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INDUSTRIALIZATION AND GENESIS OF THE CORE AREA: THE POLARIZATION OF MANCHESTER IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

The industrialization process is undoubtedly the engine of transformations in the modern society. The development of the central core of the cities is closely related to the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the development of capitalism, commerce and transportation. The spatial processes of centralization and invasion-succession are determinant in the configuration of the urban structure of western industrial cities, as the center stands out for its role in interurban and interregional relations. It appears that the concentration of activities constituted an optimal and rational location in maximizing profits and capital interests. Based on Friedrich Engels' analysis of the urban reality of the city of Manchester, considered the "heart" of the revolution and the classic model of the modern industrial city, we seek to present intrinsic characteristics in the relationship between industrialization and the genesis of the central area.

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INTRODUCTION

The development of the central area is related to the framework of profound transformations arising from industrialization, highlighted in the nineteenth century, affecting the context of western cities. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the development of transport, especially with the railways, the relations between the Central Area, also referred to as the Central Business District, with the city and its hinterland, based on in technological development (Strohaecker, 1988). It should be noted that space constitutes an objective reality meaning a social product in a constant process of transformation (Santos, 2008), and it is necessary to evaluate the dynamics of the formation of industrial societies in order to understand the process of urban centralization. According to Corrêa (2000), the development of the central nucleus is associated with the development of the retail commerce and, consequently, of the capitalism, as a result of the growing industrial production, as well as the participation in the process of social reproduction based on the consumption of products by a population increasingly dependent on commodities rather than their own livelihoods. The central area stands out for its strength as a polarization nucleus, characterized by the more intensive use of the land, the greater concentration of social and economic activities, especially trade and services, being an area for decisions and predominance of the flow of vehicles and people during the day (Corrêa, 1997).

The concentration of economic activities and urban flows marks the modern metropolis under the aegis of industrial capitalism. It is a product of the market economy directly affected by industrialization. Corrêa (1997) indicates different spatial processes highlighted in the second half of the 19th century associated with spatial organization through the mediation of a "group of forces that act over time and allow locations, relocations and permanence of activities and population over space urban" (Corrêa, 1997, 122). Among such processes, we highlight centralization, a common feature in the formation of the modern metropolis, as well a product of the market economy taken to the extreme by industrialism. It is noteworthy that, as Spósito (1991) points out, the center is not necessarily the geographic center or the original historical site of the city, but it is the concomitantly integrating and dispersing area, playing a crucial role in interurban and interregional relations.

Inside the city, the center is not necessarily in the geographic center, and it does not always occupy the historical site where this city originated, it is above all a point of convergence/divergence, it is the node of the circulation system, it is the place for where everyone goes to some activities and, on the other hand, it is the point from which everyone moves to the interaction of these activities located there with others that take place inside the city or outside it. Thus, the center can be qualified as an integrator and a disperser at the same time (Spósito, 1991, 6).

From this perspective, the emergence of the Central Area is associated with the expansion of relations between the city and the world, emphatically underlined with the advent of the Industrial Revolution, as a result, in spatial terms, of the various transformations and innovations of this historical period. In this sense, the concentration of activities constituted in the 19th century, as highlighted by Corrêa (1997), an optimal and rational location to maximize profits and capital interests.

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND POLARIZATION: MANCHESTER AS THE HEART OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

According to Lefebvre (2011), the industrialization process has been undoubtedly the engine of transformations in society for centuries, inducing a series of problems related to growth, planning and urbanization characterizing the modern society. As we underlined, it is with the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the expansion of relations that centralization is consolidated as a spatial process in the context of western cities. The work specialization, the use of hydraulic power and steam and, especially, the machinery are considered the three great levers of industry, whose centralizing tendency, as Engels (2008) points out, is also integrated by the population and the capital availability. There is a double process that comprises a violent clash of realities: the industrialization and the urbanization, so that the generalization of the commodity by the first aspect tends to destroy the second, subordinating the urban reality in a dependency on the use value. "Industrialization presupposes the rupture of this preexisting urban system; it implies the disruption of established structures' (Lefebvre, 2011, 14).

As Mumford (1991) emphasizes, between the years 1820 and 1900, destruction and disorder in big cities is similar to the battlefield. In variety degrees, every city in the western world has been marked with archetypal caractheristics of Coketown present in the novel Hard Times of Charles Dickens (2014[1854]), revealing the extension of industrial activity and urbanization. In this society, the empire of useful time leaves no room for daydreams: people not linked to production are always passing through or are marginal (Bresciani, 2004; Mumford, 1991). The representations of the transformation of the landscape also bring us closer to literary descriptions alluding to industrial societies. Dickens (2014) is referring to the English industrial cities as Coketown, as well as to the coal, considered the driving force behind industrialism. Émile Zola (2007[1885]), in Germinal, creates the city of Montsou, in northern France, in an allusion to that important mining region, also a representation of the geographic space in transformation (Carvalho, 2016). This scenario in transformation was noted by Friedrich Engels in his work The Situation of the Working Class in England (2008[1845]), considered a pioneering study of industrial cities and their structural dynamics. The author lists the city of Manchester, the heart of the industrial revolution, as a classic type of the modern industrial city, taking into account the city's development and its knowledge of this space, explaining an overview of the working class's living and working conditions. Furthermore, Engels (2008) emphasizes that, at that time, "the living conditions of the proletariat, in their classical full form, only exist in the British Empire, particularly in England" (Engels, 2008, 41).Considering Engels's analysis, we intend to discuss the industrialization process as an inductor, as highlighted by Lefebvre (2011), and the intensification of urbanization as induced in this relationship, as we punctuate the context of the industrial advent and the genesis of the central area.

In order to understand the context of the 1800s, contributions and studies from different matrices of human knowledge are valid on that changing scenario, as well as aesthetic expressions of the period in question. In addition to the aforementioned literary works, the iconographic references are indicative of the contrast caused by the industry. The English artist Edward Goodall (1795-1870) presents his illustration named *Cottonopolis* (1857) - a reference to the English city of Manchester, the textile industries and its raw material (cotton).

This iconographic reference points to the contrast between rural and urban landscapes, with the mixture of elements from both scenarios, although urban-industrial aspects prevail. We also visualize elements such as trees and animals, despite the highlight provided by the action of industries in the background of the landscape. Goodall's print is based on William Wylde's Manchester from Kersal Moor (1857). Engels (2008), geographically locating Manchester, refers to this location as Mons Sacer (Sacred Mount) calling thus the hill Kersall-Moor considering the workers meetings there, alluding to the latin expression that designates the place where the roman plebeians rose up against the patricians."Manchester is located at the southern foot of a mountain range that, starting from Oldham, cuts through the Irwell and Medlock valleys and the last summit, the Kersall-Moor, is at the same time the hippodrome and the Mons Sacer of Manchester" (Engels, 2008, 87).

About this landscape in transformation, Tocqueville (2000[1835]) contributes with his notes from travels to England and Ireland. The writer thus describes the industrial landscape from the city of Manchester, in line with the iconographic sketches and the analysis of that context that we present in this work.

Thirty or forty manufactures rise on top of the hills that I have just described. Its six floors soar to the sky, its immense wall announces from afar the centralization of industry. Around them were sown, as if at the whim of the will, the wretched dwellings of the poor. Among them are uncultivated lands, which no longer have the charms of rural nature, without yet showing the ornaments of cities. (...) From this filthy ditch the greatest current of human industry flows to fertilize the whole world. From this filthy sewage gushes pure gold. Here humanity reaches its fullest development and its greatest brutality. Here civilization works miracles and civilized man becomes almost a savage (Tocqueville, 2000, 45; 101).

Taking the city of Manchester as a classic type of the modern industrial city, Engels (2008) analyzed the city's internal structure in detail, pointing out the transformations in the center and surrounding working-class neighborhoods. In the nineteenth century, considered the heart of the Industrial Revolution, the city was constituted as a commercial center that polarized the entire metropolitan region constituted of cities linked to industrial activity.

In southern Lancashire, Manchester in particular, British industry has its starting point and its center; the Manchester Stock Exchange is the thermometer of commerce; the modern production technique reached its perfection there. In the South Lancashire cotton industry, the use of the forces of nature, the replacement of manual labor by machines (especially the mechanical loom and the self-actor mule) and the division of labor reached the extreme (Engels, 2008, 84).

As we have highlighted, the polarizing center behaves as an integrating area, playing a crucial role in interurban and interregional relations. The cities surrounding Manchester are exclusively industrial and carry out commercial transactions with this nucleus depending entirely, being massively inhabited by factory workers, industrialists and small businessmen, while Manchester is made up of large retailers. Engels understands the city and its surroundings, presenting cartographic references highlighting points such as the stock exchange, churches, bridges, cemeteries, work houses and "Little Ireland". Engels (2008) highlights that the center was practically uninhabited and composed of offices and wholesale trade, in addition surrounded by working-class neighborhoods characterized by extreme poverty and precarious living conditions. With deep knowledge and extensive field research, the author reports the centrality of the commercial district and the characteristics of the surroundings.

Manchester has, at its center, a fairly large commercial district, about a mile and a half long and about half a mile wide, composed almost exclusively of offices and warehouses. There are practically no dwellings in it, so at night it is empty and deserted – only the night guard, with their lanterns, roams the narrow and gloomy streets. In this area there are some large streets, which concentrate traffic, and the ground floor of the buildings is occupied by luxury stores; there are a few inhabited upper floors and, until late at night, a certain animation reigns there. With the exception of this commercial district, all of Manchester proper (...) is nothing more than a single working-class district which, with an average width of a mile and a half, encircles the commercial district like a ring. The upper and middle bourgeoisie live outside this ring (Engels, 2008, 89).

Another feature highlighted in the observation of Engels (2008) concerns the peculiarity of urban construction in which the main streets, starting from the Stock Exchange, leaving the city in all directions, highlighting accessibility as one of the high points in this centralization process, masking the reality of misery in working-class neighborhoods."We can reside in it for years, or go in and out of it directly, without ever seeing a working-class neighborhood or even finding a working-class person - if we just take care of our business or take a walk" (Engels, 2008, 88). From the point of view of spatial organization, the political and administrative option was offering greater accessibility to the great center and hiding the reality of extreme social poverty in the neighborhoods, clearly evident in Manchester. There is a process with the elites leaving the central area, who start to live outside the ring in search of quality of life, in a spatial process known as invasion-succession. It is noted, according to Villaça (1998), that the exercise of domination in the urban layout reinforces the centers as highly strategic points, so that the domination of "the access to it represents not only a concrete material advantage, but also the domination of an entire symbology" (Villaça, 1998, 244). Engels (2008) sums up this internal organization to a hypocritical urban disposition with such system-city to keep the working class away from the main streets, "delicately hiding anything that might offend the eyes or the nerves of the bourgeoisie" (Engels, 2008).

The upper and middle bourgeoisie live outside this ring (...) live in luxury villas, further away (...) where the healthy air of the countryside flows, in large and comfortable houses, serviced every fifteen or thirty minutes by bus heading to the city centre. The middle bourgeoisie lives on good streets, closer to workingclass neighborhoods (...) The curious thing is that these rich representatives of the money aristocracy can cross working-class neighborhoods, using the shortest route to reach their offices in the city center, without realizing that they are surrounded on all sides by the most sordid misery (...) the main streets that, starting from the Stock Exchange, leave the city in all directions, are occupied, on both sides, by small and middle-class shops that have every interest in keeping them looking clean and decorous (Engels, 2008, 89).

About the formation of the urban proletariat and the internal transformation of the structure of industrial cities, it is necessary to take into account the process of transformation in the countryside and the massive immigration of Irish people. The march of those who were expelled from the countryside to the cities will constitute the labor needed in the process of industrial development. Polanyi (2000) summarizes this transformation in the destruction of the social fabric, comprising an enormous disarticulation.

The enclosures were called the revolution of the rich against the poor. Lords and nobles were disrupting the social order, destroying traditional laws and customs, sometimes through violence, sometimes through pressure and intimidation. They literally robbed the poor of their parcel of common land, demolishing houses that until then, by virtue of ancient customs, the poor regarded as their own and that of their heirs. The social fabric was being destroyed; abandoned villages and ruins of human dwellings witnessed the ferocity of the revolution, threatening the country's defenses, plundering its cities, decimating its population, turning its overburdened soil to dust, tormenting its people and turning them from decent men and women into a pack of beggars and thieves (Polanyi, 2000, 53).

The social disarticulation mentioned by Polanyi (2000) refers to the catastrophic consequences arising from a "miraculous progress" in the instruments of production and the animation of liberal philosophy regarding change and the ready "mystical" acceptance of what would happen with progress unregulated economic. This social disarticulation will be fulminating in the disorganization of human relations and in the threat of annihilation of people's habitat, which also results in the violent clash of realities between industrialization and urbanization referred by Lefebvre (2011). Nevertheless, the pace of population growth has been profoundly changed; the urban landscape was completely transformed with intense population displacements. Progress, on a grand scale, resulted in the unprecedented devastation of the population's homes, as Gustave Doré (1832-1883) prominently depicts in his illustrations. Doré was an outstanding French illustrator with remarkable studies about the poor areas of London (1869-1871). Over London by Rail (1870), whose title is suggestive of the relevance of railways in the constitution of urban-industrial space, presents also aspects related to urbanization and housing, with indications and reflections of that social disarticulation that we are referring to. In the foreground, the precarious houses made up of tenements stand out. We also note the strong presence of the railroad - considered one of the generating agents of the city together with the coal mines and factories (Mumford, 1991).

It is inferred from the iconographic representation the contradiction of the urban-industrial landscape, marked by the presence of tenements that show the precarious conditions of housing and sanitation, as well as, contradictorily, the great mark of progress symbolized in the railways. Côrrea (1997) highlights the relevance of transport in accessibility to the central nucleus as a crucial role in the relations of the urban environment. The central location was associated with the progressive accessibility that the core area enjoys due to convergence, constituting the focus of concentration of commercial activities (Corrêa, 2000).

From the second half of the 19th century onwards, the railways began to play a crucial role in interurban and interregional relations. The location of the railway terminals was made as close as possible to each other, and close, where there was, to the maritime terminal, thus ensuring the minimization of transshipment diseconomies. Close to these terminals will be located those activities aimed at the outside world, wholesale trade and warehouses, nascent and expanding industries, and auxiliary services. (...) The emerging Central Area thus began to enjoy maximum accessibility within the urban space. This accessibility was responsible for the highest values of urban land (...) The concentration of activities in this area represents, therefore, the maximization of externalities, whether accessibility or agglomeration (Corrêa, 1997, 123-124).

In this perspective, the central area acquires maximum accessibility in the urban space, and, consequently, the highest values of urban land, marked by the agglomeration in this location. An important spatial process in this transformation is highlighted: the invasion-succession - pointed out by Corrêa (1997), also emphasized in the 1800s, being mainly associated with the residential issue. Invasion involves the penetration of a different population group, while succession occurs when the new group that invaded the zone ends up expelling the original group or use, which is automatically displaced to other areas.

(...) in the urban space, there are neighborhoods that are inhabited, for a certain period of time, by a social class, and from a certain point onwards there is an "invasion" of people from another social class, via as a rule, lower class than the one that occupies the neighborhood. Then begins the departure of the preexisting population and the arrival of a new contingent, or the process of invasion-succession (Corrêa, 1997, 135).

In this sense, considering the implication of the invasion-succession process in the changing character of the social content of residential areas, as highlighted by Corrêa (1997), in areas close to the business center, property deterioration is perceived, prompting the departure of the population from high income. This scenario creates the possibility, for the owners, of valuation for the sale of the residence or land at a later date. While it is not convenient to invest in properties, they are now rented to a lower-income population interested in a central location (Corrêa, 1997). In this perspective, we can return to Engels' analysis of Manchester, in which the author perceives the transformation of the central area of the city in the 1840s with the formation of a commercial district surrounded by precarious workingclass housing and the departure of a wealthy population to the areas away from that core. According to Strohaecker (1988), this context characterizes decentralization, another spatial process of relevance in urban space, marked by three main characteristics:

- 1. The production of homes for the high-income population through the creation of new neighborhoods in the suburbs or in the city's amenities sector;
- Real estate speculation rental of properties with minimal maintenance for low-income population eager for the advantages of a central location; and
- The introduction of innovations such as railway stations, industries and large avenues harmful to the neighbors of the bourgeoisie neighborhoods.

The invasion-succession related to the residential issue, therefore, is associated with decentralization (concerning commerce and services), weighted by city growth for demographic and spatial reasons. Based on Corrêa (1997), the central agglomeration reaches the point of constituting diseconomy, noting the constant increase in the value of land, taxes and rents; congestion and high cost of the transport and communications system; difficulty in obtaining spaces; legal restrictions; lack of amenities, affecting high status populations. On the other hand, the following attractiveness factors can be listed in areas far from the core, such as unoccupied land at low prices and taxes; expanded infrastructure; transport facilities; attractive qualities of the site; physical and social amenities (Corrêa, 1997). In the invasion-succession process, the concentration of immigrants in the former residential areas is due to the proximity to the central nucleus and the possible advantages of this location. However, the poor quality of housing and sanitation in these areas is evident, especially in Manchester during the Industrial Revolution. Engels (2008) underlines that "there is no possible family life; only dehumanized, degraded, physically ill and intellectually and morally reduced to bestiality individuals can feel at ease in these dwellings" (Engels, 2008, 105). The emergence of the urban industrial proletariat, from the release of rural labor and the influx of immigrants attracted by the expansion of jobs, highlights Corrêa (1997), thus expelled the bourgeoisie from the central urban location. As we pointed out from Polanyi (2000), this process represented a profound social disarticulation.

Engels (2008) highlights that the rapid development of British industry was based on the incorporation of the Irish, numerous and poor, essential in this process as a reserve, whose perspective was to find a secure job and a good salary. Almost all of them was settled in industrial areas especially in large cities of England. Engels (2008) points this importance inclusive highlighting the "Little Ireland" in a map of Manchester on his work of 1845. It was a place of great concentration of immigrants. In some centuries-old houses in Manchester, abandoned by the primitive inhabitants, were crowded thousands of workers from agricultural areas and Ireland; "it is the industry that allowed the owners of these 'stables' to rent them out to human beings at a high price" (Engels, 2008, 100). In this scenario, the relevance of incorporating the available labor for the development of industrialization is highlighted, essential in the formation of the urban proletariat, deeply analyzed by Engels (2008), especially in the characterization of the great center of Manchester in England.From the analysis, we verified the relevant spatial processes like the centrality with the formation of a commercial district, due to the polarization and formation of the nucleus, as well as the constitution of proletarian neighborhoods around this central area forming a ring, presenting the process of invasion-succession and decentralization, in which elites seek amenities outside the central area. Finally, it appears that the impacts of these processes were diverse, affecting the urban and commercial structure, land values, displacement of people, among others. Thus, as Corrêa (2000) underlines, it affects the fixed and the flows in a geographic space in continuous transformation until nowadays.

CONCLUSION

Based on the proposed reflection on urban centrality, we highlight the relevance of the industrialization process in the dynamics and structuring of cities, particularly in the western world. As we pointed out, the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the growing production led to the development of the central area, fundamentally marking the modern metropolis. The concentration of activities characterized the optimal and rational location of the capital. It is also noteworthy that the center does not necessarily comprise the geographical location or the original historical site of the city. It is an integrating area that plays a crucial role in interurban as well as interregional relations. Considering the contributions of Engels (2008), listing the city of Manchester as a classic model of industrial city, we point out the contributions of this author about proletarian conditions in the English context, considered a pioneering work on the analysis of urban structure and the formation of industrial concentrations. In this analysis, we highlight the formation of the centralizing commercial district in the urban context of Manchester, considered a polarizing metropolis in that scenario.

The industrialization process brought significant changes to the urban structure of cities, resulting in disruptions and ruptures in the preexisting urban system. In addition to scientific analyses, artistic productions - iconographic or literary - show the aestheticization of this transformation of the landscape based on intense human action. This is a strong indication that the industrialization process is so impactful. The images used in this work are quite revealing of the contradictions that make up the rising society. The contrast between urban and rural landscapes is inferred with the strong presence of industrial and railway blast furnaces, as well as the glaring formation of precarious housing, revealing the lack of urban planning, with the agglomeration of tenements. It should be noted that this scenario of innovations would never have been possible without the large workforce made available by the rural exodus from the enclosures, as well as the considerable immigration of Irish people in search of jobs. The work of Engels (2008) is notorious for highlighting, in 1845, aspects intrinsic to the situation of the English working class, in which the author unveils what was practically unknown until then, pondering detailed observations of the dramatic living and working conditions of the proletariat. In this perspective, taking Manchester as the classic model of the western industrial city, we find that the development of the central area is related to the framework of profound transformations in the 18th and 19th centuries, highlighting spatial processes such as centralization marking the transformation of the urban and commercial structure of the cities.

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