

Since the early 1960s an interdisciplinary field of environmental perception has developed and there now exists a significant body of research on people's perception of their urban environment. The initial work on environmental images was extended and reinforced by a body of work focusing on the experiential 'sense-of-place' and 'lived-in' experiences associated with the urban environment, which explored how people perceive environments and experience places. With sense-of-place came the parallel phenomena of 'placelessness' and concepts of 'invented' and 're-invented' places, entraining ideas of 'authenticity' and the construction/manufacture of place and place values. More recently, the field has been supplemented by work on symbolism and meaning in the built environment.

This section presents a set of five chapters. The first chapter, Chapter 10, is from **Edward Relph's** 1976 book, *Place and Placelessness*. If we see contemporary urban design as being about place-making, then Relph's book was one of the first to focus on the psychological and experiential sense-of-place. His book was also one of the first in the urban design field to draw on phenomenology – the philosophical investigation and description of conscious experience. Relph (1976: 8) argued that, while 'amorphous' and 'intangible', whenever we feel or know space, there is typically an associated sense or concept of 'place'. Thus, for Relph, places were essentially centres of meaning constructed out of lived experience. By imbuing them with meaning, as individuals or as groups, people change 'spaces' into 'places'. Relph also considered it unrealistic to investigate place without also considering 'placelessness', which he defined as the 'casual eradication of distinctive places' and the 'making of standardised landscapes'. Appreciation of the concept of 'placelessness' helps the activity of urban design by providing a frame of reference. Whereas sense-of-place tends to be associated with something of intrinsic value, placelessness is generally viewed negatively, evoking what some commentators refer to as a 'narrative-of-loss'. The extract reproduced here is the first part of a longer discussion on the identity of places. Parallels are also apparent with, for example, Trancik's discussion of lost space (see Chapter 7) and with critiques of market-led urban design (see Chapter 5).

Chapter 11 is **Kevin Lynch's** *Reconsidering the Image of the City*, originally written in 1984 and republished in Tribid Banerjee and Michael Southworth's 1991 edited collection of Lynch's work, *City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch* (MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass). This chapter is Lynch's own reflection on his earlier book, *The Image*

of the City (1960), which had been a key work in both the field of urban imagery and the emerging field of urban design. Without diminishing its status as a classic text, Lynch's essay is important in putting it into its historical context and in showing how he reflected upon and developed his earlier work. Lynch had initially been interested in legibility (i.e. how people orientated themselves and navigated within cities), but soon adjusted his focus to the theme of the city's mental image. Observing that cities had districts or landmarks or pathways that were easily identifiable and easily grouped into an overall pattern, led him to the concept of 'imageability' and the identification of his famous five key physical elements – paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. Although his original study had been based on a very small sample of people, it was later replicated in various contexts and Lynch argues that the basic ideas held. However, some of the work following on from Lynch had been highly critical of his findings and his methods. To some extent this is unfair because Lynch had explicitly offered it as a 'first initial sketch'. He nevertheless addresses these criticisms in this chapter.

Chapter 12 is **Paul Knox's** 'The social production of the built environment: Architects, architecture and the post-Modern city', originally published in *Progress in Human Geography* in 1987. Knox has played an important role in making the concept of meaning more readily accessible to an urban design audience. In this chapter, he presents an important discussion of the role of socially constructed meaning in the production of the built environment and, by extension, in urban design practice. In this respect, this chapter builds on Kevin Lynch's three attributes of environmental images – *identity* (i.e. recognition of an object as a separable entity – a door); *structure* (e.g. the door's position in the wall); and *meaning* (e.g. recognition of a 'door' as a hole for getting in and out of). Lynch established that meaning was unlikely to be consistent across disparate groups of people. Similarly, Knox establishes that socially constructed meaning is a complex phenomenon, but a vital component of designers' understanding of place and the significance of their actions.

One of the responses to 'placelessness' and the standardisation and homogenisation of place (i.e. in the face of trends such as globalisation, mass culture, etc.) is a deliberate 'manufacturing' of difference or, in terms more specific to urban design, the 'invention' – and sometimes 'reinvention' – of places. While invented places are those that are wholly invented (such as Disneyland), 're-invented places' are those that start from a basis in reality, but generally involve a significant degree of change,