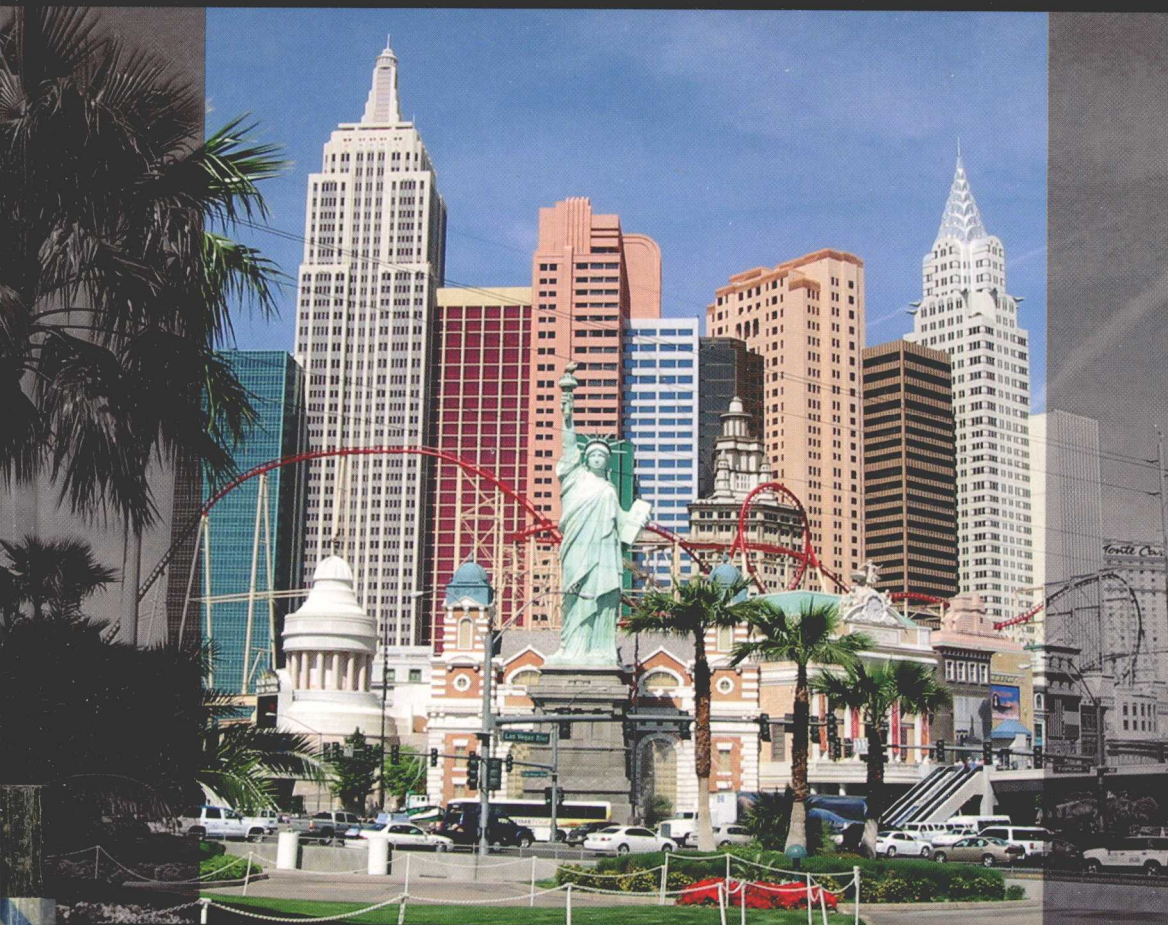


Landscapes of a New Cultural Economy of Space



Edited by

Theano S. Terkenli and Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre

 Springer

Landscape Series

LANDSCAPES OF A NEW CULTURAL ECONOMY OF SPACE

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LANDSCAPES OF A NEW CULTURAL ECONOMY OF SPACE

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Springer's innovative Landscape Series is committed to publishing high quality manuscripts that approach the concept of landscape from a broad range of perspectives. Encouraging contributions on theory development, as well as more applied studies, the series attracts outstanding research from the natural and social sciences, and from the humanities and the arts. It also provides a leading forum for publications from interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary teams.

Drawing on, and synthesising, this multidisciplinary approach the Springer Landscape Series aims to add new and innovative insights into the multidimensional nature of landscapes. Landscapes provide homes and livelihoods to diverse peoples; they house historic – and prehistoric – artefacts; and they comprise complex physical, chemical and biological systems. They are also shaped and governed by human societies who base their existence on the use of the natural resources; people enjoy the aesthetic qualities and recreational facilities of landscapes, and people design new landscapes.

As interested in identifying best practice as it is in progressing landscape theory, the Landscape Series particularly welcomes problem-solving approaches and contributions to landscape management and planning. The ultimate goal is to facilitate both the application of landscape research to practice, and the feed back from practice into research.

Foreword by the series editors

The underlying motivation behind the Springer Landscape Series is to provide a much-needed forum for dealing with the complexity and range of landscape types that occur, and are studied, globally. At the same time it is crucial that the series highlights the richness of this diversity – both in the landscapes themselves and in the approaches used in their study. Moreover, while the multiplicity of relevant academic disciplines and approaches is characteristic of landscape research, we also aim to provide a place where the synthesis and integration of different knowledge cultures is common practice.

Landscapes of a New Cultural Economy of Space is the fifth volume of the series. Focusing on the transformations and changes in human life that influence landscape development, the book presents ‘landscape’ as the interface of human-environment interrelationships where the different processes of change are perceived and expressed. Theano Terkenli and Anne-Marie d’Hauteserre use this approach as a way to introduce a collection of contemporary discussions in landscape research and geography which look specifically at the cultural transformation and representation of landscapes. The subsequent chapters then present those processes determining cultural economies of space in different parts of the globe under the concepts of ‘enworldment’, ‘unworldment’, ‘deworldment’ and ‘transworldment’.

In each case the authors offer inspiring and discursive reflections on an emerging, socially defined pattern of landscape. We recommend the book to students and researchers dealing with contemporary challenges in the economic and cultural representation of landscape, as rooted in social and human geography and other landscape-related disciplines.

Toulouse and Aberdeen, November 2005

Henri Décamps
Bärbel Tress
Gunther Tress

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Theano S. Terkenli
Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre

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THEANO S. TERKENLI

LANDSCAPES OF A NEW CULTURAL ECONOMY OF SPACE: AN INTRODUCTION



Christmas in Monaco: princely landscape to mesmerize visitors. Source: A.-M. d'Hauteserre

In the context of a fast changing world, forces of geographical transformation—“development” and “free market” capitalism, time-space compression, media and communication technology revolutions, “globalization”, exploding patterns of networking and geographical flows, etc—acquire new facets, properties and directions, invariably reflected and imprinted upon the landscape. Change constitutes a much acknowledged reality that is neither novel nor unique to one geographical region over another. However, in the so-called “postmodern” world, it

seems to be acquiring a set of characteristics that invite investigation as to their distinctiveness, extent and nature, in terms of newly-emerging time-space-society contingencies. This basic realization constitutes the reason d'être of this volume.

Though this acknowledgment has varied enormously among scientists and lay-people, a broad range of ongoing changes in space and landscape is acknowledged to be emerging from all sides and sectors, and reflecting upon all, of postmodern life. Principally a First World phenomenon, these changes refer back to processes with distinctive geographical, historical and cultural articulations, some widely familiar, some even shockingly novel. They have been and continue to be much addressed, but inadequately spun together into frameworks of analysis and interpretation. Their various guises, aspects and manifestations in terms of landscape forms, functions and meanings/symbolisms call for a deeper engagement with them, taking in consideration the breadth of their occurrence and scope and the multitude of scales at which they materialize. They demand a more concerted, focused and systematic engagement with them, their provenance and repercussions. Towards this goal, the book rests on certain basic tenets, further developed and elaborated in the chapters that follow.

First, culture is central to the articulation of present-day socio-spatial transformation. Obviously, transformation does not occur in a vacuum. All aspects of life come into play in forming and shaping change as accounted for above, and introduced in this volume as processes of a "new cultural economy of space" (Terkenli, 2002). Secondly, such processes of a new cultural economy of space do not constitute a wholesale *new* reality; they are not everywhere, not new everywhere and not the whole story. They merely represent tendencies, whose outcome is far from clear and obvious. They are still evolving in multiple, complex ways, sometimes erupting in groundbreaking new realities, albeit in some kind of close connection to older structures of thought, power, practice and meaning. As such, thirdly, they are most evident in the landscape. Conscious or unconscious application and expression of such transformation in human contexts of life becomes most direct and discernible in the landscape, the most eloquent and "natural" geographical medium and product of such change in human life and activity. The projection onto the landscape—the interface of human-environment interrelationships—of contemporary change is another subject so far little explored and theorized in a systematic way by geographers.

On these premises, this collective effort seeks to contribute to theoretical advances, analytical approaches and applied studies in the broader inter(trans)-disciplinary field of contemporary research in landscape change. It seeks to bring together variable perspectives, insights and constructions pertaining to contemporary landscapes and landscape representations from different theoretical and methodological positions, as well as from diverse geographical and historical contexts, in order to elucidate and illustrate processes of cultural transformation, such as the ones described above. The overarching question is: how do these processes work in different geographical contexts and contribute to place and landscape creation? Perspective matters; the generation of scientific questions

becomes all the more possible, fertile and proliferate, in the case where perspectives come together, exposing sources and meanings of questions posed.

THE CONTOURS OF THE NEW CULTURAL ECONOMY OF SPACE

Much discussion and speculation has engaged disciplinary and lay geographies in the subject of rampant “global” change occurring during the past few decades. It has acquired various guises and properties, instigated by various concerns and positions and has resulted in a plethora of—ill-judged or not—tenets, arguments and aphorisms about processes of contemporary spatial transformation. Aspects of such transformation have been addressed in terms of “time-space compression”, “globalization”, “information economy”, “experience economy” and now “lifestyle economy”, “transculturation”, post-industrial society, etc., while its products have been described as “virtual geographies”, “cyborgs” and landscapes of consumption, “Disneyfication”, commodification, “placelessness”, hybridity, “heterotopia”, etc. Though many of these discourses admittedly lapse into universalizing hyperbole, it nonetheless refers to actual ongoing processes resulting into *new* forms of spatial organization constantly produced and reproduced at all geographical scales. Increasingly affecting and informing cultural landscapes of the Western, at least, world, these processes acquire the characteristics of what is termed here “a new cultural economy of space”. They increasingly also affect the rest of the world, albeit very unevenly, as capital seeks ever more locations where to raise profits.

Spreading from the postmodern Western world, this unfolding global cultural economy of space is conceptualized as a cultural but still very much profit motivated, in the broader sense of the term, renegotiation of space. Technological change probably constitutes the most influential set of factors at the basis of this long-developing momentum of geographical transformation: specifically, the possibility of distancing and reproduction in human-space interactions. The break from spatial exigencies, including not only transportation and communication inventions, but also the advent of mechanical reproduction of spatial forms and functions, typography, photography, video, digital reproduction and electronic technology, have all been leading to current cultural apprehensions, visions and constructs of space and landscape. According to the Dictionary of Human Geography, the ability to produce detailed, moving, three-dimensional environments is now reaching the point where these environments are becoming a significant supplement to the landscape around us, or even new kinds of landscapes (Johnston et al., 2000, p. 891).

Places and landscapes have always been organized on the basis of specific cultural economies of (time-)space. The much debated novelty of most of these forces, factors and processes of change notwithstanding, contemporary change is occurring at a much more rapid pace than in the past. It often materializes in new forms and shapes; it generates new mental, affective and symbolic schemata. Most importantly, however, it develops structures and functions of spatial organization that transcend previous sectoral interconnections around the globe, as in the markedly uneven functional integration of globally dispersed activities and

networks. Though present for at least several decades, these tendencies (internationalization, integration, networking, etc) are of a qualitatively different nature than in the past—to be further developed in the following exploration of the distinctive characteristics of the new cultural economy of space.

The term “cultural economy”, as coined here in its broader sense, parallels the traditional usage of terms such as “political economy” or “cultural economy of contemporary history”, by bringing together culture and the arrangement/mode of operation and/ or management of space (adopted after Webster’s 1983 Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary definition of economy), or, in this case, local affairs, where the local and the household extend to the whole planet as home at the global scale. The adoption of the term implies the recognition of economy as a cultural site, as much as any other social domain—culture inherently affects and interweaves with economics. This is not to privilege the binary culture-economics: economic and cultural, as well as other, forces have always been functioning together simultaneously. Aspects of culture, for instance, have been co-opted by capitalism for private or public economic gain. Such interventions inadvertently embed themselves in the landscapes they create, as exchange values are split from use values. Rather, it is an attempt to look at the entire nexus of culture/economics/politics, to privilege a discursive understanding of place, re-establishing the intrinsic relatedness of the contents of place and landscape. Towards this goal, this collective work represents both an ontological and an epistemological argument, where culture becomes the central organizing principle of spatial change.

This “new (global) cultural economy of space”, then, emphasizes a cultural negotiation and interpretation of newly-emerging spatial patterns, relationships and impacts; it constitutes more of a culture-centered approach of space rather than one exclusively centered on the uneven geography of costs and revenues. The relevance of a cultural understanding and interpretation of the changing geographical schemata of changing socio-economic relations becomes more obvious and instrumental in the case of the landscape than any other spatial unit—one of the basic positions adopted in this collection of essays.

Although the cultural constitution, articulation and materialization of current spatial transformation are upheld in most cases, not all authors use the term cultural economy of space exactly in the sense specified above. Precisely due to its all-inclusive definition, the term is conducive to free adaptation by investigators of the multitude of phenomena it encompasses. Such variegated usage of the term is especially wishful and welcome here, in that it promotes a multitude of approaches and means to the study of contemporary landscape change. It reinforces alternative structures of understanding, induces proliferate geographical imaginaries and, in this context of acknowledgement, strives to incorporate differentiation. What unites the efforts of all those contributing to this volume, on the other hand, is the quest for commonalities, the search for some sort of sameness, in ongoing, spatially differentiated change. It must be emphasized, nevertheless, that change of whatever sort is not geographically uniform and, hence, apparently universalizing schemata such as the one proposed here should be conceptualized and applied contextually

only as a complex of ongoing interrelated processes, highly uneven in time and space—and not as end results.

Social scientists and scholars of several other provenances and affiliations have long been negotiating processes of spatial change. The outcome of this substantial and growing body of work is manifested in a plethora of research conclusions in various fields of scientific knowledge. In terms of new landscape forms and shapes, striking novel apparitions have been recognized, produced and reproduced in architectural negotiations of space, urban and regional planning and new forms and technological applications in the organization of rural spatial systems. New economic structures and networks, resulting, for example, from processes of multinational-corporation restructuring, have created new geographies of power and political might. Alternative lifestyles and values, stemming from the rapprochement of cultures at all geographical scales, have been creating societies of consumers, “global citizens”, nomadic elites, cyborgs, etc. Exploding and imploding patterns of recreation and tourism are altering the face of the world and of the landscape. New structures, values and processes in recreation and public life are increasingly modifying the landscape, often leading to irreversible change in the pre-existing landscape, as in the case of thematic parks, golf courses and shopping malls. On the other hand, many of the disenfranchised poor have traveled to improve their living conditions: immigration, expatriation and repatriation have been creating new hybridities in metropolitan centres, but also often brought back into their own home culture, challenging, engaging and reformulating local realities. Meanwhile, in this era of transnationality and even postnationality, geographical scales intermingle and interweave in continually evolving new ways—i.e. the translocal and the transregional levels—serving new types of functions and processes made possible through the ongoing technological revolution in networking and communication.

In an attempt to navigate through the contours of the different facets of this new cultural economy of space, some of its most elemental characteristics may be summed up here, to be reviewed again at the closing of this volume: a) new collective experiences/sense of place that increasingly transcend geographical barriers of distance and of place and create new geographies of time-space; b) a growing de-differentiation in space between private and public spheres of everyday life, rearticulating complex relationships between the personal and the social; c) de-segregation of the realm of leisure from the realms of home and work life; d) changing geographical schemata of changing socio-economic relations at variable geographical scales; e) the rapid and overarching exchange and communication of symbolic goods (flows of money, ideas, information, images, etc), f) through variable processes of networking and globalization where visual media predominate over textual media (Terkenli, 2002).

PROCESSES OF THE NEW CULTURAL ECONOMY OF SPACE IN THE LANDSCAPE

If tradition may actually have a short history (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1992), novelty may conversely have an amazingly long history, indeed. The mechanisms

of change are simply always at work. The revolutionary character of technology in the past few decades has presented a growing segment of humanity with the potential of interconnection into a series of networks. Colonialism and the modernization project has triggered landscape homogenization, a project since going strong, and bearing a long line of diverse spatial repercussions. It may be, for instance, that the attempts by urban planners and architects to plan and homogenize urban space have resulted precisely in the opposite: increasing formlessness and heterogeneity in the urban landscape, strongly differentiated on ever more levels.

Until recently, landscape identity used to be articulated in the context of a particular socio-economic system embracing and expressing the local dynamic of land and life. The increasing porousness of temporal and spatial barriers and the explosion in movement and interconnectivity in the Western world wrought great fragmentation, differentiation, conformity and/or complexity both between and within what formerly used to be more distinctive and homogeneous landscapes. We propose to address processes of this new cultural economy of space with the aid of the tentative terms “enworldment”, “unworldment”, “deworldment” and “transworldment” (Terkenli, 2002), serving to elucidate and organize current trends in the transformation of existing geographical schemata. These terms purport to apply to all levels of geographical analysis, such as cultures or landscapes, life spheres (work, home, leisure), lifeworld realms (public, private), social groupings (on the basis of class, race, ethnicity, and so on) or other frameworks of analysis. They may not necessarily or directly be space-based; they may adhere to the realms of the real or the virtual, the imaginary or the artificial, the extraordinary or the familiar etc. Enworldment, unworldment, deworldment and transworldment do not represent a continuum, but rather sets of processes operating more or less simultaneously, irrespective of the order presented here, though some of them tend to be initiated or reinforced by some more than by other ones of the above processes. Admittedly, the analytical task of disentangling one such set of transformative forces from another, as well as of differentiating their geographical impacts, remains extremely complex and challenging—if ever possible.

In particular, enworldment processes refer to the breakdown of barriers and boundaries between previously existing worlds, on the basis of any geographical or substantial analytical schema. The contemporary blurring and fusion of conceptual and actual categories, either spatial or substantial, in which the human world may be compartmentalized, signal and usher in variable spatial transformation. This transformation is reinforced to the degree to which old spatial and social schemata are dismantled or altered and new ones created. The dismantling of old and established socio-spatial structures signifies processes of unworldment, while growing disassociation of these new schemata from geographical location and unique place characteristics implies processes of deworldment. Processes of unworldment, operating through globalizing forces and homogenization tendencies, signal the gradual loss of place and landscape identity, for instance in terms of authenticity or in terms of a sense of place. Processes of deworldment may be framed in new sets of rules that defy common existing practices and conceptualizations of space and may be accompanied by ground-breaking trends.

Such transformation forces invariably take on increasingly global dimensions (transworldment), although their manifestation obviously varies over space, time and social context (Terkenli, 2002).

The ending «worldments» has been selected for our purposes, in order to expose and emphasize the broad and increasingly globalized scope of ongoing change through processes of the new cultural economy of space. The coinage of these terms aims at the creation of a more geographical terminology that addresses contemporary spatial change. The term globalization appears too generalized, its meaning too fuzzy and highly contested for our purposes; lacking in nuance and detail as to geographical scale and dynamics of change. Moreover, it is suggested that in their description of very distinctive spatial products and dynamic of change, processes of the new cultural economy of space are especially suitable to the study of landscape. Whether change is postulated as globalization, commodification, development or Disneyfication, its landscape products are all an integral and obtrusive part of late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century modernity and postmodernity. As illustrated further down, these processes of change are much more overtly and explicitly represented in the landscape than in other geographical units of analysis. On the basis of its easy and ready accessibility, imageability and representability, as we shall see throughout this volume, landscape constitutes a most significant geographical medium in the analysis of processes of the new cultural economy of space.

If place is a spatio-temporal intersection of «a particular constellation of [human] relations» (Massey, 1993, p. 66), then landscape is its image, as reflected in the relationship of the human being with a specific geographical setting. Landscape is thus, at the outset of our discussion, conceptualized as a visible expression of the humanized environment. In the landscape, the visual/ material, the experiential / functional and the symbolic/ cognitive (otherwise, form, function and meaning) come together, rendering landscape a valuable means and tool of geographical analysis. Of the three highly interrelated and interactive sets of landscape properties, however, in the Western world, landscape has been traditionally defined on the basis of its imageability and relational character (observer-based definition) (Terkenli, 2001). Accordingly, what is upheld here is not an essentialist notion of the landscape, but rather a culturally ambivalent, socially constructed and historically specific notion of the landscape that invites multiple and fluid interpretations, among which certain ones have historically prevailed.

Landscape, though never a self-evident object in Geography, has been one of its most resilient terms, whose «theoretical framework always structured its interpretation; it was an analytic concept which afforded objective understanding» (Rose, 1996, p. 342). Landscape is shaped by both biophysical laws and cultural rules, interpreted and applied to the land through (inter-) personal and (cross-) cultural strategies (Jackson, 1984; Naveh & Lieberman, 1994; Rackham & Moody, 1996). Thus, its articulation has depended on both objective and subjective ways of understanding, fully encoding the essential «betweenness of place» (Entrikin, 1991), otherwise conceptualized as «the duplicity of landscape imagery», going beyond the single vantage point of a spectator, to «work up an idea of human geography, a view