Portraying, classifying and understanding the emerging landscapes in the post-industrial city

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This paper examines landscape transformations in the post-industrial city. It attempts to portray, classify and understand the emerging landscapes in terms of land use patterns, urban morphology and density. It is argued that the locational trends of flourishing post-industrial economic activities, along with the development of new urban governance strategies, tend to rearrange the landscapes of the post-modern city. The inner city is dominated by an eclectic clustering of economic activities: high level financial services, technology-intensive firms and knowledge-based institutions, and 'creative' urban islands and edges. Such creative islands and edges constitute 'signifying epicentres' which usually introduce a 'glocalised' landscape of built heritage and innovative design of buildings and public open spaces. Compact and dense landscapes in the inner city are combined with new landscapes of 'diffused urbanity' in urban fringes.

Introduction: Urban landscape transformations under the conditions of globalization, intercity competition and post-modernity

In the last decade or so, a large number of studies (see for instance, Sachar, 1990; Sassen, 1994, 2001; Amin and Thrift, 1995; Savitch, 1996; Short et al., 1999; Lever, 2001; Shaw, 2001) have documented the strong effects of the late twentieth century economic globalisation on cities and urban networks Traditional factors (e.g. geographical location, physical infrastructure) that once channelled the location of new business to a specific place appear to matter less. Due to the capacity of capital to switch locations, all cities – with perhaps the exception of 'global cities' (Sassen, 2001) that have sufficient power to counteract the volatility of capital – have become interchangeable entities, to be played off one against another, forced to compete from positions of comparative weakness for capital investment (Kantor,

1987). In the new milieu of intercity competition (see Brotchie et al., 1995; Duffy, 1995; Jensen-Butler, 1997; Jensen-Butler et al., 1997), cities have, more than ever, to offer inducements to capital either by refashioning their economic attractiveness (e.g. tax abatements, property, transport facilities) or by amendments in their soft infrastructure (Boyle and Rogerson, 2001). Improvements in the latter mainly involve the development of creative cultural and leisure amenities and the enhancement of the city's image through landscape transformations (see Beriatos and Gospodini, 2004).

Post-modern urban societies are increasingly witnessing new interrelated socio-spatial phenomena, such as a rapid evolution of urban politics and governance from traditional managerial forms to more entrepreneurial forms (Cox, 1993, 1995) as well as the emergence of radically new models of urban politics and governance focused on amenity urban growth, both economic and demographic, (see Clark and Rempel, 1997; Clark and Hoffmann-Martinot, 1998; Clark et al., 2002). This kind of urban politics

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and governance seems to fit well into the profile of post-modern societies, characterised by high mobility of an increasing middle class of young professionals and high-tech staff, mainly courted by cities competing for them with public amenities (Clark et al., 2002; Clarke, 1997). In addition, the growth of new urban economies, and new economic sectors, is nourished by cultural and leisure industries (see Zukin, 1995; Scott, 1997, 2000; Pratt, 1997; Crewe and Beaverstock, 1998; Sassen and Roost, 2000; Hall, 2000; McNeil and While, 2001; Hollands and Chatterton, 2003; Hutton, 2004a), while the appearance of new types of urban redevelopment, renewal and regeneration is encouraged by the creation and expansion of new cultural, leisure and consumption spaces (see Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Griffiths, 1995; Farrell, 2000; Evans, 2001, 2003; Hannigan, 1998, 2003).

Turning first to the enhancement of the city's image, underlying the efforts of cities are two key objectives: boosting place identity and promoting the 'selling' of city as commodity to the 'flaneur', or the pleasure-seeking 'urban voyeur', a concept referring to both visitors and residents in the post-modern city (see Beriatos and Gospodini, 2004). More specifically, the processes of both economic and cultural globalisation and European integration have given rise to an increasing 'identity crisis' of cities rooted in mass migrations that are transforming European cities into multi-ethic and multi-cultural societies (King, 1993; Graham, 1998), and the march to supranationality within the EU, that blurs national identities (Castells, 1993). Under these conditions of uncertainty, it is believed that cities will increasingly use their cultural and built heritage as one attempt to fix the meaning of places, while enclosing and defending them (Harvey, 1989; Castells, 1993). But cities will also increasingly use innovative urban and architectural design as a place identity generator (McNeill and Tewdwr-Jones, 2002; Evans, 2003; Gospodini, 2004). Avant-garde urban design and architectural schemes exhibit a great potential for creating distinct urban landscapes and synchronizing in space all different social/cultural/economic groups, by offering them a common new terrain for experiencing new forms of space. Thus, they appear to work as place identity generators in post-modern multi-ethnic and multi-cultural societies in similar ways that built heritage does in modern (culturally bounded and nation-state oriented) urban societies (Gospodini, 2004). Related to their great potential as place-identity generators, these have also undertaken an important new role for the post-industrial city concerning economic development, and especially urban tourism development (Gospodini, 2001a). Regarding innovative design of space in particular, the conditions of globalisation and intercity competition have given rise to a new paradigm: throughout history, major urban design schemes and the avant-garde design of space were mostly an outcome of economic growth of cities and countries. Nowadays, a reverse procedure is taking place, and urban design appears to be consciously 'used' as a means of urban economic development for all classes and groups of cities (see Hubbard, 1995; Gospodini, 2002) by 'hard-branding' the built environment (Gospodini, 2001a, 2002; Evans, 2003; Hannigan, 2003).

The great potential of both built heritage and innovative design of space to satisfy the conditions of post-modernity has raised these two aspects of urban morphology as a principal concern in all major spatial interventions and strategic plans of cities aimed at improving the city's image. This emphasis may be considered as generating a 'glocalised' landscape, an emerging urban landscape-collage dominated by two extremities: (a) that of tradition, with rather local spatial references and (b) that of innovation, having more universal or global spatial references (Beriatos and Gospodini, 2004).

In the above framework, cities are being reshaped and urban landscapes are rapidly transformed to address economic globalization, to handle intercity competition and to meet the requirements of post-modernity. In this process, important questions are raised. What are the main components of the emerging urban landscapes in terms of land-use patterns, urban morphology and density, and how could post-modern urban landscapes be classified?

Eclectic clustering of flourishing new urban economic activities and the creation of 'Signifying Epicentres'

There have been two major shifts in the dominant land-use pattern of Western cities (see *Figure 1*): the early 20th century city was characterised by land-use mix. The first major shift was in the 1950s; functionalism in urban planning generated land-use zoning. Until the 1970s, settlements displayed exclusively residential districts arranged around a centre(s) mixing all other land uses (commerce, services, culture, etc.) but housing; industries and transport building installations were located in special zones at the urban outskirts. The second great shift happened in the 1980s. Post-modern discourse in architecture, urban design and planning (Krier, 1978; Rossi, 1982) strongly criticised land use zoning as one of the damaging planning conditions of the Modern city – a condition mostly responsible for underused public open spaces and unpopular urban environments. Following this, urban areas that were developed – and mainly redeveloped through reconstruction, renewal or regeneration processes – returned to the virtues of land-use mix, particularly mixing housing with commercial, office, cultural and leisure spaces. Knox (1991, 1993) had termed these mixed-use developments (MXDs) of the 1980s as 'CARE', standing for culture, amusement, recreation and entertain-