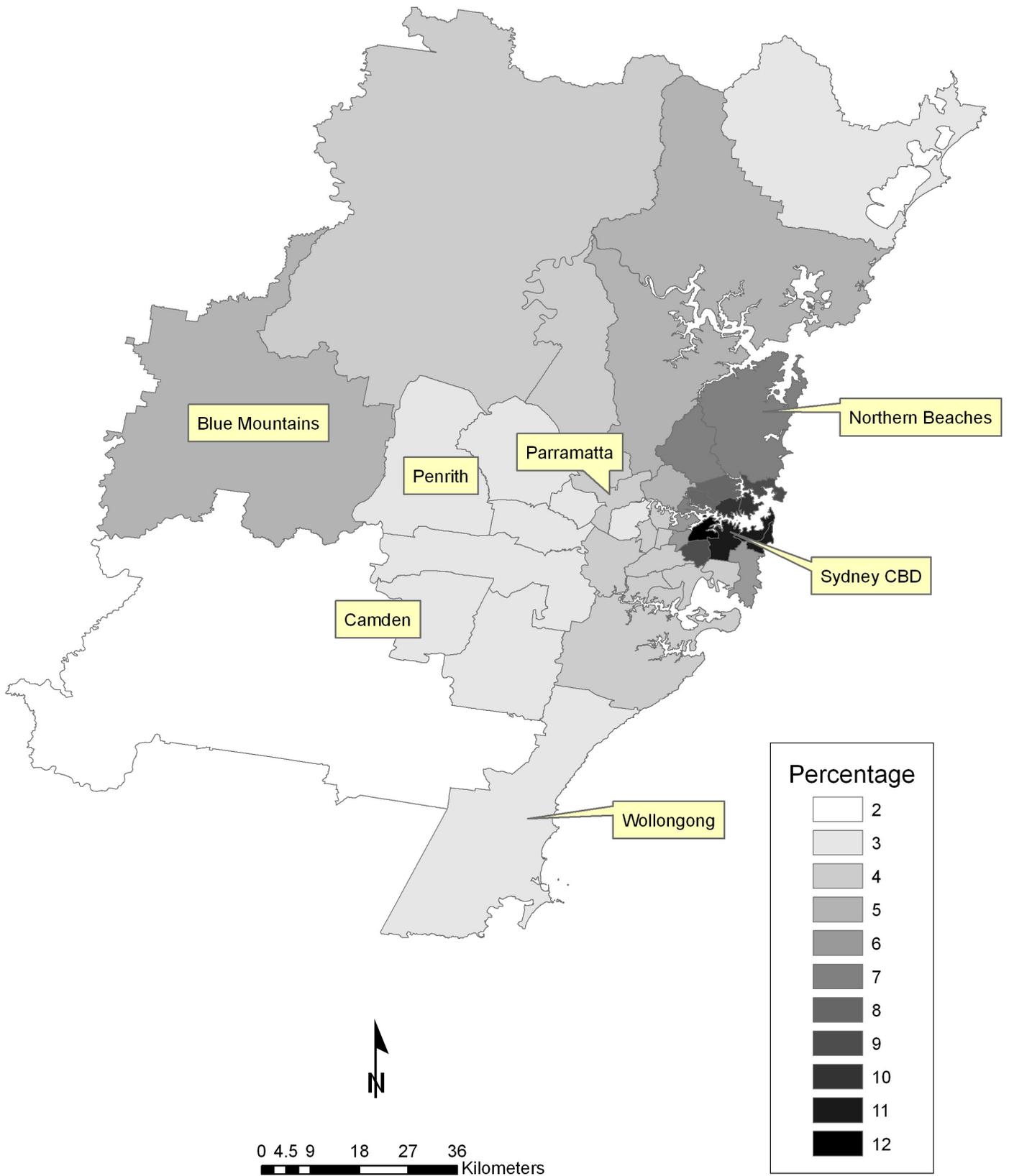


Figure 1: Distribution of total creative work in Sydney (by industry), expressed as a percentage of SLA employed labour force, collected by place of residence, 2001
 (Source: ABS custom data run)

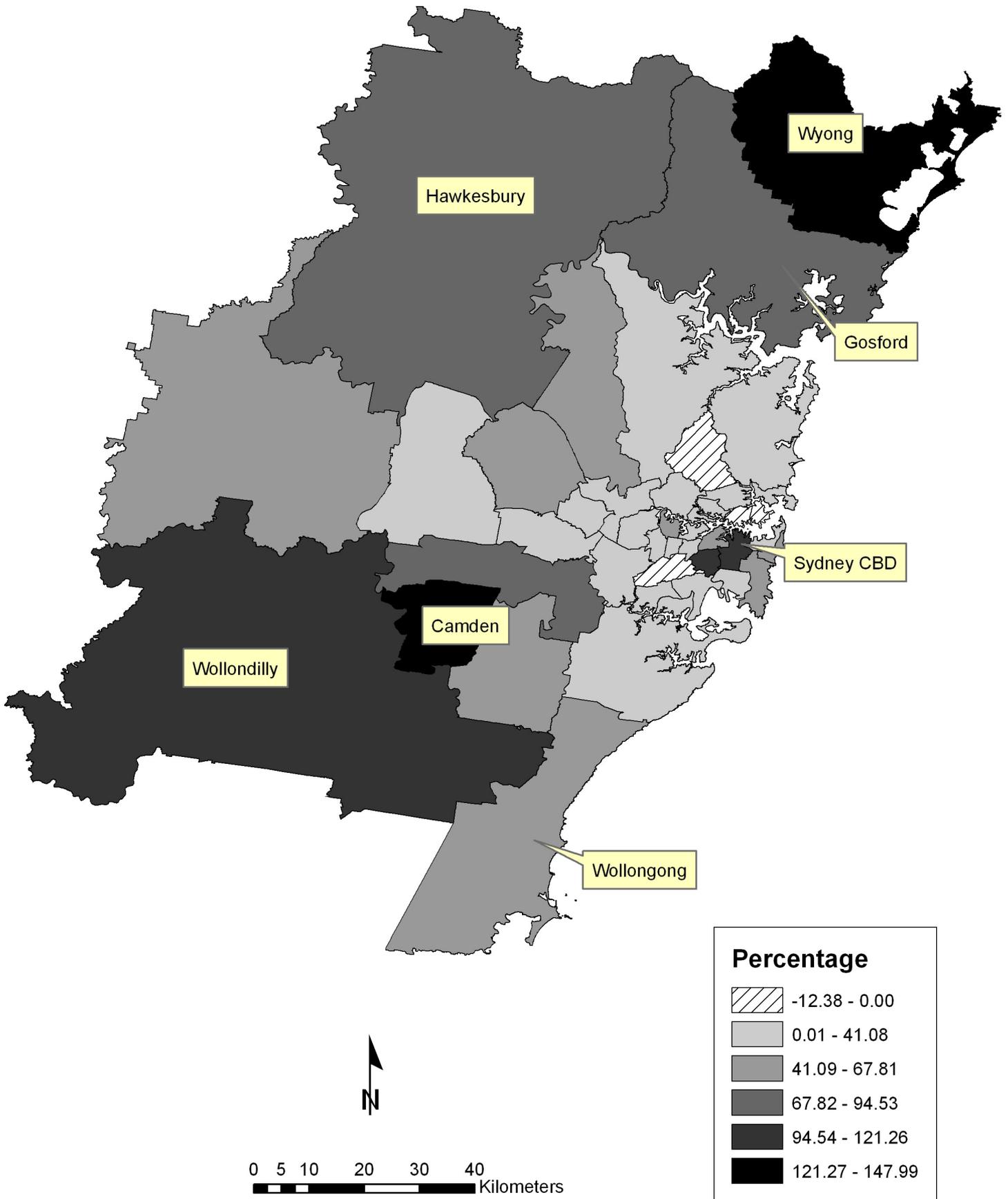


Figure 2: Rate of change in creative industry employment, collected by place of residence, expressed as a percentage of SLA employed labour force, 1986-2001
 (Source: ABS custom data run)

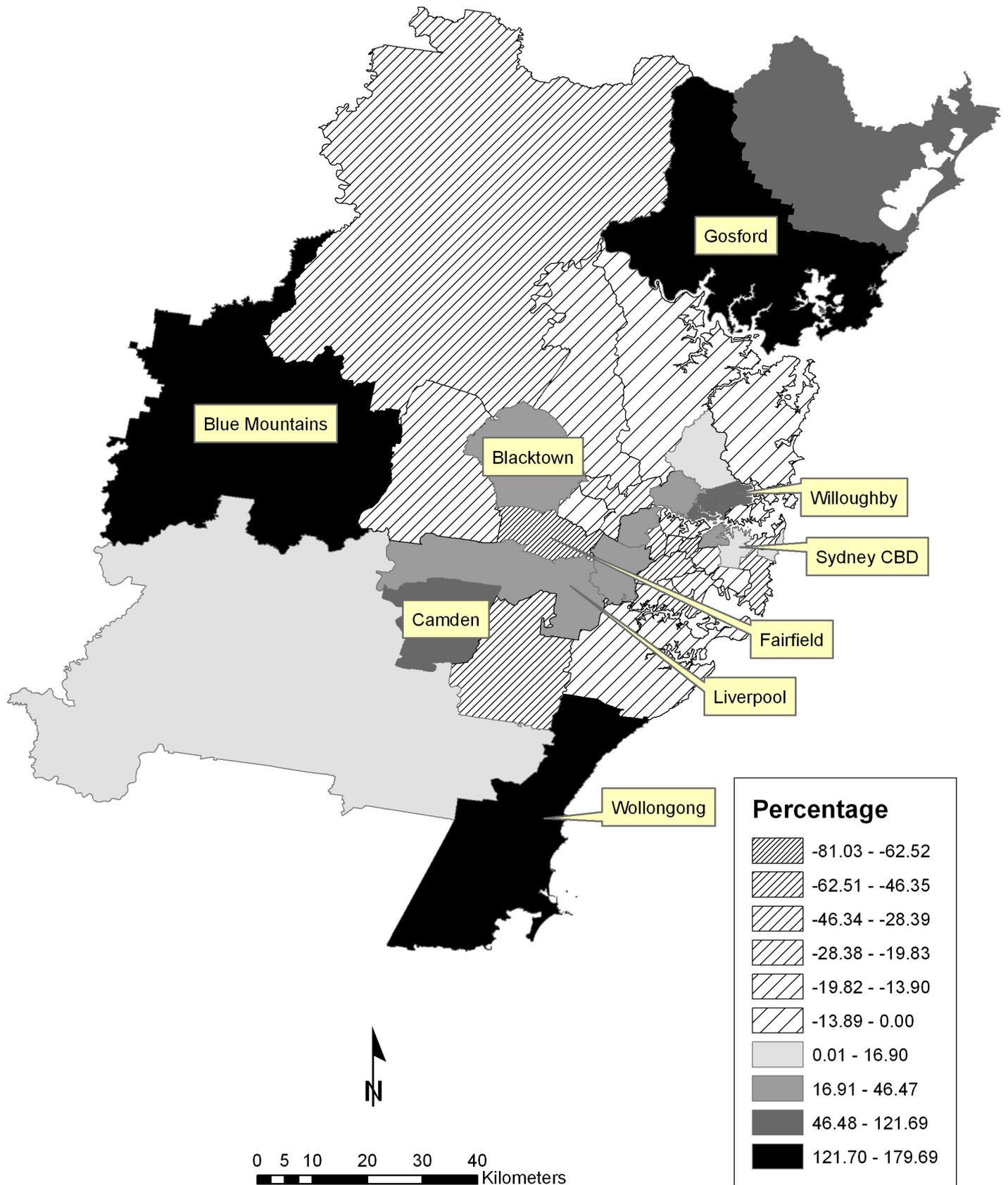


Figure 3: Rate of change in creative work by industry, by place of employment, expressed as a percentage of Sydney's total creative workforce, 1991-2001
 (Source: ABS custom data run)

