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## 6. THE CITY-PORT RELATIONSHIP IN THE METROPOLITAN FABRIC

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### **Introduction. The terms of the city-port relationship or the scales of the metropolitan game**

The development of international trade in goods since the 1950s has been structured around the logic of specialization (of port terminals) and massification (the growth of trade). These logics have led to a significant evolution of the city-port relationship in coastal and river metropolises (Hoyle & Pinder, 1992; Hall, 2008; Ducruet, 2008). This evolution is characterized by a modification of the original link between port and urban area. The displacement of industrial-port activities from the urban core is thus the corollary of the logic of massification and specialization of port facilities in a globalized economy. From the 1960s onwards, this resulted in the multiplication of port wastelands in the urban heartland. These land reserves were to be the subject of sometimes conflicting negotiations between the managers of port areas and the actors of urban public action to discuss their requalification. This reconversion of derelict land has played an important role in the renewal of the urban fabric in most of the world's major metropolises, in North America (Brown, 2009) and Europe (Hoyle, 1989), but more recently has been generalized to all port fronts in the world (Boquet, 2014). The notion of "docklandization" (Charlier, 1994) defines this reconversion of historical industrial areas into recreational and residential uses and this requalification of port buildings (the docks in particular), which have been given a heritage status, to serve new uses. This notion points out that this movement initiated in the 1960s in the cities of the North American East Coast (Boston, Baltimore...) then from the 1970s and 1980s in the English cities (London, Liverpool...) and progressively in the rest of Northern Europe (Hamburg, Rotterdam...) and the South (Genoa, Barcelona...). This reconversion of historic port areas is now widespread. It is based on large-scale urban projects capable of modifying the very image of the city. This movement has been widely studied by researchers from different disciplines and backgrounds (Chaline, 1994; Prelorenzo & Rodriguez-Malta, 1998; Brown & Hall, 2014...), who have updated the trajectory and characteristics of this reconversion of port spaces.

The objective of this chapter is to return to this evolution of the city-port relationship, using a number of illustrations, in order to trace the new geography of its interfaces (urban levels of the state of ports) and associated planning issues and the role of actors (actors of the urban fabric). This relationship is marked by a change of levels, comprising an evolution of the very interfaces between port and city, an evolution that was already pointed out a long time ago in academic literature (Hayut, 1982; Hoyle, 1989). Port authorities and public communities are currently engaged in a strategy of completing this dissociation between port spaces in the heart of cities (docklandization) and the development of port activity outside central cities on a metropolitan and regional scale. It is this new geography and how it translates into the fabric of the city that will be put forward in this chapter; this stems from a general reflection made in cutting-edge current academic works, illustrated by different examples analyzed in various contexts (London, Montreal, Le Havre, New York). First, we will approach briefly the new geography of this city-port relationship by explaining an evolution between terminalization and docklandization. The second part of this chapter will address the major urban projects linked to this evolution of city-port interplay (between standardization and differentiation) and to the associated game of actors (who governs the port metropolis?)

## **1. The levels of the port metropolis**

### ***1.1 The terminalization movement***

The development of industrial port zones and the specialization of port terminals in different port ranges have resulted in the removal of port infrastructures from their original urban sites. This movement has established a form of city-port disconnection. According to Peter Hal (2008), this disconnection is threefold, characterized by a physical dimension (the "out-of-town" extension of port facilities), an institutional dimension (the autonomy of port authorities) and an economic dimension (the reduction of port value added (jobs, taxes) in the port city). With varying degrees of intensity, depending on the profiles of the ports, the link between city and port is being redefined, reflecting a form of rupture amplified by the distance of port land from the urban core. Peter Hall, in some more recent work with Wouter Jacobs, has also shown that, more than a city-port divorce, a change in the scale of this relationship is being noted (Hall & Wouters, 2012). In an article with an evocative title ("*Why are maritime ports (still) urban and why should policy-makers care?*"), these authors demonstrate that ports are not "despatialized" but are still part of urban systems at different scales (labor market, economic network, training, infrastructure...). This work echoes the typological approach to city-port relations proposed by César Ducruet, which states, beyond regional specificities, the "functional interdependence" between city and port at a metropolitan level despite the spatial dissociation

between port and urban spaces at a local level (Ducruet, 2008). This evolution is reflected in a change in the scales of ports.

Academic literature has finely described this modification of port scales through the networking of port terminals on a global scale. The literature on the impact of containerization (transport of general cargo in standard boxes-containers) - the "World in a Box", to use Antoine Frémont's expression (2008) - is dense, focusing on the strategies of the major operators of this containerization (shipowners and port terminal operators), on the one hand, and the consequences of these strategies on the evolution of the port hierarchy on a global scale, on the other. This research agenda (ports and globalization) is discussed in various disciplinary fields (geography, economics, management, history). Two important epistemological steps proposed in 1993 and 2005 by Brian Slack illustrate the terms of this agenda. First, he indicated that ports integrated into intermodal networks, and authorized by containerization, are no more than "pawns in the game", to quote the title of an article cited in all the latest academic papers on the port question (Slack, 1993). The ports would thus be no more than connection points in a network run by global operators. Later, Slack and Daniel Olivier pointed out the need for an epistemological break in order to rethink the role of the object (Olivier & Slack, 2005) within of a geographical perspective (transport geography, economic geography) and an economic perspective (the analysis of firm networks). The theoretical model proposed is then that of *terminalization* (Slack, 2005), an important theoretical reference point that indicates that the port no longer exists as an explanatory geographical category. Ports are then sets of terminals linked on a global scale by the strategies of network operators (shipowners and port terminal operators, see Box 1), and it is this "terminal" category that should be understood in order to understand port dynamics. This epistemological break, which has been widely discussed in the literature, will thus renew research questions to address the spatial and functional fragmentation of the port (Lavaud-Letilleul, 2005).

*Box 1. The "terminalized" port: the generalized port concession model*

The "terminalization" movement is the result of a worldwide concentration of port traffic under the aegis of a few large network firms. It was made possible from the 1970s onwards by the transition, in a context of liberalization of port services and the opening up of port terminals to competition, from a "public" port model (a public port authority in charge of the ownership, management and operation of ports) to a model in which this same authority refocused on a function of managing port land and contracting with operators, equipping and operating these terminals. This shift towards port concessions (for concession periods of more than 20 years) is gradually becoming widespread on the various port fronts and is currently the classic model for large ports throughout the world (a port authority that owns the land, concession contracts, and operation by operators). Shipowners and port terminal operators are developing global networks by multiplying the number of terminals operated under concession. These strategies

are complex and have been analyzed in numerous studies (global network but regional specialization of operators, cooperation vs. competition between terminal operators and amateurs, shipowners developing a terminal operator function, etc.). They attest to the consolidation of worldwide terminal networks operated by a handful of operators, who have become essential players in globalization (Dubai Ports, Hutchinson, PSA, AP Moller-Terminal, CMA-CGM, MSC, etc.).

It is important to note that most of the work carried out on this renewal of the port game focuses on container transport (admittedly an overwhelming share of the value transported in the world) and a heuristic observation point for the logics of globalization (actors/networks). This logic of terminalization therefore mainly concerns a part of port traffic, a part composed of what statistics call *general cargo* (clothing, computer equipment, electronics, various processed products, etc.) transported in containers. The transport of solid bulk (coal, cereals, etc.) or liquid bulk (oil, gas, etc.) follows other network logics. Various studies that take a more general view of port traffic (Dubreuil, 2005) or a view of bulk traffic (Lacoste, 2004) point to different network logics (more regionalized on the one hand, operated by other specialized operators), but without calling into question this movement towards internationalization and specialization of port terminals. Beyond the globalization of maritime networks, Rodrigue and Notteboom (2005) also extend and complete the discussion by highlighting a process of port regionalization. The logic of global maritime networks is expressed on a regional scale, linking maritime port terminals with inland ports serving the hinterland as part of a strategy of integrating transport chains (intermodal services). This movement of terminalization (of port areas) and internationalization (of the actors operating the networks) is therefore being driven at different scales by operators who have become essential actors in the metropolitan fabric of the port city. This construction is reflected in a new fragmentation of port areas and a modification of the associated set of actors.

### ***1.2 The docklandization movement***

The consequence of this port evolution is therefore a rupture of the original link between city and port, a link defined by the permeability of port and urban functions. The title of the collective work directed by Claude Chaline and Rachel Rodriguez-Malta (1994) - "*Ces ports qui créèrent des villes*" - illustrates this initial permeability between the spaces dedicated to the port function and urban spaces. Numerous historical photographs of the port of New York (the Chelsea docks) or of Le Havre (the southern districts), for example, make it possible to grasp a sense of port activity within urban space. Different works showcase this trajectory. In the urban core, it was characterized, from the 1960s onwards, by a gradual multiplication of vacant or

underused spaces defined by the term "port wastelands". If these spaces in the urban heart are rarely wastelands in the literal sense of the term (as they are often used for storage activities), the displacement of the main port activity to large specialized terminals outside the historical heart of the cities (relocation) introduces a negotiation between port actors and local public actors on the requalification of these lands in a context of urban growth and scarcity of available land. The question of city-port interfaces thus becomes a metropolitan agenda (Hoyle and Pinder, 1992) around the objective of requalification of port waterfronts. It characterizes public policies specific to port cities, marked by negotiation between port infrastructure managers and urban public actors.

### *From Baltimore to Baltimore*

The requalification of these port waterfronts in the 1960s in North America initiated this process. The Baltimore model, examined in academic literature but also explicitly mentioned in the requalification strategies of other port cities, allows us to illustrate the main elements. Initiated in the 1960s with the aim of requalifying the city center and relocating port activity to the south of the city, this operation, centered on the CBD and the historic port basins (inner harbor), validates the logic of the *Festival Market Place* described by Maria Gravari-Barbas, i.e. the "transformation of former industrial-port wastelands of American cities into tourist, leisure and commercial hotspots" (Gravari-Barbas, 1998). This requalification is supported by a coalition associating the municipality and a group of entrepreneurs (*Greater Baltimore Committee*). It is based on the mobilization of these port fronts to develop recreational uses (the Baltimore Aquarium, a totem of the requalification if ever there was one, widely reproduced throughout the world, restaurants and event venues in the former port infrastructures such as the former thermal power plant, commercial (the Harborplace commercial complex), and tertiary (Word Trade Center)). These uses are structured by public spaces staging a commodified relationship to the port past. The relaunch of a new project in 2003 (Inner Harbor 2.0), currently underway, renews this requalification by integrating new objectives (active mobility, new promenade, accessibility, new areas for commercial, sports and cultural activities). It extends for Baltimore, "a 'port saga'" (Baffico, 2014) exemplary of the terms of this progressively generalized docklandization.

#### *Box 2. The Market Place Festival or the "Rousification" of the port waterfronts*

The revitalization of waterfronts, lakes and rivers from the 1960s onwards around this strategy of "waterfront tourism" and the logic of the Festival Market Place in American cities has been finely described by Maria Gravari-Barbas (1998). According to this author, port revitalization is one of the "most important and exciting chapters in the urban history of American cities". Gravari-Barbas traces the initial production (Boston and then Baltimore) by the developer Rouse and the architect Thompson, who defined in strict specifications this

model, which was then declined in different cities by Rouse (New York, Miami, Jacksonville...) and by other developers (Portland, Seattle, San-Francisco, Denver...). Maria-Gravari-Barbas explains the terms of this "*Rousification*" of American cities (taking up a formula of Peter Hall), namely the production of a standardized urban environment staging a port architecture and heritage in the service of a commercial and cultural offer, in a controlled and secured space attracting a large tourist population. The product conceived by the *Rouse Co* (conceiving the commercial space and cultural practices in detail) is thus declined in most of the waterfronts in North America acting on these former industrial spaces in the heart of the city a requalification structured around commercial and cultural facilities which are finally standardized (aquariums, maritime museums, commercial docks, marinas, old ships, hotel complexes, food markets).

*The requalification of port waterfronts: a generalized (post-modern?) turning point*

This port requalification is part of a cyclical dimension of urban economies (Hall, 2010), a cycle in which these historic port fronts become specific spaces of urban promotion around a model of requalification in support of a "showcase economy" (Rodrigues-Malta, 2001). The port waterfronts thus become the development ground for large tourist and recreational facilities. This requalification is characterized by what Norcliffe & al (1996) will identify as the emergence of postmodernism *on the urban waterfront* (to use the title of this article), namely the passage from a Fordist logic (the port as a place of production) to a post-Fordist logic (the port front as a place of consumption). This post-modernist turn is defined by the characteristics of jobs, housing, uses and heritage in accordance with the terms of this requalification (recreation, patrimonialization, commercialization). The terms of this requalification can be found today in most port metropolises. The special issue proposed by journal *Revue Urbanités* (<https://www.revue-urbanites.fr/4-edito/>) in 2014, entitled "Repenser la Ville Portuaire" gives an illustrated reading of it in various contexts. Albeit to varying degrees, this trajectory (exit of the commercial port from the historical city / docklandization of the former port fronts) is found in most of the configurations studied: in Baltimore (Baffico, 2014), New York (Gras, 2014), Toronto (Poiret, 2014), Saint-Nazaire (Le Gallou, 2014) or in the Asian cities of Kobe, Singapore, Shanghai (Boquet, 2014). We could add to the examples here, especially with those of Mediterranean cities (Rodrigues-Malta, 2004), in particular that of the port front of Barcelona requalified for the 1992 Olympic Games, or that of Genoa and its requalification piloted by Renzo Piano on the occasion of the 1992 festivities (500 since the discovery of America) or the more recent example of Tangier (a new Mediterranean port in Tangier, a conversion of the old port of Tangier) to illustrate the generalization of a movement of docklandization. Rereading the evolution of city-port interfaces is therefore a matter of grasping this general trajectory and its the different ways in which it manifests, according to the local and regional contexts of each port metropolis.

## 2. The city-port interfaces, support for major urban projects

### 2.1 *Standardization vs. differentiation (forms / functions)*

This requalification of port wastelands is thus an important element of standardization of urban production methods in port and river metropolises - most metropolises, in other words. On the one hand, the "waterfront" supports large urban projects in the same way as projects developed on large railway wastelands in the urban heartland. On the other hand, it is a model that can be "duplicated" in many contexts. Upon reflection on the circulation of models (Leducq et al., 2018), it represents a strong example of this duplication (Gras, 2019). The main characteristics of this model have been noted: public space in the service of a recreational turn of these port lands, the commodification of these port lands around different tourist economic activities (catering, stores, exhibition, sports...), the patrimonialization of historical infrastructures (docks, cranes, railroad), and the mobilization of former warehouses and docks in the service of a functional mix objective (offices, co-working spaces, convention centers). The patrimonialized port crane and the Aquarium constitute two totems of a generalized standardization of these lands at the heart of the development projects of post-industrial cities. While this is a standard model, the characteristics of this port requalification are transposed and differentiated according to the institutional, economic and morphological contexts of each port. Between standardization and differentiation, therefore, four examples (the London docks, the port wastelands of Queens in New York, the Old Port in Montreal, the southern districts of Le Havre) illustrate the terms of this requalification.

#### *The London Docklands*

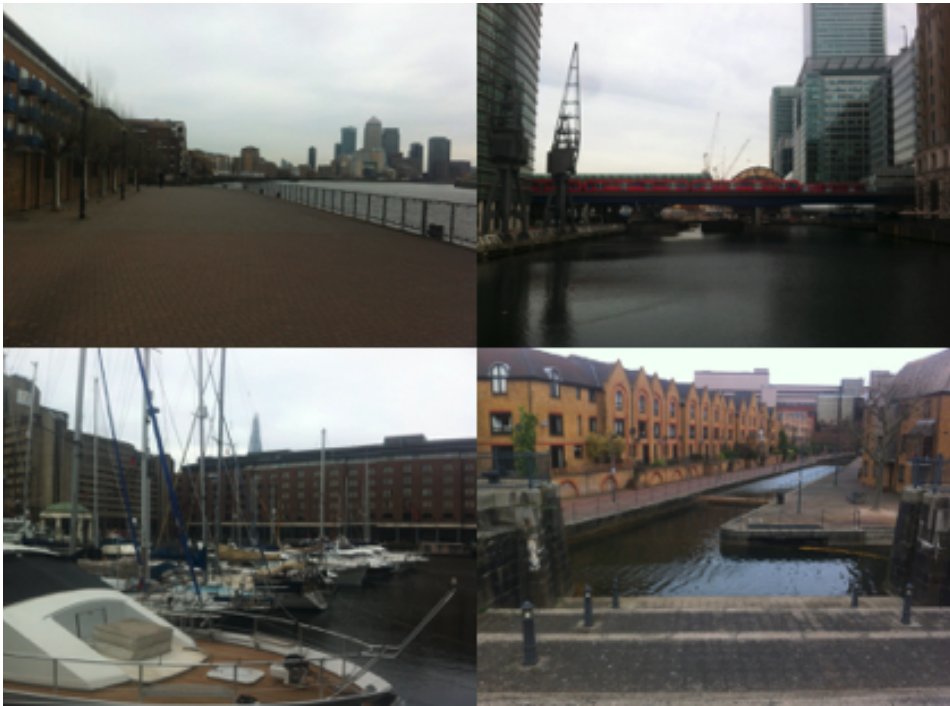
The requalification of the London docklands initiated in the 1980s is a model widely commented on. Perrine Michon's work allows for a detailed description of the interplay between actors, and the characteristics of these formerly industrial spaces and how they have been repurposed into their form and uses (Michon, 2008 a, 2008 b). This requalification involves considerable land areas (2,200 ha), gradually freed up after the closure of the West India Docks (1967) in a trajectory of deindustrialization (leading to a loss of 150,000 jobs in the docklands area between 1965 and 1975) and a marked decrease in the number of inhabitants (of 41% of the population between 1976 and 1981). The creation of the London Docklands Development Corporation in 1981 by the new Conservative government was part of the deregulation of urban planning implemented in the former industrial cities by the development of these Urban Development Corporations. The requalification of the London Docks is thus identified by Perrine Michon as the "*urbanistic quintessence of Thatcherism*" (Michon, 2008 a). This deregulation is marked by the absence of a master plan and urban planning regulations (a project-by-project



negotiation with private developers) and a refocusing of public action on the preparation of land for these private developers (demolition, depollution, new transport infrastructures). These former port areas are gradually giving way to a new financial center (Canada Tower inaugurated in 1990) and the accompanying skyscrapers, office and retail complexes, new or renovated luxury housing in the former warehouses also used by certain creative activities (studios, advertising agencies, etc.). An itinerary from Tower Bridge to Canary Wharf (cf. illustration 1) shows the characteristics of this specific urbanity, between the patrimonialization of the former docks, commercialization, tertiary centralities, privatization and commodification of public space in the service of the gentrification of East London (Michon, 2008 b).

Pictures 1

### **The London Docklands**



*Photo credit, Jean Debrie, Université Paris 1 (2015)*

### *The Queens West Project*

The requalification of the Queens port waterfront in New York offers a second illustration of this city-port trajectory marked. on the one hand. by the relocation of port infrastructures and terminals in the State of New Jersey and. on the other hand, by a repurposing of former port land (docks in Chelsea, Brooklyn and Queens). In the west of Queens, the development of a new

district on the site of Hunter Point on nearly 30 hectares of wasteland is a powerful indicator of the mobilization of city-port interfaces authorising the production of housing buildings, commercial spaces and public facilities (school, park, promenade). Orchestrated by the Queens West Development Corporation (created in 1992 associating the Port Authority of New York-New Jersey, the City and the State of New York) in charge of the development function (acquisition of the land, design guide, contractualization with private promoters), the project is delineated by four phases authorising a progressive densification of the site. The work of Silvère Saillard (2014) allows us to reconstruct the trajectory between opposition to projects (the Hunter Point Community Coalition militating against density, gentrification and environmental impact), aborted projects (UNICEF headquarters, Olympic village as part of the bid for the 2012 Olympics) and finally the emergence of a mixed project (housing, economic activities, parks), assuming a verticality that responds to the Manhattan skyline. Figure 2 shows this historical trajectory of the port city.

## Picture 2.

### The Queens West Project



*Photo credit, Silvère Saillard, Université Paris 1, (2014)*

The quays of the Old Port of Montreal provide a third illustration of the terms of the repurposing of these historic port properties. These wharves are being redeveloped on 52 hectares in the heart of Montreal, following the relocation of the port terminals to the east of the Island, which took effect in the 1970s. The creation of a federal corporation (the Old Port of Montréal Corporation) in 1981, in charge of this reconversion, marked the beginning of a project that was discussed in two public debate procedures. One debated the initial tone of the project, which, like the projects carried out by other corporations of this type (Toronto, Vancouver), was

marked by a real estate dimension. This dimension was challenged by the citizens' and politicians' consultation, who demanded free access, complementarity with the downtown area, and, above all, the idea of a public space and an urban park. The *Société du Vieux-Port* then orchestrated a repurposing around a pedestrian line and various recreational amenities (Science Center, entertainment venues, small restaurants, games, aquatic equipment) around a double seasonality (winter / summer). The merger of the *Société du Vieux-Port* with the *Société Immobilière du Canada* in 2012 led to a second project (Master Plan delivered in 2015) which, following a new consultation, validated the creation of a new recreational and cultural activity pole and, above all, the development of a new mixed-use district (hotel, housing, public facilities, economic activities) to the west of the Pointe du Moulin, densifying an initially recreational project (Plessy, 2020).

### Pictures 3

#### The docks of the Old Port of Montreal



*Photo credit, Jean Debrie, Université Paris 1 (2018)*

#### *The southern districts of Le Havre*

The southern districts of Le Havre-city provide a fourth illustration of this double movement of exit of the industrial port from the city center (towards the east of the city but also in the estuary of the Seine around new container terminals) and of repurposing the lands freed by this displacement. The southern districts correspond to an 800 hectare area at the interface of the urban domain and the port domain, which has been redeveloped within the framework of a planning exercise involving the Agglomeration Community, the City, the Port Authority and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (steering committee and Master Plan initiated in 2013). This repurposing - supported by a European program (PIC Urban) - is based on a land hierarchy carried out according to proximity to the port domain: a zone dedicated to the development of

mixed urban functions, a zone for the development of added value economic functions and a zone for long-term development to be defined. The effective repurposing of the first zone, based on an urban reappropriation of the historic docks and warehouses, allows for the development of a new urban district (new luxury housing, sports and cultural facilities, commercial spaces, new university facilities). It is an indicator of an effective docklandization, assumed in the very toponymy of the new commercial and recreational spaces realized in the former docks (Dock océane, Docks cafés, Dock Vauban) and is a symbolic reminder of port culture (university container city, river garden). This requalification, resulting from the displacement of the city-port interfaces, is reflected in the emergence of a new centrality of Le Havre and participates in a form of gentrification noted and analyzed in the work of Mathias Boquet (2009).

**Figure 4. The docklandization of the southern districts, Le Havre**



*Photo credit, Magistère Aménagement, Université Paris 1, (2016)*

### *Requalification models*

These four illustrations exemplify an evolution of city-port interfaces and the associated requalification projects. This movement of requalification is generalized and shows that urbanism is in some ways standard in the general terms of requalification, but projects are part of a territorial trajectory specific to each port site marked by distinct institutional, economic, land, and cultural characteristics (Debrie et al., 2013). The deregulated urbanism characterized by an absence of consultation present in London is, of course, different in nature from the plan urbanism discussed in a political steering committee in Le Havre or by the importance of citizen consultation granted in different requalification projects as in Montreal. The very nature of the evolution of economic fabric (a total tertiarization in London, the maintenance of port

production facilities in Le Havre or Montreal) also contributes to disparities in the ways in which requalification unfolds, as does land composition and whether it is marked by more or less important free resources. Culture, understood here in its relationship to urbanity and public space (and whether or not it is commodified), is another factor to be taken into account in discussing the manifestation of a general model (docklandization) in urban spaces (Michon, 2008b). An exhaustive analysis of the differences apparent within processes of requalification remains to be carried out. The fact remains that this relation between standardization (of the requalification model) and differentiation (economic, political, cultural... factors specific to each city) shapes the project urbanism associated with the requalification of port waterfront and projects actors associated.

## ***2.2 Who governs the Port Metropolis?***

This evolution of the levels of the city-port relationship is a transposition of a specific set of actors underlying a metropolitan governance specific to port cities. The role of large public and private infrastructure managers in metropolitan governance has been discussed in numerous works, notably those of Dominique Lorrain, who defines these large infrastructure managers in charge of managing technical networks (transport, electricity, energy, etc.) as "hard" actors in the governance of metropolises, as opposed to the "soft" institutions of metropolitan government (Lorrain, 2003). In port cities, port infrastructure managers are thus at the heart of this dual process of terminalization (contractualization with private operators) and docklandization (negotiation with local public actors). Numerous works refer to the importance of these port land developments on policy and the metropolitan form itself (Raimbault, 2014; Heitz, 2017). The already cited example of the New York-New Jersey Port Authority (in charge of the port but also the tunnel and subway airports) is a well-known example of this technical metropolitan management. The status of these "managers" is diverse (public establishment, mixed company, private law company) but marked by a context of common deregulation of port activity on most of the port fronts. This deregulation has led to a new dissociation between infrastructure managers (port authorities in charge of land management of the port domain) and the major operators developing terminal networks on a regional and global scale (see Box 1), a dissociation at the heart of the terminalization movement and the change in scale of the port metropolis.

These port authorities, beyond their management of the industrial and logistical domain (in charge of the contractual terms of use of this domain), are also important actors in the docklandization movement. The requalification of historic port land shapes a specific policy associating the actors of the port sector (port authorities, port operators, users) and territorial actors (local public actors, and actors on regional, national, European levels). Observing the

terms of this negotiation between the port sector and territories enables us to understand the interplay of actors in a port and its translation into this new geography of city-port interfaces (Debie & Raimbault, 2016). Of course, the status of port authorities differs according to national contexts. The vast majority are public, but these authorities are nevertheless marked by strong differences in supervisory authority (national, regional, municipal) and by varying statuses of commercial and financial autonomy in relation to these supervisory authorities. These variations obviously say a lot about the terms of negotiation specific to each port. Observing different requalifications (Queens, Montreal's Old Port, Le Havre's southern district, Liverpool's docks, Vancouver's Coal Harbour, etc.) enables us to analyse these variations (from the corporation to the mixed union), but without examining the intermediary role of the port authorities, which have become important players in urban production. Moreover, the new powers of planners will be manifest in numerous recruitments within port authorities (urban planners, lawyers, architects, politicians), capable of assuming this new function. In fact, in this urbanism of major projects and new policy associated (Pinson, 2003), most of the major metropolitan operations concern either port land or railway land, making the managers of these lands central actors in this urban production from the 1980s onwards. The planning function of these major managers has become more complex, ranging from the management of an industrial tool (a port or a railway station) to the development of territorial and urban projects, a diversification that has been studied in detail in recent works on port authorities (Magnan, 2018) and railway authorities (Adisson, 2016, Aveline-Dubach & Blandeau, 2019). These major infrastructure managers (port, rail, but also airport) are thus often unrecognized leaders of metropolitan restructuring because they shape its new levels.

### **Conclusion. "Creating the City with the Port"? The agenda of the port metropolis**

The trajectory of the port metropolis is thus characterized by a double movement of delocalization of port land (outside the urban core but integrated into the metropolitan system) and of requalification of historical land (support for major urban projects). Through various illustrations, this chapter has aimed to restore the terms of this trajectory. Although the examples mentioned relate mainly to North American and European ports, it is important to point out that this dual movement (a new geography) is found, to varying degrees on different port waterfronts all over the world, to which the works mentioned in this review attest. Admittedly, the movement of terminalization is more recent on the port fronts of the "South" as a corollary of a progressive generalization of containerization initiated on the North American, European and Asian fronts, then progressively on the other port fronts (South American and African). The evolution of city-port interfaces is thus more recent, particularly in African port cities, but it is underway and reflects a similar movement of requalification of historic port spaces and a development of port terminals outside the historic city. The example of Tangier, a symbolic port



city, the last illustration used in this chapter, can summarize this trajectory. The evolution of this geography is driven by a set of actors specific to port cities, characterized by negotiations between sectoral (port) actors and public (territorial) actors. The terms of this negotiation, between standardization and differentiation, are part of the urban fabric.

#### Box 2. Tangier, new geography of the port city

Like the North American and European examples used in this chapter, the example of the evolution of the interfaces between city and port in Tangier bears witness to this new geography of the port city in another context. The creation of a new Tangier Med port complex 40 km from the historic city, piloted by the Tangier Med Special (Public) Agency (TMSA), authorizes the development of three container terminals operated by major global operators (AP Moller Terminal, CMA-CGM, Eurogate, MSC), complemented by industrial and logistics platforms hosting industrial players (Renault) and players in international trade and distribution (Adidas, Decathlon, Bosch, etc.). The Tangier Med complex, the first container port in Africa, evidences this terminalization and port exit from the original city, modifying the metropolitan trajectory of Tangier (Marei & Wippel, 2020). This exit allows for a reconversion project for the historic port of Tangier City led by the *Société d'aménagement pour la reconversion de la zone portuaire de Tanger* (SATP) with the explicit objective of positioning Tangier as a tourist and cultural city. The rehabilitation of the old port (new cruise terminal, Marina) is based on "urban-compatible" activities in a context of requalification of the corniche and the entrances to the Medina, as well as a development of real estate (residences, shops, business centers) piloted by the developer Eagle Hills. This rehabilitation thus attests to the mobilization of the former port waterfronts in the service of a post-industrial trajectory of urban centers.

While this trajectory has been widely documented by works from a variety of disciplinary fields, it is important in the end to point out a few prospective elements on the ongoing evolution of these negotiations. The 2030 Agenda of the International Association of Port Cities (AIVP) - a structure bringing together port authorities and local public actors from the world's major port centers - is one of the witnesses of a new reflection on the terms of this evolution. This agenda, signed by 100 port cities, is a transposition of the objectives of Sustainable Development of the UN (Habitat) to the context of city-port relations. It sets out ten or so commitments in conformity with the sustainability benchmark fixed by the UN. This benchmark is of course debatable (and discussed) but it allows us to grasp the themes debated in the port cities on this issue of sustainability. Without going into a precise description of the commitments and objectives of sustainability ([www.aivp.org](http://www.aivp.org)), it is interesting to note that attention is paid to issues of adapting to climate change, the energy transition and the potential contribution of ports to the circular economy, mobility, quality of life, biodiversity, implying renewed policy, the mobilization of human capital and a cultural identity specific to port cities. More than these general objectives (a non-prescriptive agenda), it is the various case studies, illustrating these

objectives, proposed by the AIVP that allow us to point out a new reflection on this relationship between city and port. It translates into an objective of cohabitation ("to make the city with the port") defined by a referential framework of sustainability. Some works allow us to observe these new negotiations reintroducing the potential permeability of port activities (urban-compatible) and urban activities (Mazy, 2013). These issues of functional mix (the port as an element of urban distribution and productive activity in cities) are reflected in new experiments (the urban insertion of ports, the maintenance of port activities in the city), participating in a modification of the terms of the urban project on these city-port interfaces. Admittedly, these experiments are still scarce, but depending on the intensity of their generalization, they could constitute a third movement (a new city-port permeability) in this geographical trajectory of port metropolises.

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