Taking a transect from the CBD to the suburbs, land values fall significantly as the different land users are less reliant on accessibility and unable to pay the higher prices associated with this. This is known as the **bid-rent theory**. As Figure 9.14 shows, traditionally there has been a move from retailing to industrial and commercial and then to residential areas.
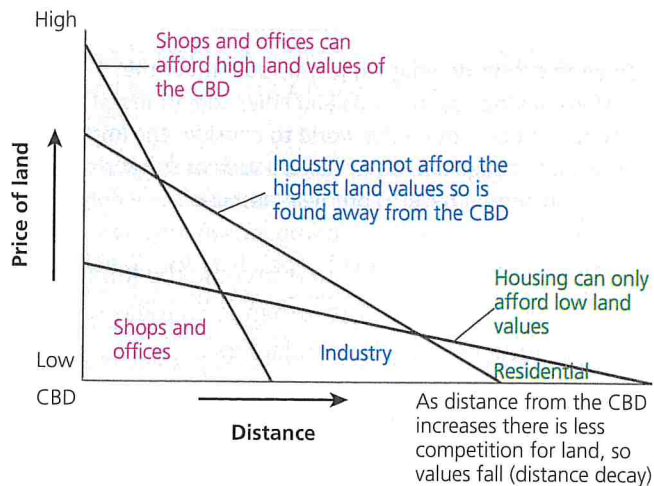

Figure 9.14 The bid-rent theory

The 1980s trend towards out-of-town shopping centres affected land values in some cities and this can be seen by the presence of secondary land-value peaks shown in Figure 9.13 (page 393). An increase in traffic meant that the city centre was no longer always the most accessible part of the city and a lack of space for expansion encouraged some of the large retailers to look elsewhere for potential new sites. For the consumers, the growth of edge-of-town developments provided free parking and other land uses such as cinemas and restaurants, which proved to be highly attractive. Land values subsequently rose in such areas.

New urban landscapes

Moving from the centre outwards, there have been a number of significant changes to the urban landscape in recent years.

Changes in the city centre

Some city centres in the UK have experienced decline in the last 30 years. In the 1980s and 1990s this was largely due to the development of out-of-town retail parks and the decentralisation of business and residential areas,

Main land-use zones in a city

Central Business District (CBD): This central area contains the major shops, offices and entertainment facilities.

Inner city: This is an area of old housing and light manufacturing industry. This area dates back to the Industrial Revolution when it was comprised mainly of factories and terraced housing providing accommodation for the factory workers. Many British cities have witnessed regeneration within these areas in the last three decades.

Residential: These areas consist of housing from a range of periods, which has traditionally increased in both size and price as one moves towards the outskirts. However, urban regeneration schemes and gentrification has meant that some of the most expensive property can now be found in traditional 'low class residential' areas while council estates on the edge of cities are now among some of the most depressed parts of British cities.

Green areas: Such as parks tend to be dotted throughout an urban area. They range from large botanical gardens of national importance down to playgrounds within a housing estate.

Out-of-town retail developments: Originally developed by large supermarkets, these spaces soon expanded to include non-food retail units and entertainment complexes. They have had a negative economic impact on some town and city centres. In 1994 the UK government started to actively discourage their development.

Business or science parks: These tend to be found on the edge of urban areas where there is good access to major roads. Some science parks are also located near to universities.

Industry: Manufacturing industries often require large areas of land and tend to locate towards the edge of cities where cheaper land is available. De-industrialisation brought about the large-scale decline of manufacturing industry in British cities and former factory sites have either been demolished or converted into other land uses. The latter may still occupy their historical location in the inner city.

Informal settlements: Also known as slums or shanty towns, these are a feature of cities in low-income countries. They have traditionally developed on the edge of cities although they are also found adjacent to transport routes or in areas of the city unpopular with residents such as rubbish dumps. Physical factors such as steep slopes, unstable land and areas prone to natural hazards may also encourage their development.

which served to pull people away from the CBD. High parking costs, congestion and perceptions of the city centre as dirty and unsafe were further disincentives for shoppers. More recent competition has come from the phenomenal growth of internet shopping.

A number of strategies have been devised to help reverse the decline of city centres including the provision of a more attractive shopping environment, the construction of all-weather shopping malls, improvements in public transport links and the establishment of business and marketing teams to co-ordinate management of the CBD and run special events. In addition to this, the 2000s have seen two other notable strategies.

Town centre mixed development

Many cities are encouraging the development of functions other than retailing to increase the attractions of the city centre. These include:

- a wider range of leisure facilities including cinemas, theatres, cafés, wine bars, restaurants and other cultural and meeting places. Where these offer services of different kinds and at varying prices and degrees of quality, a greater range of people will be attracted
- the availability of spaces, including gardens and squares or plazas, to enable people-watching and other activities
- the promotion of street entertainment such as at Covent Garden in London
- developing nightlife, such as clubbing. (There are negative issues associated with this, including the high level of policing that is necessary)
- developing flagship attractions such as the At-Bristol Science Centre and M Shed museum and gallery in Bristol
- constructing new offices, apartments, hotels and conference centres to raise the status of the CBD for business and encourage tourists to remain near the city centre
- encouraging residential areas to return to city centres by providing flats, redeveloping old buildings (a form of gentrification) or building new upmarket apartments.

The combination of strategies above and the stricter planning controls placed on out-of-town developments has meant that many large cities in the UK have successfully attracted shoppers and visitors back to the city centre. However, decision makers are still worried about the decline of the CBD in smaller cities and urban areas.

In 2007, the city of Exeter in Devon saw the opening of a mixed-use city centre redevelopment scheme which replaced a post-war development that had become dated and unattractive for modern retailers. The Princesshay redevelopment contains more than 60 retail units, 122 flats, a unique visitor attraction (the city's mediaeval underground passages) a tourist information centre and 10 cafés/restaurants. It also includes new public art pieces and hosts events and festivals.

The developers were keen to instil a greater sense of security and vibrancy to the area and a key element of this was the promotion of city centre living and a night-time economy.

Figure 9.15 shows part of the City Centre Quarter of Exeter. The Roman walk signposted recognises the heritage of the city and runs along the original Roman city wall. In this photo, you can see shops, a restaurant and two stories of flats with cedar-clad walkways. These residential units help to create a sense of place, community and safety in the city centre, as well as meeting a local housing need.

The development of cultural and heritage quarters

Many cities across the UK have initiated the planning and development of cultural or heritage quarters as a deliberate model for urban regeneration of declining inner urban areas. Culturally-led urban development first began to appear in the 1980s and early UK examples are the Sheffield Cultural Industries Quarter and the Manchester Northern Quarter. A prerequisite for a cultural quarter is the presence of cultural production (making objects, goods, products) or consumption (people going to shows, visiting venues and galleries). Heritage quarters focus more on the history of the area based around small-scale industries. The most successful quarters tend to be those actually making something or those associated with a product, such as the Birmingham Jewellery quarter. Areas like these have built up a regional, and in some cases national, reputation which

attracts visitors and tourists from further afield and brings financial benefits to the wider area.

Some critics have argued that not all towns and cities need cultural quarters and that in some areas they have simply created higher property values. Experiences of different 'quarters' has shown that some are more successful than others. However, as a tool for regeneration, improving perceptions of place and preserving history and culture, 'quarters' tend to be viewed in a positive light.

Gentrified areas

Gentrification is defined as the buying and renovating of properties often in more run-down areas by wealthier individuals. It is an important process of housing improvement supported by groups such as estate agents and local authorities and it has helped to regenerate large parts of British inner cities in the last few decades. Unlike the regeneration schemes described in Table 9.4 (page 390), gentrification involves the rehabilitation of old houses and streets on a piecemeal basis and is carried out by individuals or groups of individuals rather than large organisations. Gentrification can happen for a number of reasons:

- The Rent Gap: This refers to the situation when the price of property has fallen below its real value, usually due to lack of maintenance or investment, and there is a 'gap' between actual and potential price. Such properties are attractive to builders, property developers or individuals who can afford to renovate the properties and then sell them on to make a profit.
- Commuting costs: Commuting can be time-consuming, expensive and stressful. Moving closer to the city centre can eliminate the need to commute.
- The 'pioneer' image: This refers to the trend of creative individuals such as artists and designers moving into more 'edgy' neighbourhoods. These groups are not interested in the conformity of suburban living but are drawn to the diverse cultural opportunities of the urban centre. The gentrification of areas such as Hoxton and Shoreditch in London and SoHo in New York City has been linked to their notoriety as the location of vibrant arts scenes.
- The support of government and local decision makers: Both groups are keen to improve the economy and environment of inner city areas and gentrification is seen as an important part of this.
- Changing composition of households: Many cities have seen the growth of single or two-person households without children. These households are more likely to see the benefits of inner-city living.
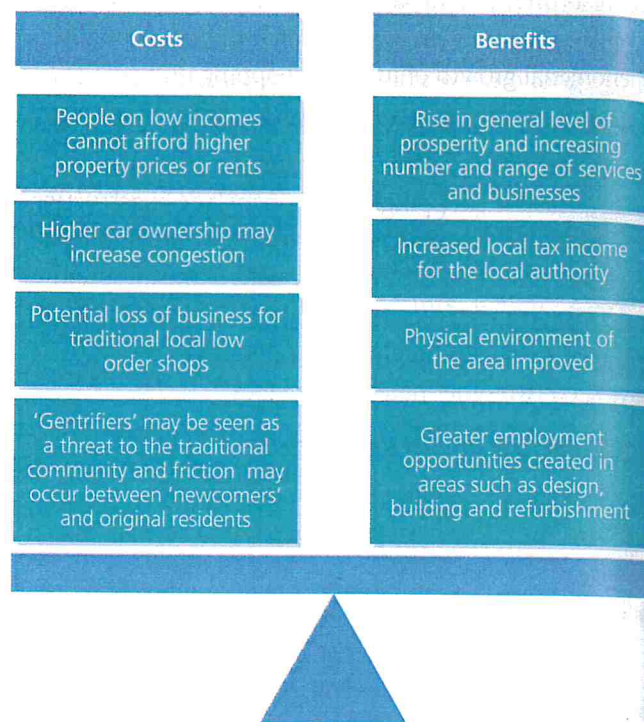

Costs	Benefits
People on low incomes cannot afford higher property prices or rents	Rise in general level of prosperity and increasing number and range of services and businesses
Higher car ownership may increase congestion	Increased local tax income for the local authority
Potential loss of business for traditional local low order shops	Physical environment of the area improved
'Gentrifiers' may be seen as a threat to the traditional community and friction may occur between 'newcomers' and original residents	Greater employment opportunities created in areas such as design, building and refurbishment

Figure 9.16 The costs and benefits of gentrification

Gentrification has both costs and benefits, as shown in Figure 9.16. Some commentators have emphasised the importance of gentrification in inner-city regeneration; others have raised concerns about the displacement of low-income families and small businesses. In many parts of London, gentrification has contributed significantly to the lack of affordable housing and prices have been pushed up even beyond the level of well-paid professional workers. Anti-gentrification protests are becoming more common.

Homes sold for a pound in Liverpool

One innovative way of regenerating inner city estates without displacing low-income families has been a scheme adopted in a number of British cities where run-down housing is sold off to individuals or families at very low prices. In 2013, Liverpool city council sold 20 derelict homes in Kensington, Granby and Picton for £1 each. In order to prevent people abusing this scheme, there were a number of basic rules. First, buyers had to show they were capable of doing the house up to a reasonable standard and secondly, they had to sign an agreement to live in the property for five years and not sublet it. There were about 1000 applicants for each house. The scheme has now been extended to other houses and shops in the area with the overall aim to improve the built environment and make it a thriving community again.

Fortress landscapes

The term **fortress landscapes** refers to landscapes designed around security, protection, surveillance and exclusion. In the UK, a number of relatively simple strategies have been adopted to reduce crime in urban hotspots such as the city centre and inner city estates. These include:

- greater use of closed-circuit television (CCTV)
- railings and fencing around private spaces
- 'mosquito' alarms which emit a high-pitched sound heard only by young people, to discourage loitering around certain buildings
- effective use of street lighting
- speed bumps to prevent joyriding.

More recent strategies have focused on the concept of 'designing out crime' through better urban architecture. In Manchester for example, the redevelopment of housing in parts of the Greenheys and Wythenshawe estates has included more windows to provide better natural surveillance, provision of front gardens with fences or hedges to mark a clear boundary between private and public space and bins in gated compounds rather than open alleyways. Features which have been avoided are recessed doorways for people to hide in, projecting window sills or exposed rainwater downpipes, which would make it easier for anyone to climb on to the roof and dark alleys and dead ends associated with muggings and drugs deals.

There is also evidence in some UK cities of the exclusionary tactics adopted by North American cities to segregate people from 'others' perceived as threatening or undesirable. The use of anti-homeless spikes fitted into the ground in shop doorways or outside upmarket apartments has been heavily criticised but the high pitched 'mosquito' alarm, sloped bus shelter seats and special benches which deter skateboarders raise few eyebrows. Gated communities are also becoming a feature of some urban landscapes. These are not as common in British cities as they are in places like the USA and South Africa but the use of guards or the electronic control of access into housing complexes is increasing. The notion of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' discussed in Chapter 8 is relevant here.

Fortress LA

Surveillance and exclusion measures are seen to be at their most extreme in American cities. Los Angeles has developed a reputation as a city built on fear. The author Mike Davis has detailed how paranoia and fear of gangs, minorities and the homeless has led to a refashioning of the urban landscape which includes:

- gated communities
- armed-response security units in residential areas
- shopping malls surrounded by staked metal fencing and an LAPD surveillance tower.

Edge cities

Edge cities are self-contained settlements which have emerged beyond the original city boundary and developed as cities in their own right. They are associated with the urban landscape of North America and have been viewed by some as a feature of postmodern urban living. Edge cities are largely the result of urban sprawl. This has happened on a much larger scale in the USA as a result of higher car ownership, greater willingness to travel long distances for work, shopping and entertainment and limited planning restrictions in the suburbs. Los Angeles is the classic example of a sprawling urban settlement. In 2015, the core city of Los Angeles which is about 30 kilometres wide, had a population of just under 4 million. However, this is surrounded by a metropolitan area of nearly 18 million people which is more than 100 kilometres at its widest point. Within this area there are more than 20 edge cities.

Edge cities develop close to major roads or airports and tend to be found in close proximity to shops, offices and other businesses which decentralised from the original city. Edge cities may lack a clear structure but they do have a wide range of amenities including schools, shopping malls and entertainment facilities. Residents may rarely go back to the original core city.

Edge cities have been linked to extreme **social segregation,** where the wealthy have moved to the new suburban settlements leaving only the poor and disadvantaged sections of society in the original city boundary.

The concept of the postmodern western city

The term **postmodernism** is used to describe the changes that took place in Western society and culture in the late twentieth century. It mainly concerned