Tourism spatial dynamics in post-industrialized cities.
Landmarks, nodes, barriers, paths and districts from the tourists’ point of view

La dynamique de l'espace touristique dans les villes post-industrialisées
Les landmark, les nœuds, les barrières, les chemins et les districts du point de vue des touristes

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Abstract
How tourists perceive the public spaces and the network of cities they are visiting? Do the margins, the nodes, the landmarks, the paths and the quarters influence the tourists’ experience as they do for the locals and for the inhabitants of places? Are there any differences in defining these elements between the heritage cities and the post-industrial ones?

Through a comparative analysis of two converted cities, chosen as case studies (Torino/Glasgow), this article focuses on the spaces of tourism. It introduces the elements for a dissertation on the role of tourism in this typology of cities between the social and geographical dimension and the transformation of places.

The relationships between tourists and locals, the perception of place, with explicit references at Lynch’s Analysis and at the new shape of the cities, where areas are modified for a tourism development that is both leisure and cultural, is the framework where this analysis is deepened.

Figures and maps complete this work.

Résumé
Comment les touristes perçoivent les espaces publics et le réseau des villes qu'ils visitent?
Est-ce que les marges, les nœuds, les landmarks, les chemins et les quartiers influencent

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l'expérience touristique comme ils le font pour les habitants du lieu? Y a-t-il des différences dans la définition de ces éléments entre les villes-patrimoine et les villes post-industrielles? Grâce à une analyse comparative des deux villes convertis, choisis comme cas d'études (Torino/Glasgow), cet article se concentre sur les espaces du tourisme. Il introduit les éléments d'une thèse sur le rôle du tourisme dans cette typologie des villes, entre les dimensions sociale et géographique et de la transformation des lieux.
Les relations entre les touristes et les habitants, la perception de la place, (avec des références explicites à l'analyse de Lynch et à la nouvelle forme des villes, où les zones sont modifiées pour un développement touristique qui est à la fois ludiques et culturelles), sont le cadre où cette analyse est développé.
Figures et cartes terminent ce travail.

**Keywords:** tourism, post-industrial city, culture, urban regeneration, Lynch

*Mots-clés:* tourisme, ville post-industrielle, culture, régénérations urbaines, Lynch
Introduction

Cities are a place where multiple forms of people, cultures, heritages, attractive factors, flows and ideas are mixed together and co-exist. Several general classifications are proposed, for example among capitals, knowledge and research centres, modern industrial centres, de-industrialized cities, transformation centres (State of the European cities report, 2007). Other classifications are strictly connected with tourism characteristics and facilities (Ashworth, 1992; Page, 1995; Law, 1996, ) and they discern between converted cities and historical-heritage cities (Judd and Feinstein, 1999). These several typologies offer to the visitors different supply products composed by the mixture of their tangible heritage (monuments, museums, archaeological sites, urban landscape, etc.) and intangible heritage (atmosphere, folklore, quality of life, etc.) (Dansero, 2006; Guala, 2007). Heritage cities (Van der Borg, Costa, Gotti, 1996) are the most attractive, even if converted cities are gaining importance with a new, young and re-shaped tourist supply. Starting from the hypothesis that cities with equal tourism products will never exist, the aim of this research is to define some aspects that are able to enforce the visitors’ experience and to observe some criticisms.

This is an empirical observation of the movements of tourists in the two central historic districts, as delimited by local plans, of the converted cities of Torino and Glasgow, cities where the process of physical renewal has been significant in the recent years. In particular, in Torino the movements of tourists in the area identified as ZUCS (Zona Urbana Centrale Storica – Historic Central Area) by local plan has been observed. In Glasgow this observation area is delimited by local plan and it includes City Center (HC), and the area of West End, where the most important tourist pole will be located.

This site-specific analysis has been driven through the lens proposed in the work The Image of the City (Lynch, 1960) where distinctive elements of the perception has been identified.

This article is organized as follows: in the first paragraph the link between spaces, tourism and tourists’ perception, where occasional places play an important role to define the visitors’ experience is shortly described. The second paragraph observes the Lynch’s elements in the core districts of Torino and Glasgow and finally some wide conclusive remarks, reflections and suggestions are proposed. The images are a
fundamental section of the article, explaining all the locations and the places described in the following paragraphs.

**Cities as a mixture of places of attraction: the elements of the analysis**

The starting point is that the city of the tourists can not only be limited to those places built to be attractive or to those places converted to be part of tourist itineraries. The city, at least the converted city, is a mixture of *activity places*, where the attractiveness of people is a necessary condition to survive, and *leisure settings*, where the attractiveness is not the primary goal (Jansen-Verbeke, 1988). The interaction between them and between heritage, back region and leisure (Boyer, 1997) generates the complex structure of the city of tourists.

In this research, all the elements mentioned above are interlaced with the classification proposed by Lynch (1960), in his book *The Image of the city*, where the perception of the city passes through landmarks, nodes, paths, districts and barriers. Urban spaces are not monolithic, static and undifferentiated (Page, Hall, 2003), but they have a sort of specificity, able to differentiate from the other similar places, and it is shaped also by the cross-crossing of the five elements mentioned by Lynch.

In the core city (Garreau, 1991) it can be observed a city that has to be visited, made of landmarks, nodes, paths, districts and barriers and, in the meantime, a city that is visited even if it has not been built to be visited, made of the same elements. Together they shape the visitors’ experience, as it will be deepened in the two cases in the following paragraphs.

**The structure of the city and the tourists’ perception:**
**Glasgow and Torino as case studies**

Some of the following considerations emerged by the observation of the case studies but can be enlarged to a wider range of post-industrialized cities.

Looking at the poles of attraction at a metropolitan scale it is possible to identify two different structures, both of them typical of this typology of cities: Glasgow can be described as multipolar and binuclear, the shape of Torino is multipolar and mononuclear (Lozato-Giotart, 2001). In fact, in Glasgow, besides the Core Historic District a second attraction pole is shaping and includes the renewed Transport
Museum (Zaha Adid’s project), the Kelvingrove Galleries and Museum and the connection between them. The situation of Torino is mononuclear because a single pole exists. All around them the research identifies several attraction poles located in the inner city and that describe them as multipolar systems, where Burrell Collection, Hunterian Galleries, CRM Architectures are located (Glasgow) or where OGR, MAUTO, FSRR take place (Torino). Besides them Torino shows in the edge cities a second attractive ring with several Royal Residences (FIGURE 1).

Focusing on the core cities and starting with identification of the districts, one of the elements of the Lynch’s analysis, the lack of a real urban tourism precinct (Griffin, Hayllar, 2008) can be observed. So far, all the spaces are continuously shared between locals and residents (Andereck et al., 2005) and the two populations are still in the phases of apathy and euphoria (Doxey, 1975). This lack of pure tourist precincts is balanced by the presence of several functional districts corresponding to quartiers even separated between them. Both of the cities have the shopping district (and usually it includes some of the main pedestrian paths), the university district, the nightlife district and the economic district (FIGURE 2). The last typology is planned by the cities with precise boundaries and it is located on the Clyde River in Glasgow and next to Porta Susa Station, in Torino. Even if they are at two different building phases, a clear difference is identifiable. ISFD, along the River Clyde (Glasgow) is a strictly mono-functional area, with a low functional mixité, instead of Spina 2 (Torino), where shops, residences, infrastructures and offices are deeply interlaced. The nightlife’s districts are similar and they are located in beautiful part of the cities, even if usually they do not coincide with the main attractive part of the city centre. The ISFD in Glasgow can be considered the only one-functional precinct in these two cities.

The shopping district is located in a central position in both cities and includes several shopping streets: the Z of commerce in Glasgow and the T of commerce in Torino, even if a big difference can be highlighted. The central district of the Italian city does not have massive shopping centre that the city of Scotland has (St. Enoch Shopping Mall etc.).

Besides this, the nightlife districts are dimensionally growing in both city and they are mixed with residential land use in both cases. Merchant city and Quadrilatero Romano have a similar structure, while piazza Vittorio is a high density nightlife
district, generating some problems between users and residents (Albano, Dansero, Puttilli, 2010).

Apart from those, Torino and Glasgow, as the majority of post-industrialized cities, built an event quarter (FIGURE 1). It is constituted by buildings used for a special event and re-used as leisure and cultural facilities. Due to the huge dimension of these agglomerations they are located apart from the city centre but they need extremely efficient connections with it, generating new fundamental infrastructural paths.

The observation of the paths where the tourists walk is strictly linked to the identification of margins, landmarks and nodes (FIGURE 3).

Starting by nodes, it is necessary to divide between infrastructural nodes and Lynch’s node, where the aggregative function is prevalent. Stations, bus stations and even some Metro Station can be classified in the first typology; squares, high density places and some crossings are part of the second classification. In Glasgow and Torino there are two important train stations in the city centre and one bus station, even if, in Scotland, it is more structured and it can be considered a real node. The analysis of the Lynch’s node is more interesting and derives from a different structure of the areas. The orthogonal and well planned grid of Torino led to a city where several main squares are introduced and they can be identified as meeting points. This includes not only the main squares but also some smaller squares. In Glasgow the appearance is different because the role of meeting points is assumed by some places that are not real squares, for example the flight of steps in front of Concert Hall, Glebe, or the beginning of the pedestrian part of Sauchiehall. George Square and St. Enoch are the only designed squares similar to the case of Torino.

Besides these nodes, landmarks are responsible of the paths’ network. Tourist landmarks are those structures identifiable by long distance and can be divided as short-view and long view landmarks. As in the previous case, there is a difference between the two cities: in Torino landmarks are elements of the old city (Porte Palatine, Mole Antonelliana, Chiesa della Gran Madre di Dio, Palazzo Madama); in Glasgow they are new symbolisms created mainly in the last 10 years in the attempt to give back to the Glaswegians new sense of belonging in their city. Among them we can list the Armadillo, the Science Tower, the Squincy Bridge, added with those historical of The Chambres, Glasgow University and Kelvingrove Museum. These landmarks play an important role for tourists because they are fixed points for the exploration during the tourists’ experience in spaces that they usually do not know. In
comparing the two cities, two characteristics of the landmark of Torino appear: they gain major importance thanks to the linear and orthogonal conformation of city (Chiesa della Gran Madre, Palazzo Madama) and thanks to the proximity of the hills to the centre, where it is easier to locate visual reference points (Monte dei Cappuccini).

In addition, other resemblances can be observed looking at the borders of the city centre and focusing on barriers and margins. It is typical of heritage cities to have strong borders, usually defined by the presence of whole ancient walls (Dubrovnik, Siena, Lucca etc.) or just by a part of them. Even if in post industrialized cities is difficult to observe a so strong presence of the signs of the past, because they have been deleted by recent transformations, some strong barriers can be easily identified. Torino and Glasgow have strong natural and infrastructural barriers that define central areas. River Clyde is a strong natural barrier in the south part of Glasgow, river Po assumes the same role in the east part of Torino. Infrastructures define the other three sides of the area, even if they assume different weights and roles in the two cities. The infrastructures in Glasgow assume the role of strong barriers for tourists separating the HC with other quarters that are totally different and avoided by tourists. The Motorway M8, built in the Sixties, divides the HC by the new attraction pole where Kelvingrove Gallery is located, generating a deep fracture and separates the touristic side of the city by some residential quarters, different in the urban conformation, where, it was dangerous going in. Also the role of the river is different because in Glasgow it separates the centre from the high violence quarter of the Gorbals, located beyond the River Clyde (PICTURE 3).

On the other side, in Torino the passage between the HC and the strong periphery is soft and the natural and infrastructural margins lead to a urban texture that is quite similar to the central area and not avoided by some tourist circuits. The River Po separates the HC by the expansive residential area of the hills and the infrastructures are similar to lines in a continuing and homogeneous city texture.

The elements mentioned above generates tourist paths with the goal of connecting nodes, landmarks, of crossing, margins and barriers where it is useful for tourists and addressing them where the city wants to appear.

As a consequences, the main paths are those linking nodes and usually they coincide with the main shopping streets. The shopping T above mentioned for Torino connects two infrastructural nodes (the train stations of Porta Susa and Porta Nuova) and four
Lynchians’ nodes, the main squares of the city, with the meeting of paths in Piazza Castello. The shopping Z in Glasgow put in relationship the Merchant City with Charing Cross, crossing the nodes of St. Enoch, Glebe and Concert Halls, all located in the main shopping street of the city.

Two levels of exploration paths, primary and secondary, can be identified, but they are usually not more than four streets. In these experiences all the main paths coincide with the shopping streets except the paths along the river. In fact, in Glasgow a new pedestrian link between the Clyde Arc and the Rail Bridge has been recently created to assume the function of a long tourist connection. In Torino the equivalent is represented by some secondary paths in the green areas along the Po river.

The above considerations about the urban paths describe a situation where tourists are addressed in some specific streets, but the typology of tourists that are autonomous and generally not grouped in tour operator allows to invent several different routes.

**Some conclusive remarks**

Among the others, three considerations about the tourist shapes of these cities have to be highlighted before concluding.

First of all, the two post-industrialized cities considered in this analysis have had a similar development even if in two different phases. Glasgow started in the 80s with the cleaning of some old tenements and with the creation of some pedestrian zones; Torino began 10 years later with the requalification of some parts of the central district. Besides this big difference, two other issues had to be considered.

The economic and employment crisis of Glasgow was huge if compared to the Torino’s one (Demetrio, Giaccaria, 2010; Volpato, 2004) and both cities have had a Mega Event at the top of the transition (Bobbio, 2002; Garcia, 2004; Dansero, 2006), Torino with 2006 Winter Olympic Games and Glasgow with Capital of Culture in 1990 (and the forthcoming Commonwealth Games in 2014).

In short, we can conclude with the following final reflections.

- **Landmarks are fundamentals for these cities because they can be interpreted as a symbol of a new cultural renewal.** The tourism phenomena in these cities is equal to the one developed in other cities, as heritage city, but the only difference might be that these second type of urban areas start off with recognised tourist industries and well-established appeal. The older industrial
city has to raise its profile in the market place of visitors to substantially improve its attractiveness (Law, 2001). This can be enforced with new post-industrial-phase landmarks. The two examples show the Cinema Museum in Mole Antonelliana as an emblem of well structured cultural transformation as the Television Tower, the Armadillo or the Clyde Ark as examples of a new diversified and cultural life after the deep post-industrial crisis.

- **Looking at the quarters, the more interesting characteristic is that there are not tourism precincts where the city is shaped exclusively for visitors.** This produces spaces where the tourist’s experience is more authentic and original and where the services’ users are both residents and tourists with no segregation. There are not quarters with a prevalence of tourist’s shops, as souvenirs’ shop or bars and restaurants for the outsiders. Besides this, it is possible to identify some functional areas with a high density of some facilities (shopping, services, residential areas, etc.), even if they are usually not mono-function but they preserve a functional mix.

- **Tourist paths usually coincide with shopping corridors,** even if there are some exceptions. They always connect poles, only sometimes they relate landmarks. All these connection lines are shared between locals and tourists with a prevalence of residents.

- **The role of barriers for tourists is stronger than for residents** and the discontinuity between different typologies of urban texture is more perceivable by outsiders. This happens because tourists explore a reality that is unknown for them and they have a sort of unconscious fear of territories where they cannot meet other tourists. A conventional tourist is scared by the differences and he usually avoids a non-tourist space.

- **Nodes are the points where the city appears.** Infrastructural nodes are usually the first place of impression of cities, Lynchian nodes are usually the most impressive image. Railway and bus station are the first meeting points between the visitors and the city. Squares, bridges, markets etc. are the postcards of the city. The appearance of both the typologies of nodes are fundamental for the perception of the tourist’s image.

In conclusion, examining some of the main characteristics of these tourist cities, it is possible to assert that tourism and cultural resources will never assume the role of
principal economic activity but they can contribute to reconstruct the economic mosaic of them.

Besides this it should be underlined the importance of leisure settings compared with activity places. Tourists enhance their experiences moving into the city and discovering public spaces and paths more than they do visiting museums, galleries and other attractive facililies. The role of primary resources is extremely functional when it allows to the visitors to join a complete city. The Bilbao Effect works when the primary attraction is located in a very interesting urban texture.

Finally, the last important remark is connected to the concept of carrying capacity. In these cities it has been observed a substantial condition of balance between visitors and residents, generating true inter-personal relationships and a pacific sharing of the spaces of the city. A massive increase of the tourist flux will lead, as a consequence, to a segregation of the two population, to a tourismification of some places, to a more homologate visitor’s experience and to a possible deterioration of the local-host relationships. All these reflections lead to a final question that is the following one: “Do these cities really want to become tourist-cities? Do residents want to live in a touristic city and do visitors want to discover other homologate tourist cities?”.

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