

The New Cultural Economy, Urban Regeneration, and the Heritage
Built Environment
Interdependencies, Complements – and Conflicts?

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Outline of Presentation

Heritage Canada Conference: St John's ~ 2010

1. Overview: purpose and sample project outputs
2. Creativity, innovation and the built environment
3. Looking back: origins of principal building types
4. Factors shaping the 'new cultural economy' of the city
5. The heritage built environment and the changing urban economy: observations from the field work program
6. Conclusion and implications: 'complements and conflicts' in the heritage landscapes of the new cultural economy

Project origins, purpose, methods

Inquiry into processes (and outcomes) of urban redevelopment: 'regeneration and dislocation' in the postindustrial terrains of the metropolis, following the collapse of traditional manufacturing and allied industries and labour, c. 1960s-1990s

Initiated in San Francisco's South of Market Area (SOMA) in 1993 (taking in industrial decline, "cultural makeover" of SOMA, rise and fall of the dot.coms); and in London's inner city and Vancouver; inclusion of Singapore in 1999; other reference cases in (e.g.) Toronto, New York, Seattle, Florence, Milan, Venice, Hanoi

Methods include (1) theoretical interrogation (post-industrialism and post-Fordism); (2) intensive field studies (interviews, mapping, photography); (3) documentary analysis

Project Outputs: Space, Built Form and Creativity

2000. 'Reconstructed Production Landscapes in the Postmodern City', *Urban Geography* **21**: 285-317

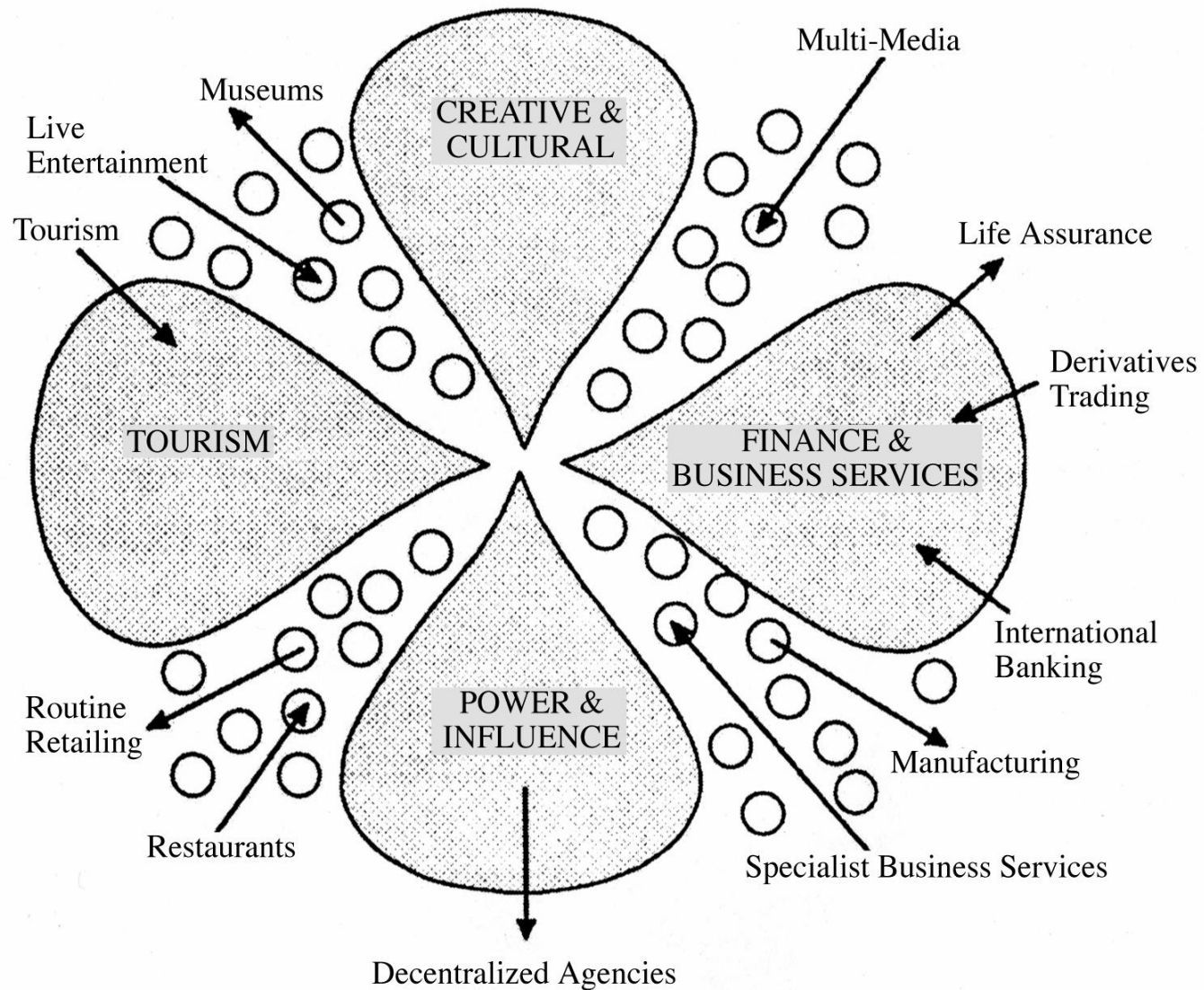
2006. 'Spatiality, Built Form and Creative Industry Development in the Inner City', *Environment and Planning A* **38**: 1819-1841

2008/2010. *The New Economy of the Inner City*. London and New York: Routledge

2009. 'Trajectories of the New Economy: Regeneration and Dislocation in the Inner City', special theme issue of *Urban Studies* **46**: Issues 5 & 6

2009. Trevor Barnes and Tom Hutton. 'Situating the New Economy: Contingencies of Regeneration and Dislocation in Vancouver's Inner City', *Urban Studies* 1249-1271

2009. 'The Inner City as Site of Cultural Production *sui generis*: a review essay', *Geography Compass* (Blackwell on-line journal), **3**: 600-629



Major service clusters in the polycentric global city.

Source: Hall (2006)

Landscape and Site in Creativity and Innovation

Interdependencies of sites, space and landscape in industrial innovation and development: Soja's acknowledgement of the 'industry-shaping power of spatiality' (*Postmetropolis* 2000: 166), as well as power of industry to shape space

'Space' in this context entails acknowledgement of 'texture' or fabric of urban landscapes: 'the look and feel of an urban landscape can play a role in knowledge production processes' Ilse Helbrecht: 2003: 9

Aesthetics of urban space, landscapes and sites deployed as inputs to creative processes in the cultural economy (Molotch 1996; Scott 1997; Indergaard 2004; Landry 2006)

Creativity, Innovation and the Built Environment

“The design of the built environment is an important element of the productive forces of society, not just a reflection of them”

*Paul Knox, ‘The Social production of the Built Environment’,
Progress in Human Geography 11 (1987):356*

“There is no other class of object which through the production of material forms purposefully organises space, and people in space”

*Thomas Markus, Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in
the Origin of Modern Building Types (Routledge 1993: 27)*

“Old ideas can sometimes use new buildings. New ideas must use old buildings.”

Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961: 188)

Creativity, Innovation and the Built Environment

Built Form : the Knowledge-based Cultural Economy

Buildings as adjustable/adaptable “machines” for creativity, innovation and advanced production

Introduction of enhancing features: technology, amenity, mix of private and common spaces, for:

- *collaboration and cooperation: social organization of space for interaction, exchange, stimulus*
- *creativity: enhanced aesthetics of interior space for encouraging artistic expression, design*
- *innovation: ‘purposeful space’ for innovation, extracting higher value-added output, new forms of production*

Creativity, Innovation and the Built Environment

Markus's typology of buildings

Value of building types associated with both representational/
semiotic and concrete/physical attributes

Markus's building typology ("Origins of Modern Building Types") links historical purpose with modern adaptation and innovation

Earliest examples: pre-industrial

"Formation": buildings for schools and higher education

"Reformation": buildings for incarceration, to house "the sad, the mad, and the bad"

"Recreation": the 18th century coffee house as social institution and space of dialogue and interaction

Creativity, Innovation and the Built Environment

18th-19th century building innovations: –

Buildings and knowledge

“Visible knowledge”: libraries, museums, galleries

“Ephemeral knowledge”: dioramas and exhibition space

“Invisible knowledge”: universities, institutions, learned societies

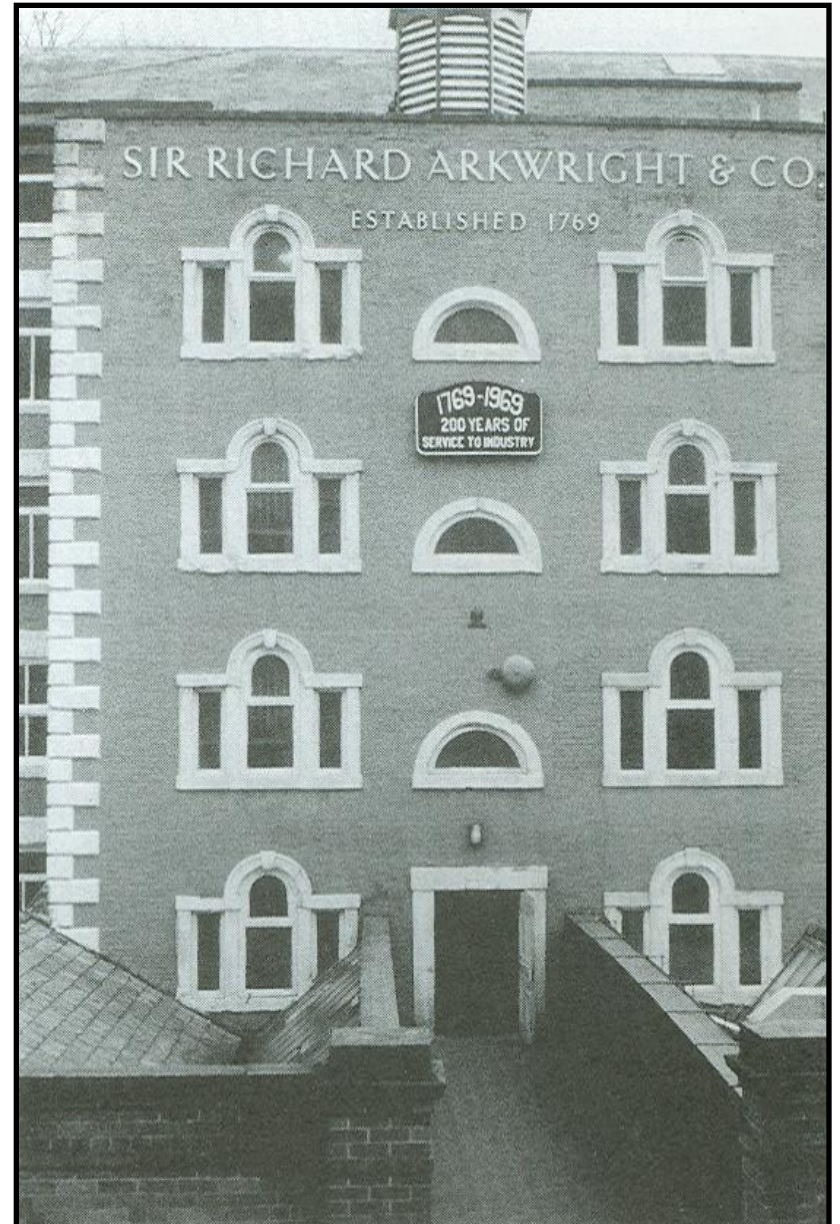
Buildings and things

“Production”: infrastructure for the industrial city: factories, warehouses, industrial housing estates

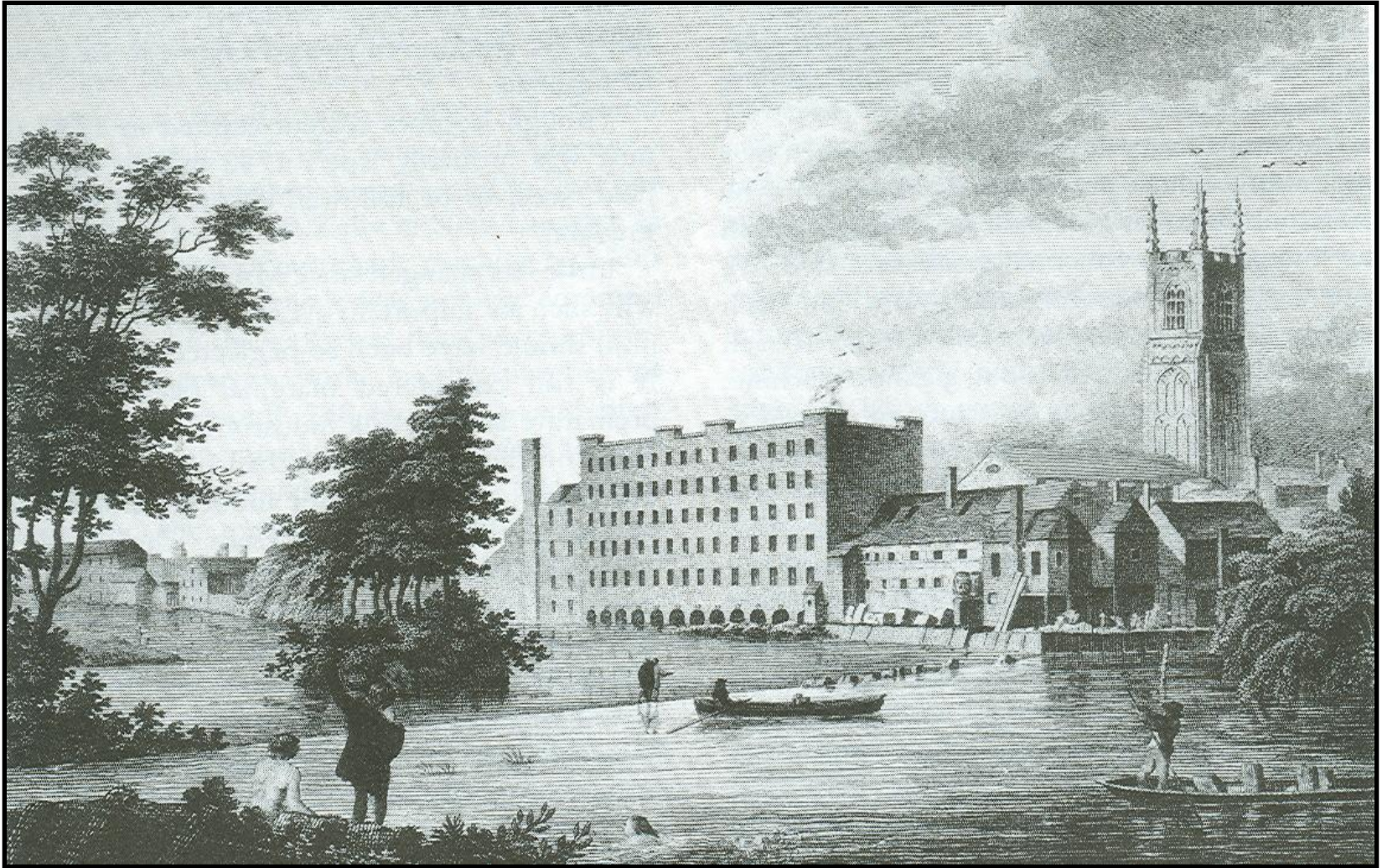
“Exchange”: markets – financial, retail, spectacle

Figure 10.18
Arkwright's use of
Palladian motifs at the
Masson mill, Cromford,
Derbyshire (1783)

"Production"



Source: *Buildings & Power*, Thomas A. Markus, 1993. Author's transparency.



Source: *Buildings & Power*, Thomas A. Markus, 1993

Figure 10.14

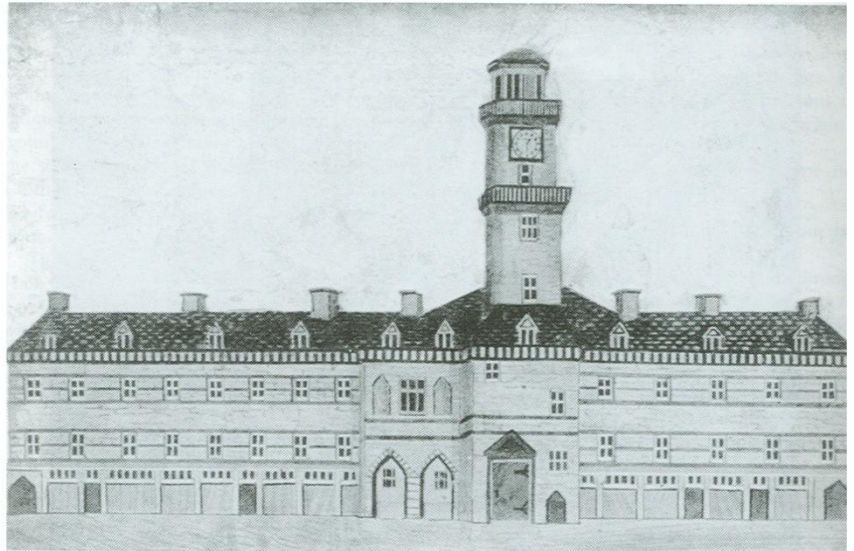
The Lombes' silk mill at Derby (1717-19)

Source: *Nixon* (1774)

Figure 11.18

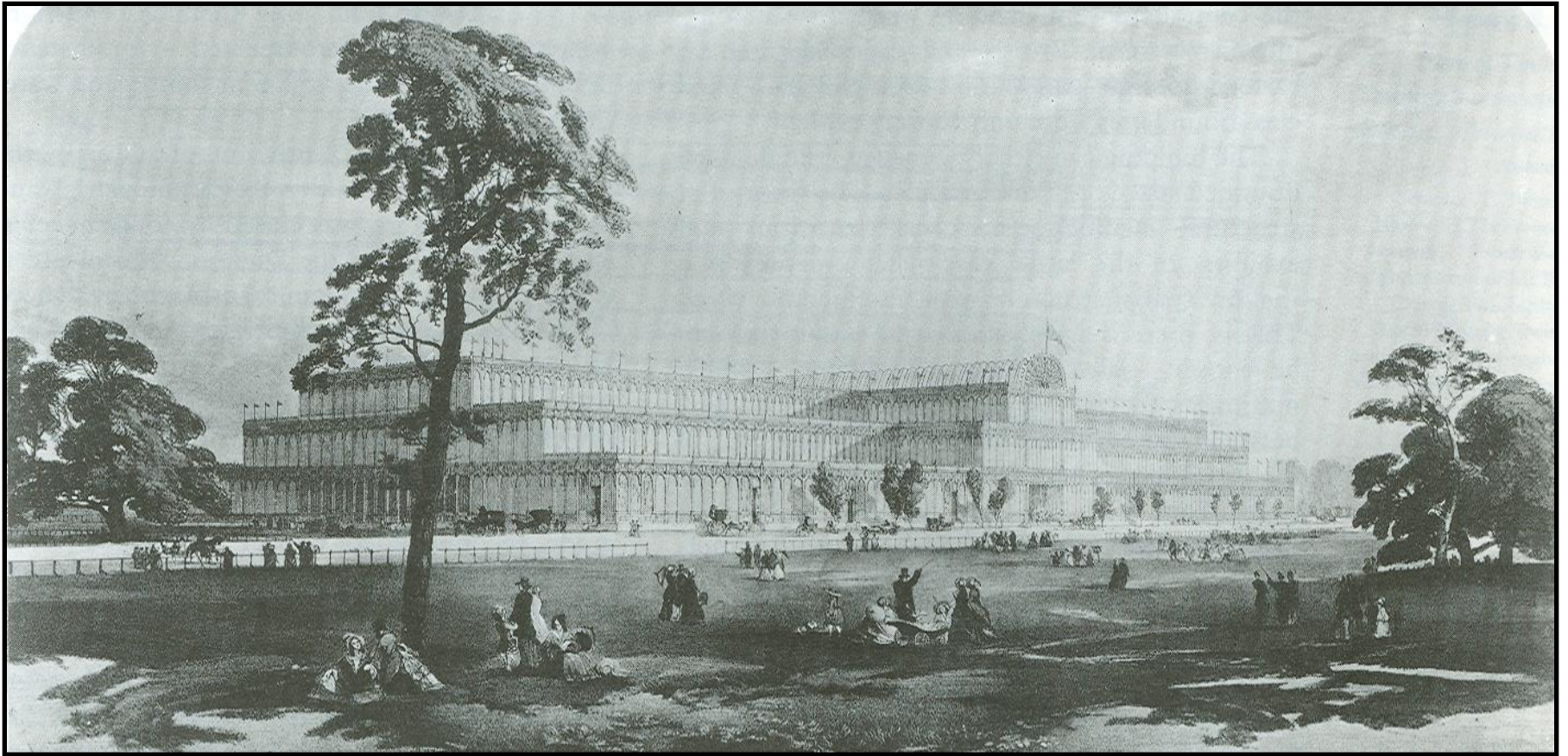
London's first Royal Exchange: exterior, from a wood inlay, and Hollar's view of the courtyard

Source: *Guardian Royal Exchange (UK) Limited (exterior); Guildhall Library, Corporation of London (courtyard)*



"Exchange"

Source: *Buildings & Power*, Thomas A. Markus, 1993



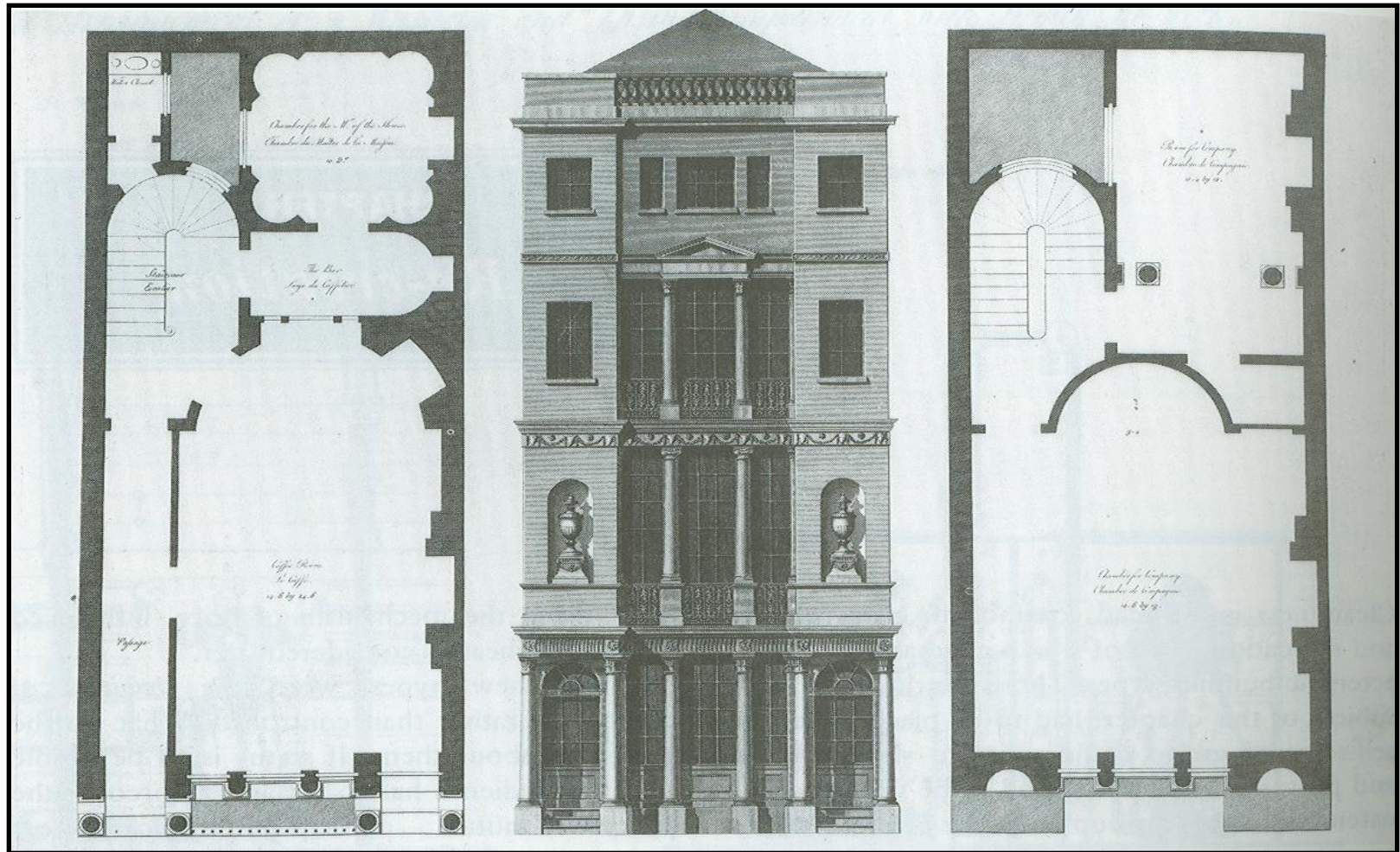
Source: *Buildings & Power*, Thomas A. Markus, 1993

Figure 8.8

The Crystal Palace (1851)

Source: *Victoria and Albert Museum*, courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the V & A

"Ephemeral Knowledge"



Source: *Buildings & Power*, Thomas A. Markus, 1993

Figure 6.1

Robert Adam's design for the New British Coffee House, Cockspur Street, London (1770)

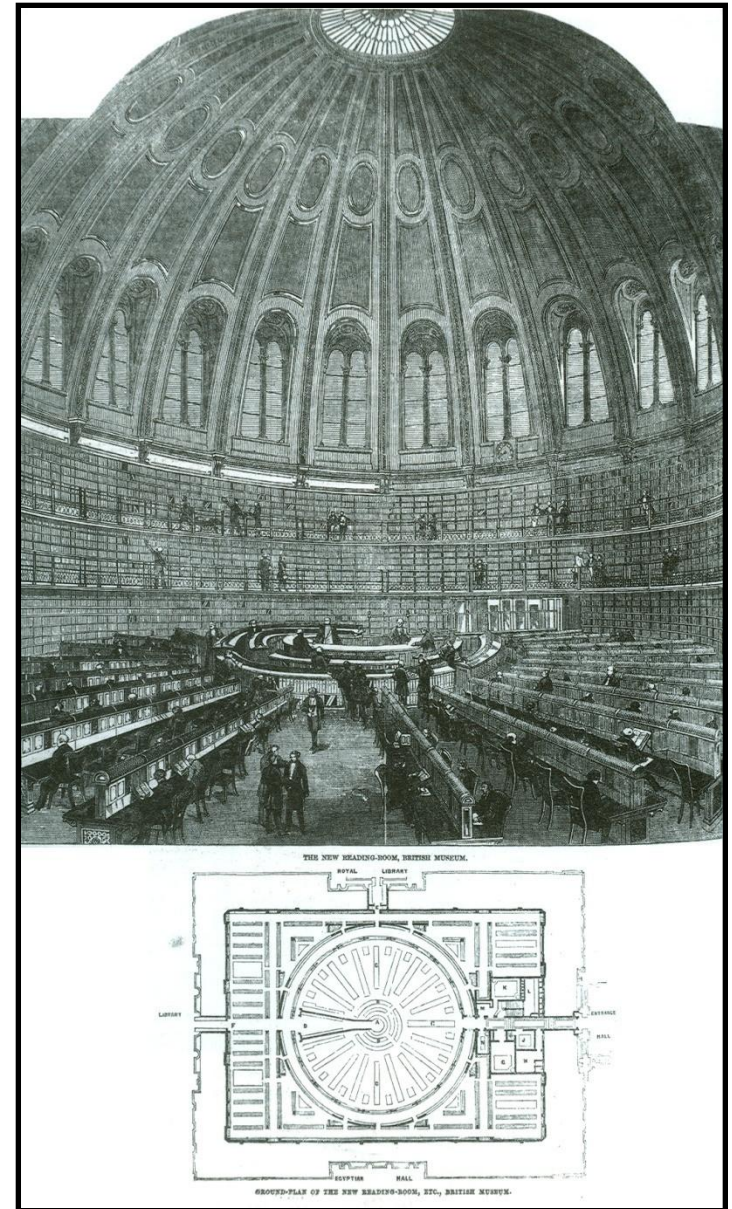
Source: *The works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam vol. 2 (1779 and 1786)*, facsimile V, plate iv, British Architecture Library: *"Recreation"*

Figure 7.9

Smirk's design for the
British Museum Reading
Room (1852), interior
view and plan

Source: *Illustrated London News* (1857)
9 May, *British Museum*

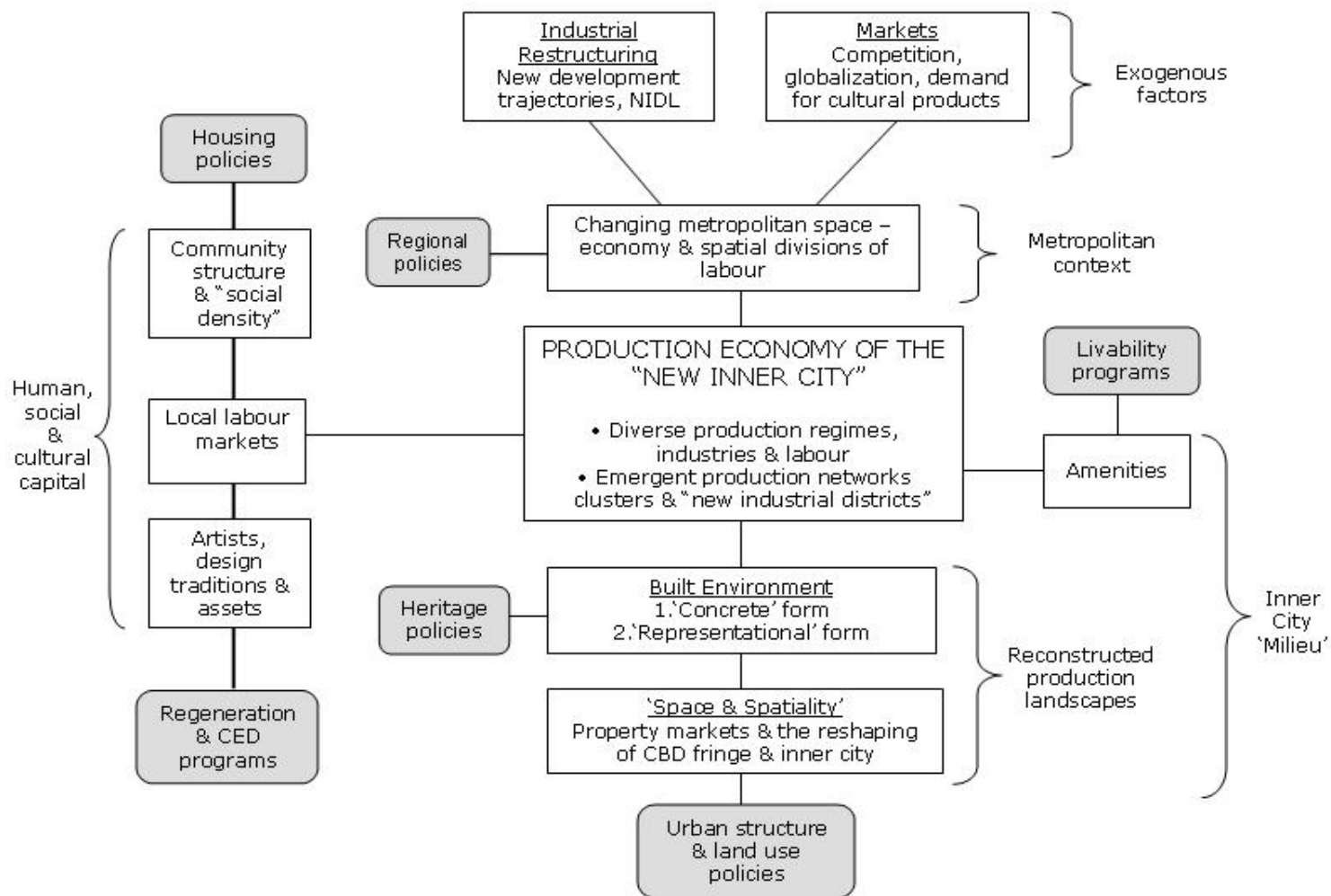
"Visible Knowledge"



Source: *Buildings & Power*, Thomas A. Markus, 1993

Imprints of innovation and restructuring in the city: acceleration of change and succession since the 1980s

- Structural decline of Fordist production largely 'run its course' by the early 1990s in major western cities
- Initial recolonization of the inner city by artists
- Development of design services, craft production
- Emergence of secondary business centres in largest cities (e.g. Canary Wharf)
- 'New Economy' phase, c. 1995-2000: rise of the 'dot.coms'
- Tech-crash of 2000-2001: differentiated 'recovery periods' from place to place
- Rise of the cultural economy of the city, creative industries, institutions and labour
- Recent growth of housing and 'social reconstruction of the metropolitan core': new gentrifiers, transnational elites



Factors shaping the production economy of the "new inner city".

Place: the revival of industrial districts in the city

- Evolution of the inner city industrial district: pre-industrial artisanal, arts and crafts production; site of 19th century industrialization; collapse of Fordist industries and the subsequent reassertion of production
- Hanoi: evolution of the 'Ancient Quarter' – from artisanal production (Sarah Turner) to 'Internet Landscapes' (Bjoern Surborg)
- Elements of continuity and disjuncture: Bathelt's saga of media and new media in Leipzig
- The 'Three industrial narratives' of Manhattan: continuities and volatility
 - a) Garment district: densest production site in U.S. (Norma Rantisi)
 - b) Corporate complex: Sassen, Abu-Lughod
 - c) 'Silicon Alley' New Economy phase: Michael Indergaard



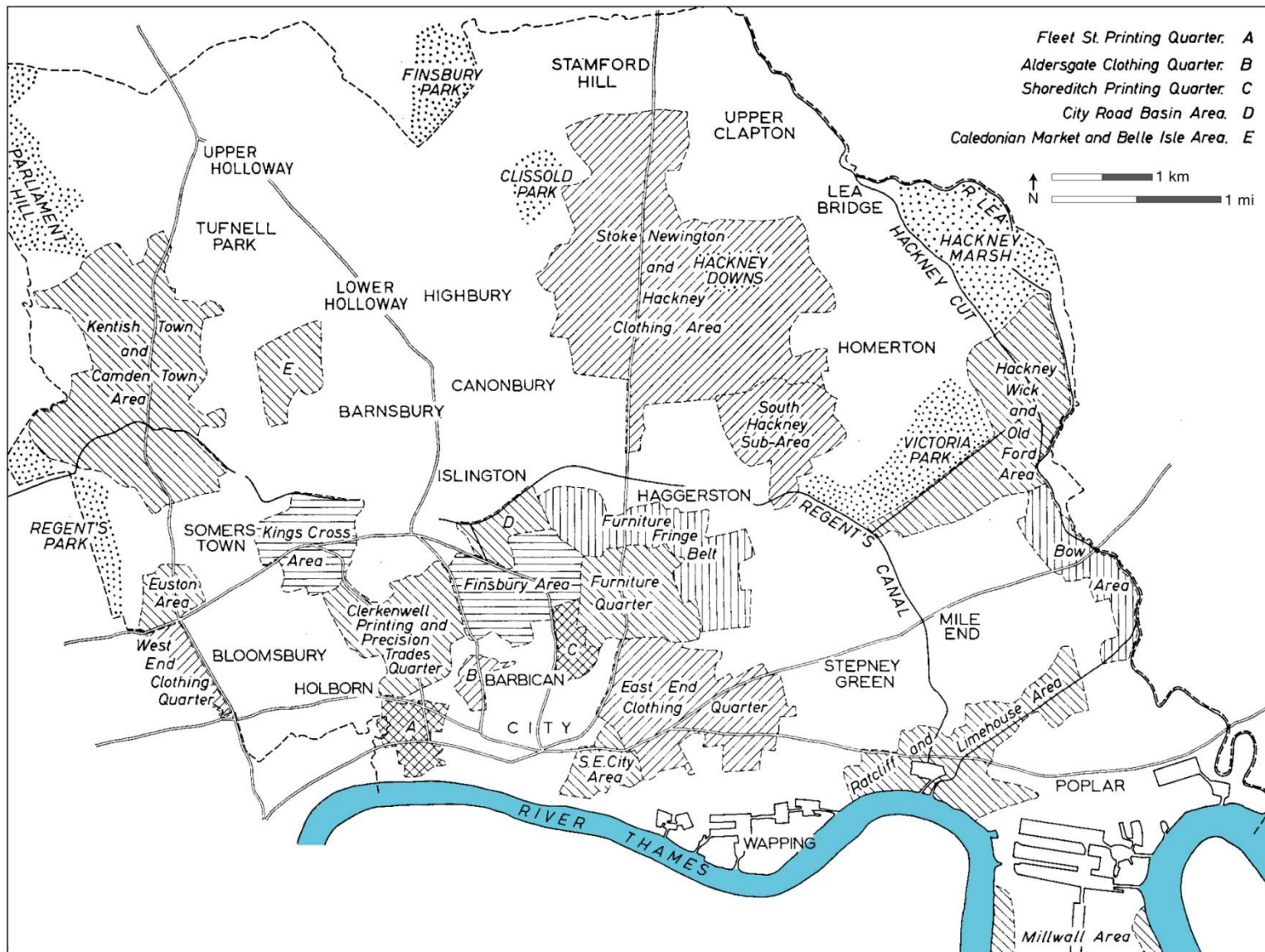
Streetscape, via di Fontebranda, Siena.

Fortunes of the Oltrarno Artisanal District: Firenze

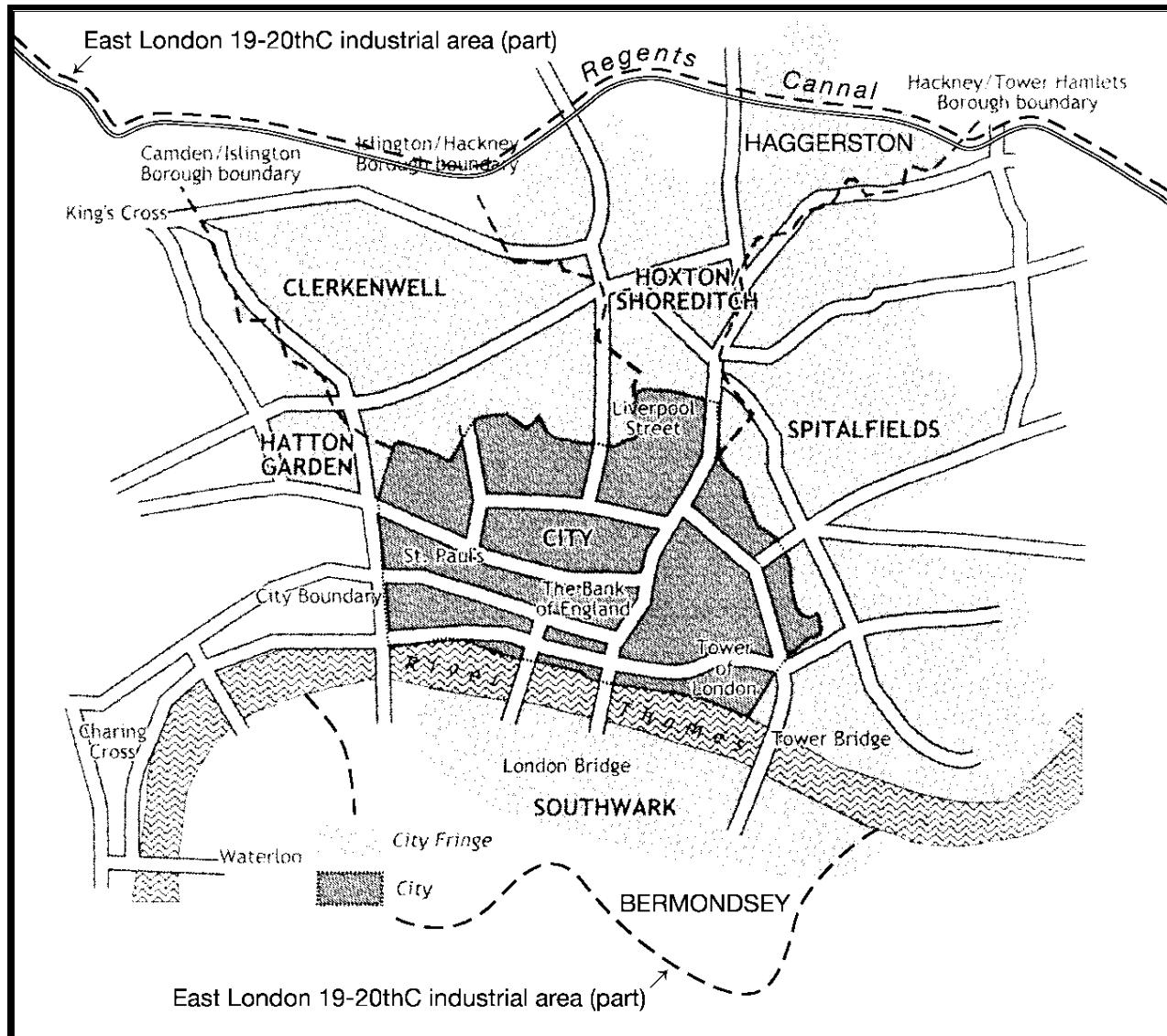
- Four centuries of arts, design and craft production south of the Arno
- Evidence of continuing robustness: lively landscapes and scenes of artisans and craftsmen along the *via Toscanella*
- Rich amenity landscapes as complements to production
- Adjacency to housing
- Artisans: from input providers to 'primary cultural producers'
- Signs of change: Oltrarno now on the 'tourist circuit', mixed users of consumption, foreign apprentices, use of the Internet for sales and marketing

Restructuring Narratives in the Global Metropolis: from postindustrial to 'New Industrial' in London

- London's inner city as site of 'world-scale' light manufacturing employment (Sassen)
- Durable ensembles: garment production and tailoring, food and beverage, wood products, plus specialized range of consumer goods and engineering
- Dimensions and causalities of collapse, 1960s-c. 1990 – c. 800K jobs lost net
- Implications for overall economic decline of London
- Effects of 'big bang', financial market liberalization in the 1980s
- Growth of a new cultural economy from the 1970s : sequence of artists, designers, professionals; important institutional supports – contribution to revival of London



Industrial areas within the Inner North-East London Industrial District.



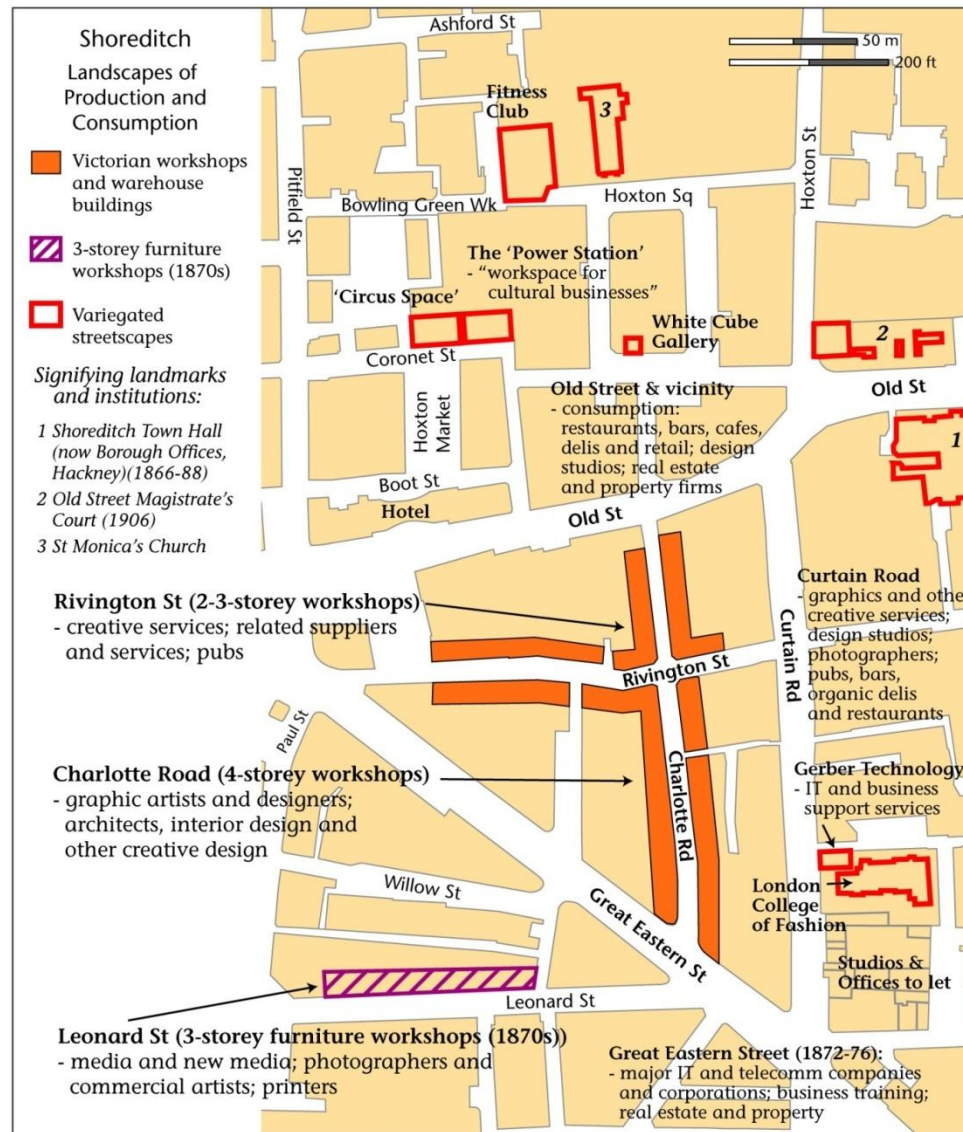
The 'City Fringe', selected local areas, and London's traditional inner city industrial district.

I <u>Pre-Fordist industries</u>	II <u>Fordist industries</u>	III <u>Post-Fordist industries</u>	
		A Intermediate service industries	B Cultural / New economy industries
(1) Skilled artisans, artists, apprentices	(1) Operatives: skilled, semi-skilled labour, managers and supervisors	(1) Segmented labour: executives, managers, professionals, technical, sales and clerical	(1) Specialized neo-artisanal labour, design professionals, scientific and IT staff, artists, sales, managers
(2) Workshops, shops, residential space	(2) Factories and plants	(2) Office buildings	(2) Studios, workshops, live-works, work-lives, offices
(3) Artists Bespoke tailors Bookbinders Jewellers Milliners Model-builders Musical instrument makers Perfume and scent makers Precision instrument makers Silver plate engravers	(3) Food & beverage production <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • bakeries • breweries • food-processors Garment production (long-run, mass market) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • factories and plants • sweatshops Printing and publishing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mass-market integrated Fordist production 	(3) Corporate control: head and regional offices Intermediate banking and finance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • merchant banking • fund managers • stock exchange • insurance Producer services <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • legal firms • accountants • marketing • management consultants Property <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • development companies • property manager • estate agents • research and market intelligence 	(3) New media/multi media Internet services and web-design Computer graphics and imaging Software design Digital arts Graphic Design and arts Digital publishing and printing Film production and post production Video game production Music studios Galleries: curatorial services Specialized food and beverages <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • organic food • specialty bakeries • specialty coffee roasting • ethnic foods and beverages
Note: (1) labour (2) infrastructure (3) representative industries			

Production regimes, building types and representative industries for London's inner city.

Hoxton (Shoreditch, London Borough of Hackney)

- Former specialization in furniture production, garments and tailoring
- Major site of artists in aftermath of industrial collapse: studios and galleries
- ‘world-class’ artists district (Andy Pratt)
- Insertion of creative industries in the ‘micro-spaces’ of this iconic district
- Growth of professional design and mainstream commercial business in the 1990s : displacement effects (proximity to the City, Liverpool St Station)
- Increasing role of property market and ‘new gentrifiers’
- Hoxton’s cultural role increasingly under pressure



Hoxton and the Shoreditch Triangle, London Borough of Hackney.



Spitalfields Market, London.



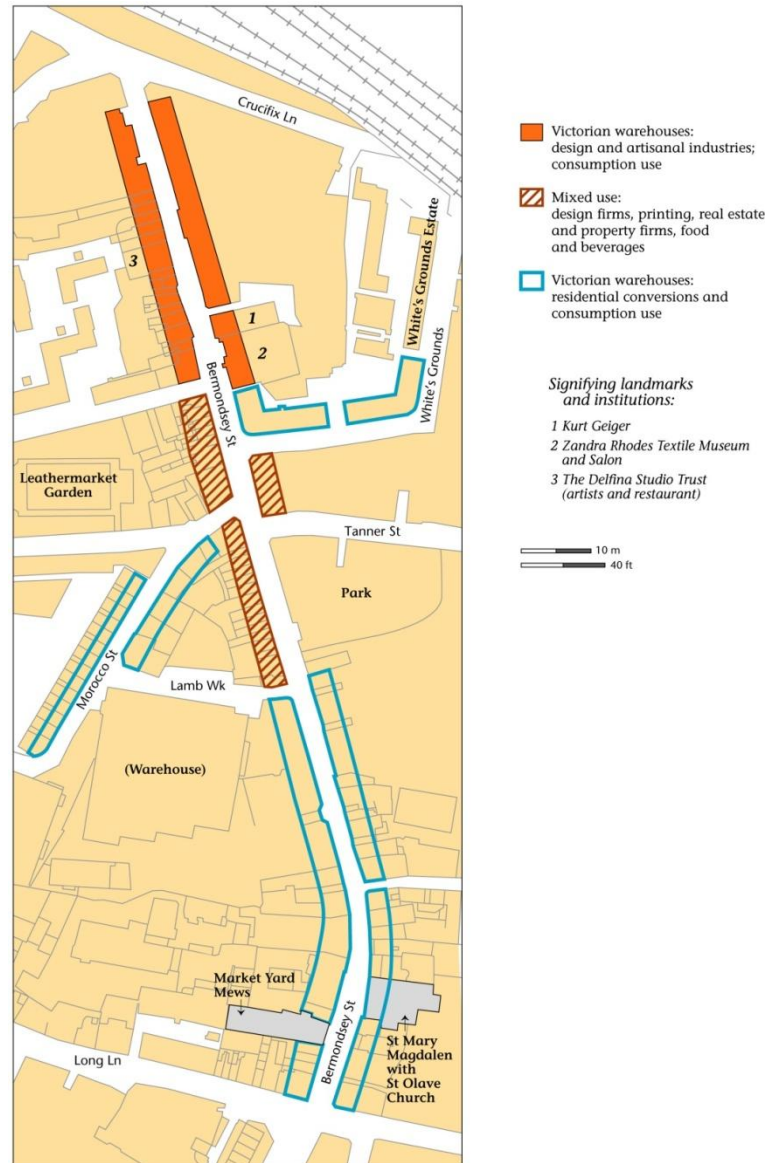
Graphic Designers, Charlotte Road, Shoreditch, London.

Bermondsey Street Conservation Area

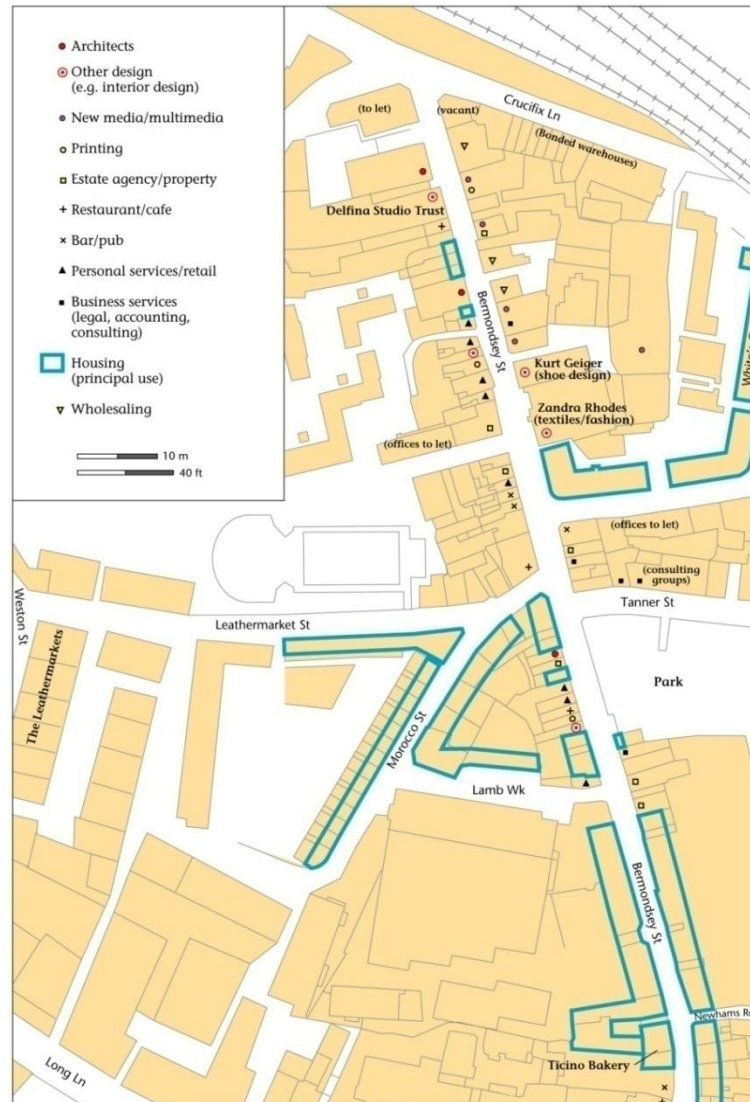
- Traditional role in warehousing, spices and leatherworks
- Located just to the south of cultural 'global spectacle' in Bankside (Tate Gallery of Modern Art)
- Heritage conservation attracted growing community of artists, designers, cultural workers
- Major sites: Zandra Rhodes, Kurt Geiger, Delfina Trust
- Latest site visits (2006-8) show increasing evidence of residential conversions along Bermondsey Street – squeezing artists and designers



Tate Gallery of Modern Art, Bankside, London.



Bermondsey Street, London borough of Southwark: structural elements.



Bermondsey Street: location of selected firms and institutions.



Creative industries and loft conversions, Bermondsey Street Conservation Area, London.



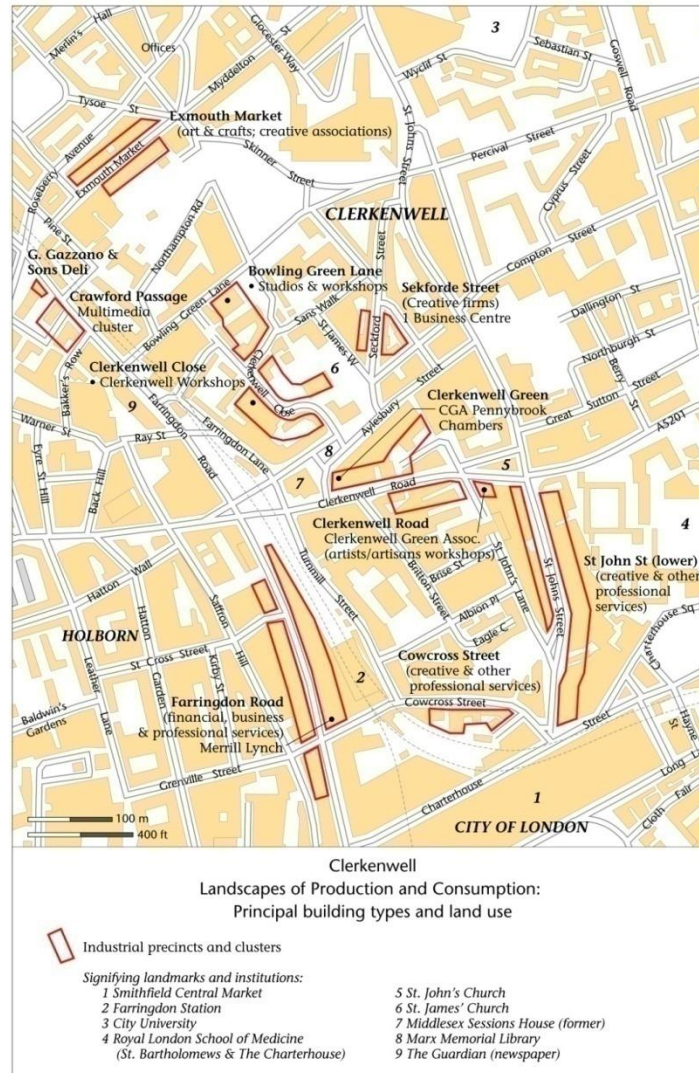
Zandra Rhodes Textile Museum and Salon, Bermondsey Street, London.



Loft conversions in Victorian warehouse district, Bermondsey Street, London.

Clerkenwell: artisanal production versus the London 'property machine'

- Historic site of precision trades
- Historical resonance: Marx, Lenin, Dickens
- Efforts to promote traditional artisanal production: role of Clerkenwell Green Association, Clerkenwell Workshops, Mike Franks and other leaders
- New trajectory of elite artists and designers (film makers, star architects, ne media, music producers) displacing craft workers: 'industrial gentrification'
- Parallel trajectory of insistent social upgrading
- Incursion of commercial firms – proximity to the City of London, redevelopment of Kings Cross



Specialized production zones and sites in Clerkenwell, London Borough of Islington.



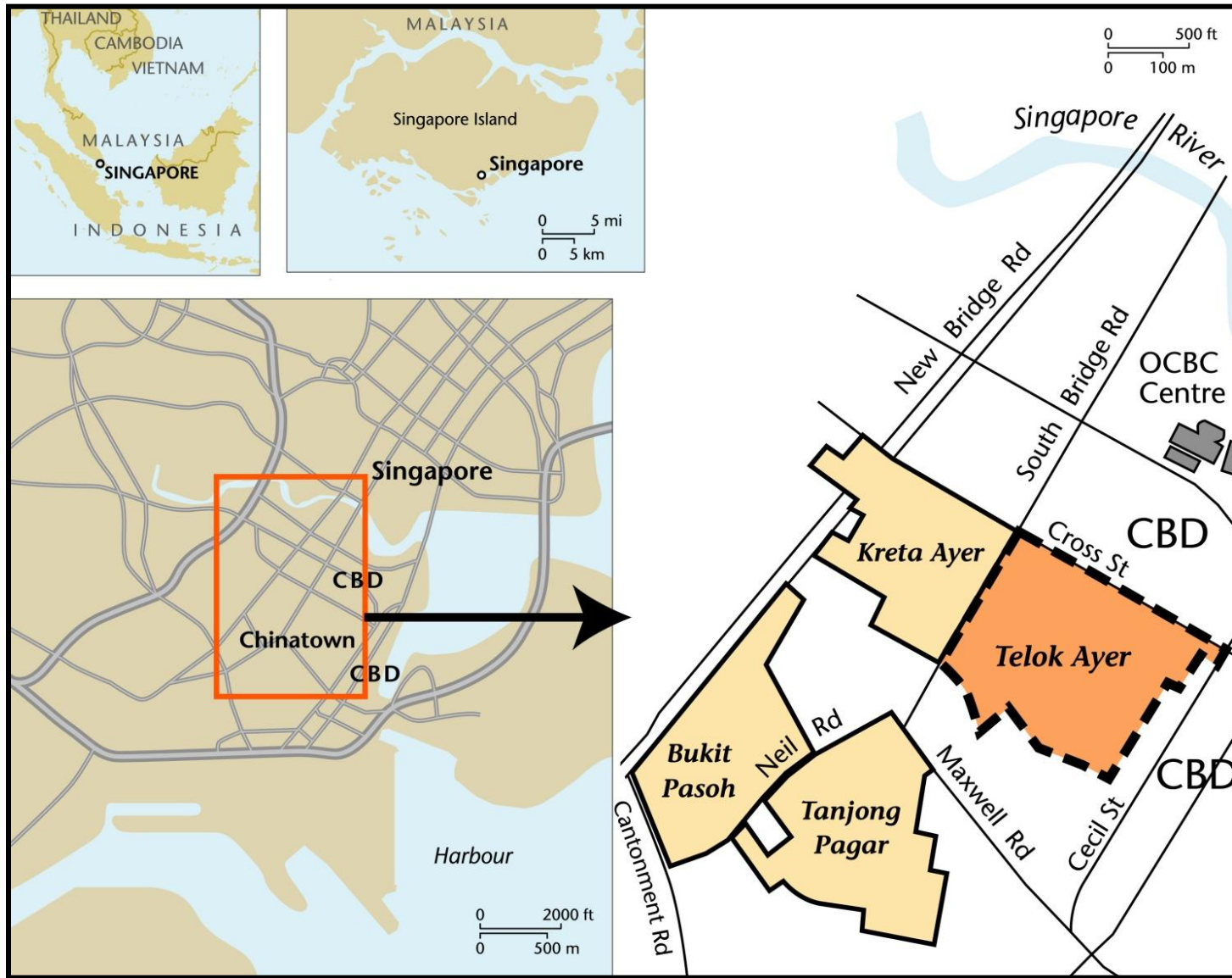
Convivial consumption, Clerkenwell, London.



Clerkenwell Workshops, London (formerly London School Warehouse 1895-97).

Inscriptions of Restructuring in Telok Ayer, Singapore

- Singapore as the exemplary 'developmental city-state'
- Decline and heritage in the inner city (Chinatown)
- 'spontaneous' imprints of innovation and restructuring in Telok Ayer, one of 4 heritage districts in Chinatown
- Emergence as site of arts and design in the 1980s
- Abbreviated 'New Economy' phase in last 1990s: landscapes of dot.coms
- Tech-crash in 2000, but rapid recovery as site of cultural activity
- Recasting of Telok Ayer as 'global village: media, culture and amenity' in the early 21st century



Telok Ayer in its local and regional settings.



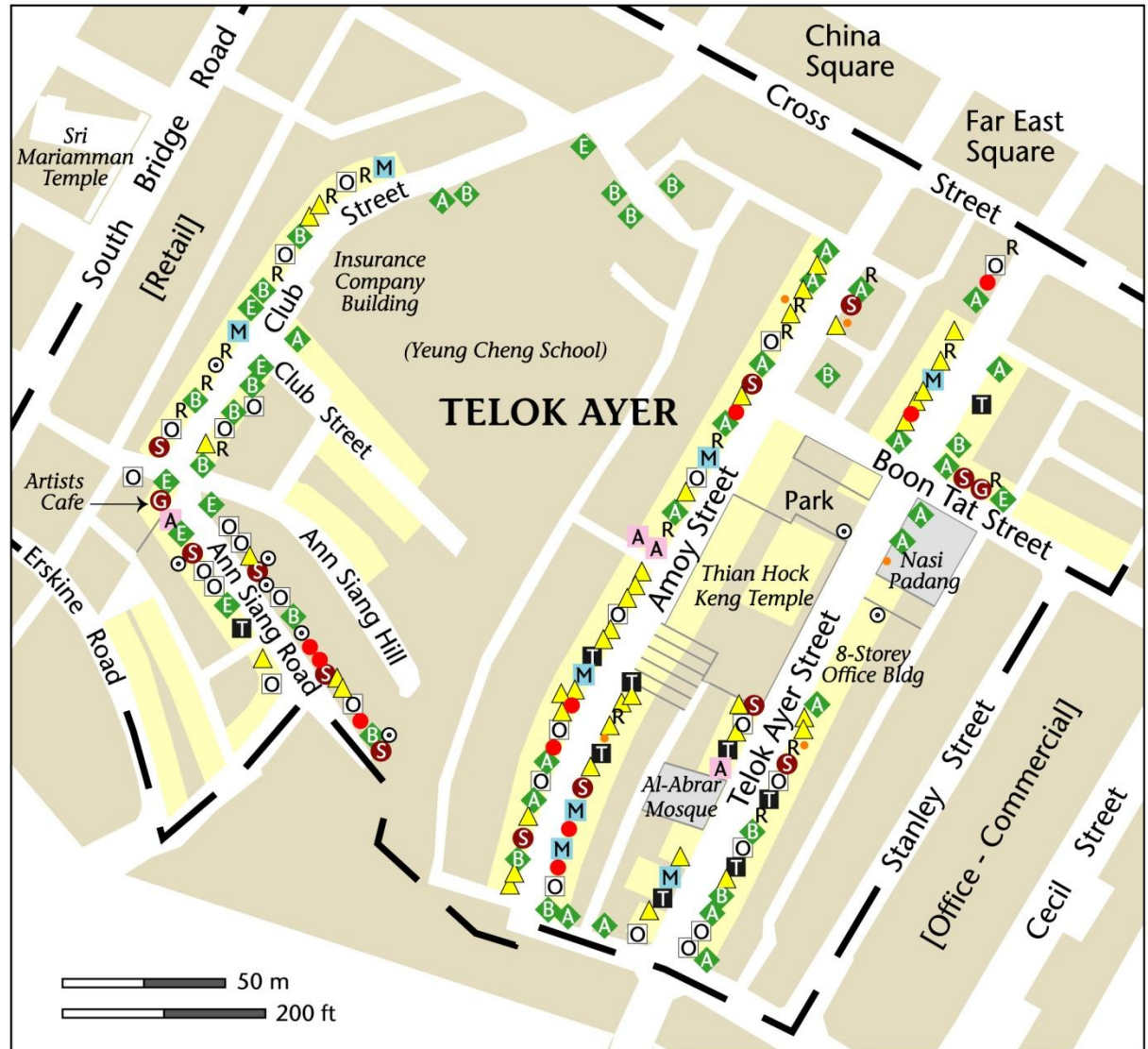
Shophouse landscape 1840s, Telok Ayer, Singapore.



Telok Ayer in the New Economy, c.2000.

Distribution of Firms

- 'New Economy' firms: Internet, web design, multi-media and dot coms
- M Media, publishing
- A Architects
- Other design firms
- ▲ Business and professional services
- T Trading companies
- ◆ Traditional restaurant (East & South-east Asian)
- ◆ European restaurant
- ◆ Bar
- R Retail/personal services
- S Sports facilities, gyms and spas
- G Galleries
- Chinese clan association
- Coffee shop



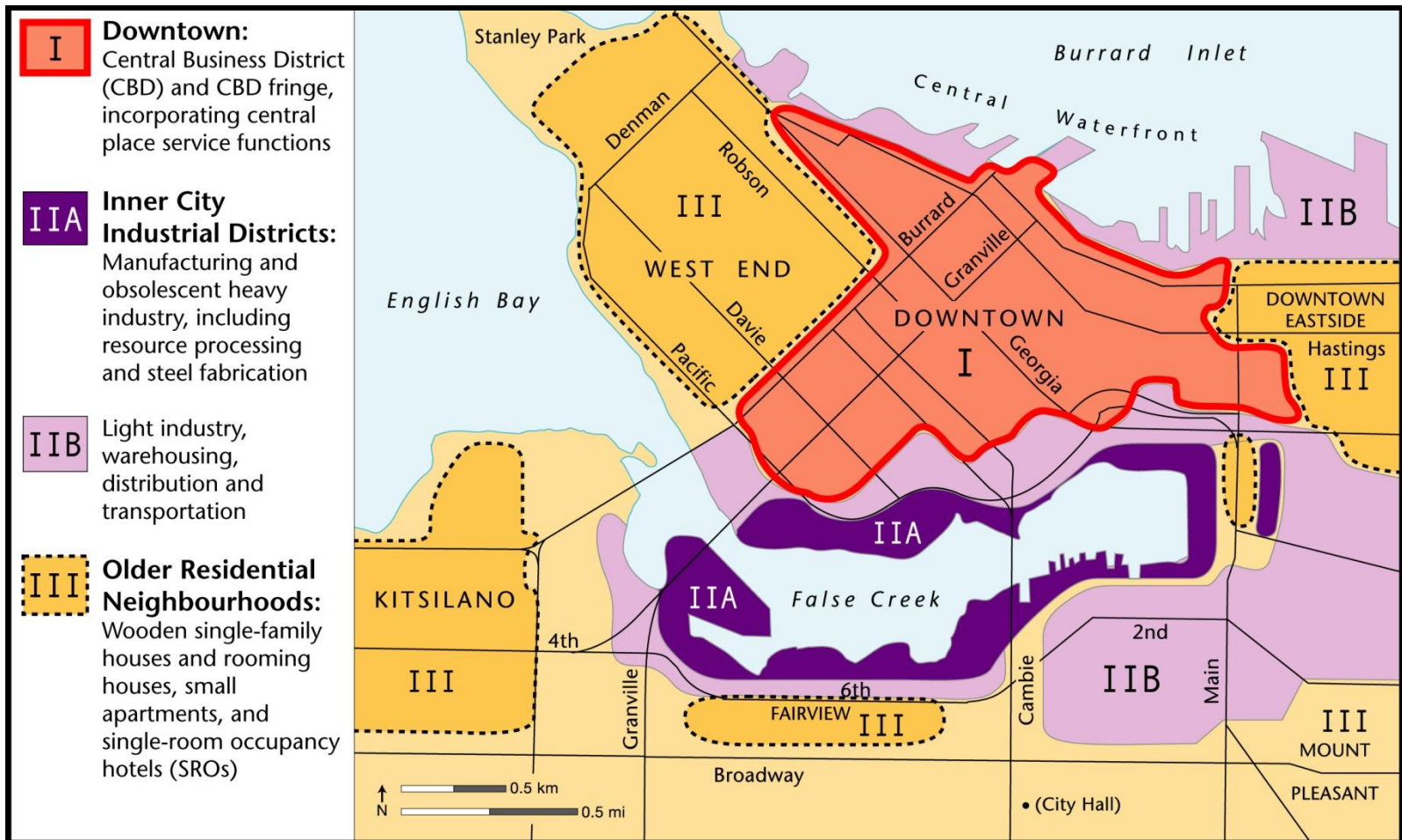
Telok Ayer as 'global village': media, culture and amenity, 2006.



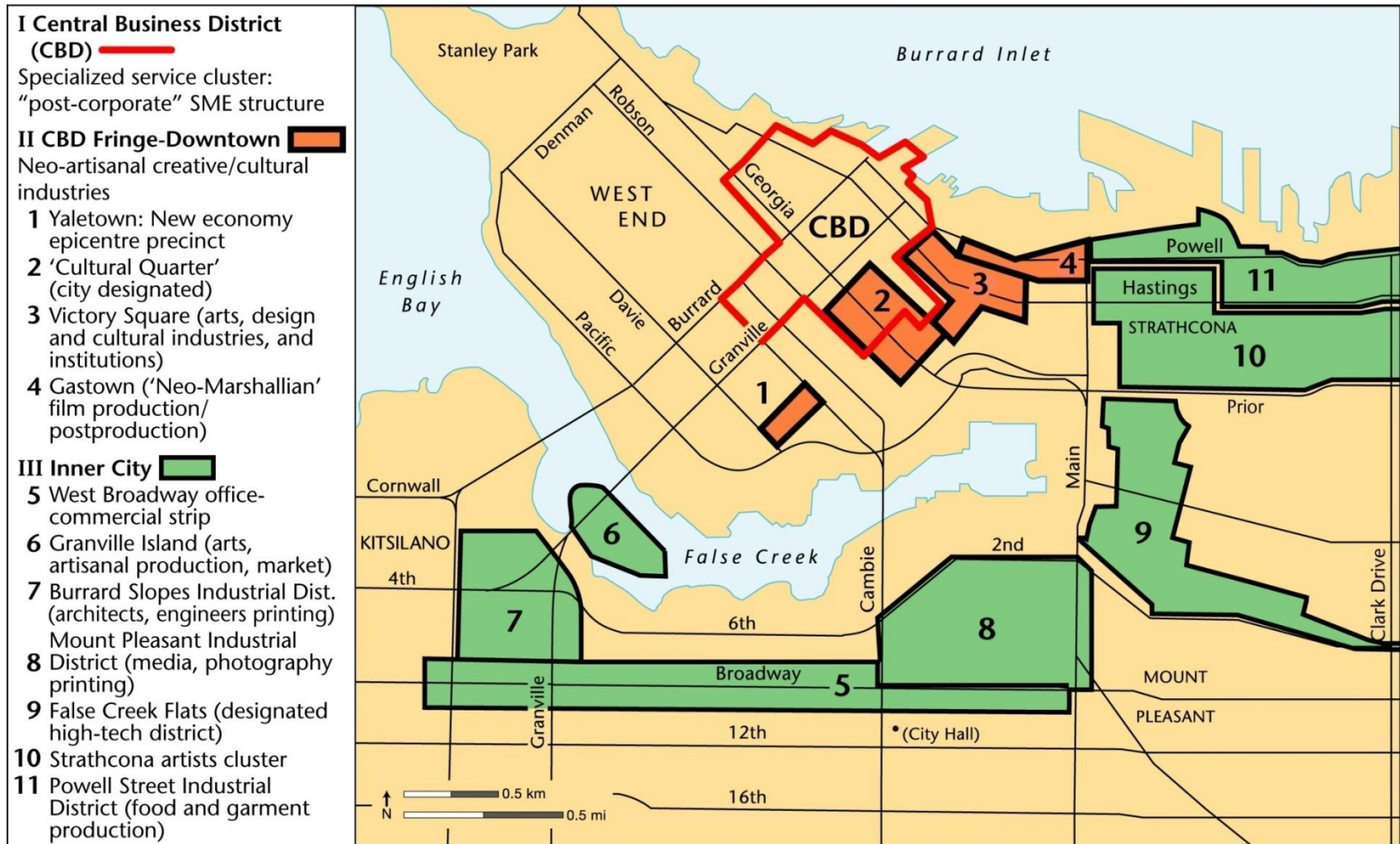
Artist's studio, Ann Siang Road, Telok Ayer.

Vancouver: new industry formation and the reconstruction of the heritage landscapes of the metropolitan core

- Structure of the central city at mid-century: CBD, inner city industry and resource processing, low-rise residential neighbourhoods
- Collapse of industry: market forces + 'postindustrial policy values'
- Seminal influence of the Central Area Plan (1991): reordering space in the central city
- Privileging of housing in the Plan: consolidation of the CBD, new allocations of space for housing
- Coincident emergence of new production spaces in the CBD fringe and inner city districts: generation of a new 'space-economy' of specialized production in the urban core



Zonal structure of Vancouver's central area at mid-century.

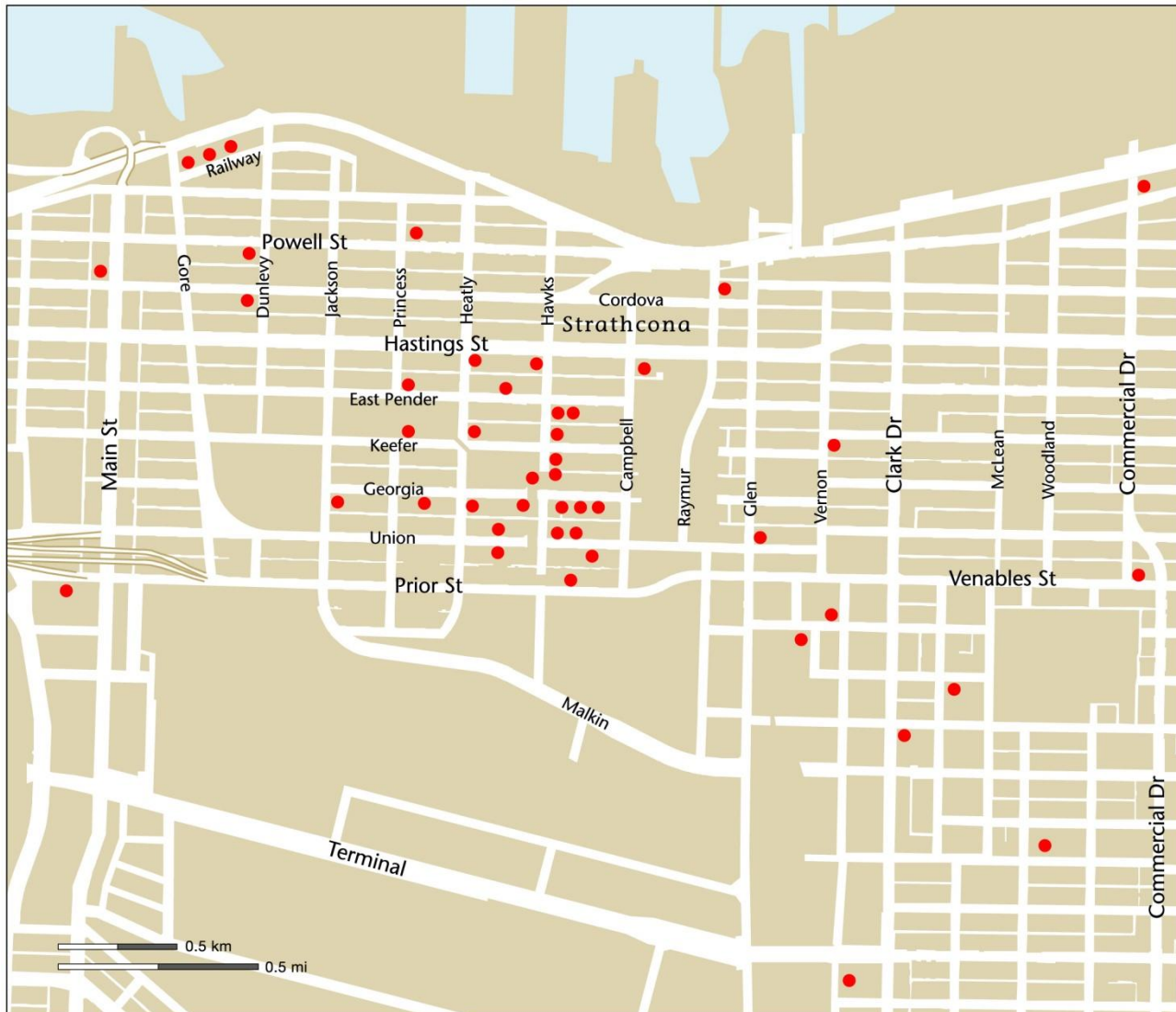


The space-economy of specialized production in Vancouver's metropolitan core, 2008.



Distribution of office/studio space in Vancouver's downtown, 2006.

Source: City of Vancouver Planning Department (2006).



Distribution of artist's studios and galleries, Strathcona and Grandview-Woodland.

Source: Sacco 2007

Victory Square

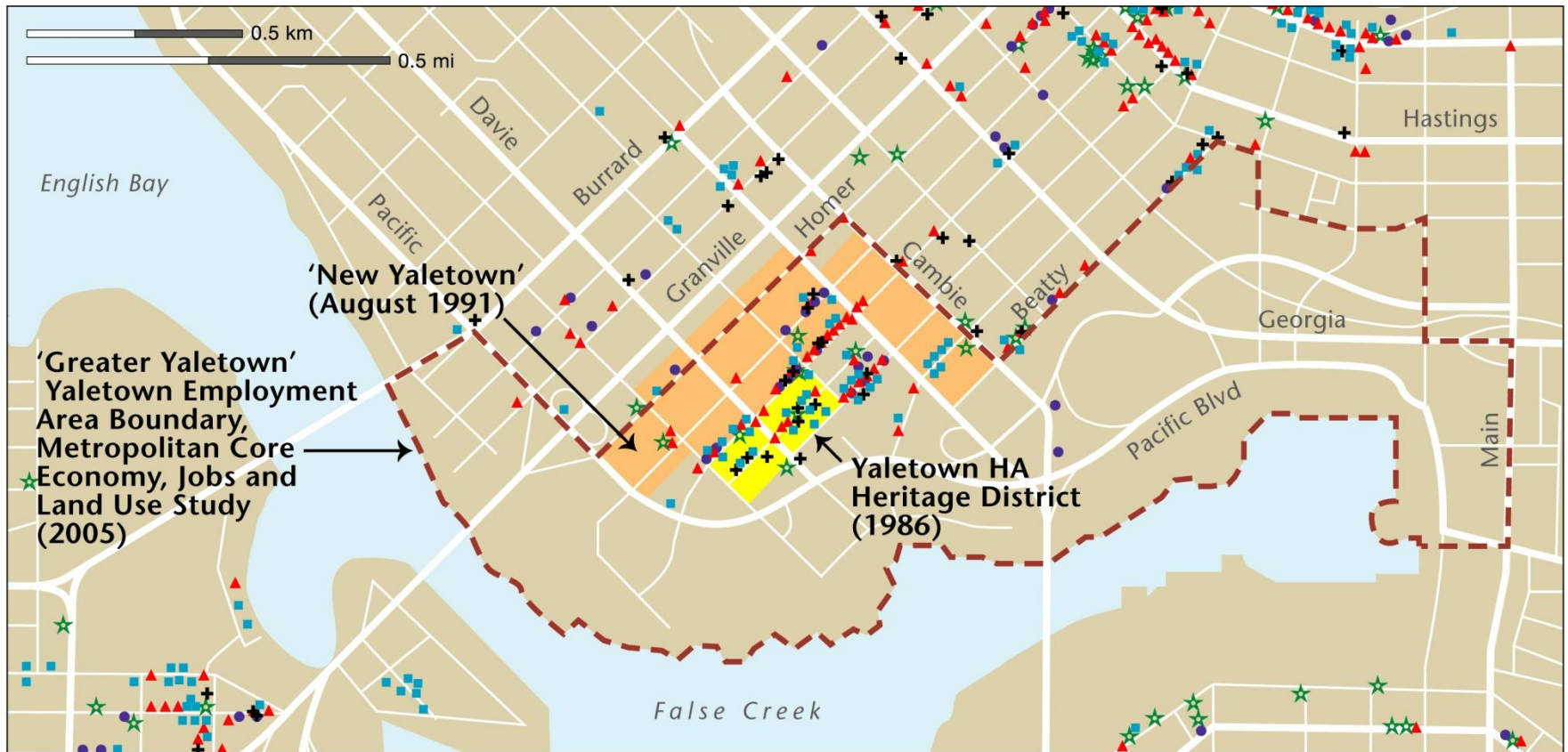
- Historic banking, commercial and retail core of the original Vancouver townsite
- Decline from the 1970s as the city centre shifts westwards
- Insertion of artists in older housing
- Change in the social morphology, growth in crime and disorder in the Downtown Eastside
- Growth of new institutions for arts and design
- Impact of the Woodward's project: 500 housing units (market and social), SFU Centre for Contemporary Arts, new retail spaces
- Acceleration of transition and change in this historic district



Victory Square heritage area and creative industry site.

Yaletown: Vancouver's New Economy 'epicentre'

- Origins as major rail terminus and warehouse district
- Decline in the postwar period
- Stages of transition and succession in the 1980s and 1990s: loft housing, artists, New Economy phase in the late 1990s
- District of high-end housing, and also zone of intensive industrial innovation, as well as high aesthetics, rich consumption amenities
- = peak land values and rents in the Vancouver central
- Cachet of Yaletown: new imageries and reterritorialization of space in the metropolis: Yaletown – New Yaletown – Greater Yaletown : formerly 6 square blocks, now 1/6th of downtown area



+ **Computer services**
 Computer graphic
 Computer network
 Computer applications

▲ **New media and design services**
 Multimedia
 Graphic designers

★ **Technical support services**
 Commercial artists
 Commercial photographers

● **Advertising**

■ **Architects**

Distribution of firms, selected industries and 'reterritorialization', for Yaletown (2004)



Yaletown New Economy site (foreground) and Downtown South condominium district (background), Vancouver.

Conclusion: heritage landscapes and the new economy of the city

- Vacancies and low rents obvious attractions for artists and start-up creatives, but large body of evidence demonstrates powerful **affinity** between cultural professionals and the heritage landscapes of the city, in Canada (e.g. Halifax, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Victoria) and internationally
- ‘Affinity’ derived both from the ‘concrete/physical/functional’ dimensions of heritage structures, and also ‘representational’ values
- Inner city heritage sites now zones of intense experimentation, innovation, restructuring, rather than ‘durable ensembles of industrial production’
- Co-location of industries, amenity and new housing: complements, conflicts and tensions (Sharon Zukin as pioneer in this field: *Loft Living* [1989])
- Interrogating the new cultural economy: Florida’s ‘3 Ts’ v. explanations emphasizing agglomeration, productions systems and labour markets
- Prospects for theoretical synthesis: industrial firms *versus* the social reconstruction of the urban core (London, Toronto, Vancouver, San Francisco, and other cities): the Chicago School meets ‘industrial urbanism’?